

OF
WISDOM:
THE
Second and Third Books.

Written Originally in *French*,
BY THE
Sieur *de* CHARRON.

Made *English*

By GEORGE STANHOPE, D. D.
now Dean of *Canterbury*, from the Best
Edition, Corrected and Enlarg'd by the Au-
thor a little before his Death.

The Second Edition.

To this Edition is added a Large *Index* to the whole.

L O N D O N,

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THE PREFACE.

HAVING in the former Book explained and insisted upon the several Methods, by which Man may be let into a competent Knowledge of Himself, and the Condition of Humane Nature ; which is the first part of our Undertaking, and a very proper Introduction to Wisdom : The next thing in order, is to enter upon the Doctrines and Precepts of Wisdom it self. Now That shall be done in this Second Book, by laying down some General Rules and Directions, reserving for the Business of our Third and Last, those that are more Particular, and appropriated to special Persons and Circumstances, according to which their Duties vary in proportion to their respective Conditions. It was a very necessary Preamble in the mean while, to call Mens thoughts home, and fix them upon themselves ; to exhort and instruct them to handle, probe, and nicely to examine their Nature ; that so being thus brought to a tolerable Knowledge and Sense of their Infirmities and Defects, and sadly convinced of the miserable Condition they are by Nature in, they may be put into a better Capacity of having those healing and wholesome Remedies applied, which are necessary, in order to their Recovery and Amendment, And these Remedies are no other than the Instructions and Exhortations, proper for the attaining true Wisdom. 19

The PREFACE.

But alas ! It is a prodigious, and a melancholy thing to consider, how stupid and regardless Mankind are of their Happiness and Amendment. What a strange Temper is it for a Man, not to be at all solicitous, to have the very Errand and Business he was sent into the World about, well done ? Every body is infinitely fond and covetous of Living, but scarce any body is concerned, or takes any manner of Thought, for Living as becomes him. This is the very Art which should be our Chief, our only Study ; and yet it is that which we are least Masters of, least disposed to learn. Our Inclinations, and Designs, our Studies and Endeavours are (as Experience daily shews) vastly different, even from our very Cradles, or as soon as we began to be capab'e of any. They vary according to the Temper and Constitution of our Bodies, the Company we keep, the Education we are instituted by, the infinite Accidents and Occasions of our Lives ; but still none of us casts his Eyes that way, none makes it his Endeavour to manage these to the best Advantage, none attempts heartily to improve in Wisdom ; nay, we do not at all lay this most necessary Matter to heart, we scarce allow it so much as a single Thought. Or if at any time it comes in our way, accidentally, and by the by ; we hear and attend to it, just as we would to a Tale that is told ; or a piece of News, that in no degree concerns us. The Discourse perhaps is pleasant and entertaining to some (and but to some neither, for many will not endure, nor give it a patient hearing) but even those who are contented, nay delighted to hear it, yet hear to very little purpose. The words and sound tickle their Senses, and that's all they do. For as to the thing it self, That makes no Impression, gains no Esteem, kindles no Desires, at least in this so universally Corrupt, and Degenerate Age of ours. In order to the being made duly sensible of the true worth of Wisdom, and how much it deserves from us, there seems to be some particular Turn in our first Frame, some Original Aptitude and

Air

Air in our Nature and Complexion. If Men must take pains, they will much more willingly employ their time, and exert their Strength and Parts in the pursuit of Things, whose Effects are gay and glittering, external and sensible, such as Ambition and Avarice, and Passion, propose to them ; But as for Wisdom, whose Fruits are silent and gentle, internal and unseen, it hath no Attractives at all for them. O wretched Men ! what false Measures do we take, and how fatally are we deluded ? We prefer Winds and Storms for the sake of their Noise, where there is nothing but Air and Emptiness, before Body and solid Substance, which is calm and still ; Opinion and Reputation, before Truth and Real Merit. Surely Man (as was said in the First Book) is no better than Vanity and Misery, when so averse from, so incapable of Wisdom. Every Man is tainted with the Air which he breaths and dwells in, goes in the beaten Road, and lives like his Neighbours ; and when this is made a Rule, how can it be expected he should take another Course ? We follow the Track, and hunt by the Scent ; nay, we urge our own Vices upon other People, we are eager and warm in propagating them ; we dissemble our Passions, dress and trick them up, and then put them upon our Companions. None calls after us to stop our Career ; we are not to expect it. We are all out of the way, and likely never to correct our Error, without the special Favour of Heaven, and a great and generous strength and firmness of Nature at the same time, discerning enough to observe the common Error in which all are intangled, but scarce any are sensible of it ; daring enough, to be singular in minding that which nobody else minds ; and hardy and resolute enough to judge and to live in a method quite different from the rest of the World.

There have been indeed, some, though very few such brave Men : I see them still, their Memories and Names are sweet to this day ; and I smell their Ashes like a rich Perfume, with incredible Admiration and Delight.
But

The PREFACE.

But what hath been the effect of this uncommon Judgment? and how have they behaved themselves with it? Truly they are for the most Democritus, or Heraclitus revived. Some see the Errors and Follies of Mankind, and when they have done, they only make a Jest of them; They divert and entertain themselves and others, by a Comical Representation of a very Tragical thing; as if no more were necessary to teach Men Truth and Virtue, than merely to expose Falshood and Vice. They laugh at the World; and the World is but too ridiculous; but while they make themselves merry and good Company, they quite forget to be good-natur'd and charitable. Others are feeble and poor-spirited, they mince the matter, and dare not speak out; they soften and disguise their Language, mingle and sweeten their Propositions to render them palatable, and make Men swallow them before they are aware, and in a Mass of other things, where they shall not taste, or scarce ever be sensible of them.

They do not speak home, distinctly and fully; but express themselves, like the Oracles of old, in Terms ambiguous, and subject to Evasions. I, for my part, come long after them both in Time, and Merit; but I am blunt and downright, and deliver my sense plainly and clearly. I give an Idea of Wisdom, and Instructions for attaining it, such as the World perhaps hath not been used to; and I shall not be surprized, if the newness of my Matter and Method expose this little Tract to the Censures of such Persons, as have neither Temper, nor Ability to judge calmly and maturely of the Matter, but accustom themselves to condemn and run down every thing which does not hit their Humour, or agree with the Notions they have imbibed already. But who can help that, or secure himself from their Censures and Displeasure? Let them take their course; I question not in the mean while, but the meek and tractable, and honestly disposed, and likewise the Sublime and Celestial Spirits will pass an equitable construction upon my Writings.

These

The PREFACE.

v

These two Extremes are the Seats of Quiet and Serenity ; The middle Region is the place where all the Disorders, and Storms, and Meteors are formed, as was observed before ; and therefore those angry Men act in agreement with their Principles, and do nothing but what their Capacity and Condition disposes them to.

Now in order to give a rough and general Draught of Wisdom, and particularly of that part, which is the Subject of this present Book ; we may divide the Matter of it into four Points, or general Considerations.

The First consists of such things as are Preparatives or proper Predispositions to Wisdom ; and they are Two.

1. First a disentangling the Mind from all those Obstructions that prevent, or retard its Improvement ; and of these some are External, such as the Errors and Vices of the World, which we derive and suck in from abroad ; and other Internal, which have their Birth and Beginning from our Selves ; of which Nature are our own Appetites from Passions ; 2. The Other is a full, entire, and universal Liberty of the Mind ; whereby it thinks and judges freely.

The Second is concerned in laying the Foundations of Wisdom firm and durable ; and These are also Two ;

1. True and Essential Integrity, and 2. The Fixing to our selves some certain End, first, and then chalking out a convenient Rule for our Lives and Actions, by the keeping close to which, we may be conducted to, and arrive at that End.

The Third contributes to the raising this Building upon those Foundations ; that is, laying on and finishing the several Functions and Duties of Wisdom, which are Six. Three whereof principally regard our selves, and concern every Man considered singly, and as a Man ; and these are, 1. Piety ; 2. An Inward and due Mastery over his Thoughts and Desires ; and, 3. A decent Deportment and equal Temper of Mind, in all Accidents, whether of prosperous or adverse Fortune ; The other Three regard him as a Member of Society, and extend

The PREFACE.

extend to others as well as himself; which are, 1. A due Observance of Laws, and Customs, and Ceremonies; 2. A modest and obliging Conversation with others; and, 3. Prudence in the management of all kind of Business.

The Fourth is made up of the Fruits, and good Effects of Wisdom, which are Two, 1. The being constantly fit, and in a readiness to die; and, 2. The maintaining a true and uninterrupted Tranquillity of Spirit; which is indeed the Crown and Glory of Wisdom, and the very Supreme Good and Happiness, of which Humane Nature is Capable. These taken all together make Twelve Points in the whole, and each being allowed a distinct Consideration by it self, this Book will accordingly contain just so many Chapters.

29 MR 59

O F

A
T A B L E

OF THE
**CHAPTERS of the Second and
Third Books.**

BOOK II.

*Containing General Rules and In-
structions for the Study and At-
tainment of Wisdom.*

The First Disposition to Wisdom.

- Chap. 1. **E**Xemption from the Errors and Vices of
the World, and from one's own Pas-
sions, Page 1
- Chap. 2. An entire Liberty of the Mind; The Se-
cond Pre-Disposition, requisite in order to Wis-
dom, 13
- Chap. 3. True and Substantial Integrity of Mind, the
first and fundamental Part of Wisdom. 47

The Second Fundamental Point of Wisdom.

- Chap. 4. The Fixing to one's self a particular End,
and then chalking out some determinate Track, or
Course of Life; which may be proper for leading us
to that End. 82

The

The TABLE.

The First Act or Office of Wisdom.

- Chap. 5. *The Study of, and Serious Endeavour after True Piety,* 87
- Chap. 6. *Of a Due Regulation of a Man's Pleasures and Desires,* 134
- Chap. 7. *Of Decent Deportment, and Evenness of Temper, in Prosperity and Adversity,* 147
- Chap. 8. *Obedience to the Laws, Compliance with the Customs, and Observance of the Ceremonies in use. How, and in what sense necessary,* 166
- Chap. 9. *Modest and Obliging Behaviour in Conversation,* 183
- Chap. 10. *Prudent Management of Business,* 192

The Fruits, or good Effects of Wisdom.

- Chap. 11. *The First, Living in a constant Readiness for Death,* 206
- Chap. 12. *The maintaining a true and uninterrupted Tranquility of Spirit, which is the very Crown and Glory of Wisdom: And the last Head of this Book,* 250

B O O K III.

In which, Particular Rules are laid down, and Directions for the several Parts and Offices of Wisdom, branched out under Four General Heads, as they have relation, and are reducible, to the Four Cardinal Virtues.

- Chap. 1. **O**F Prudence in general, 2
- Chap. 2. **O**The First Branch of Policy, or Prudence in Government, which is the Provisionary Part, 10
- Chap. 3. *The Second Part of Policy, or Prudence in Government, which consists in the Administration and*

The TABLE.

<i>and good Conduct of the Prince.</i>	59
Chap. 4. <i>Of Prudence in Government, the Preface,</i>	112
Sect. 1. <i>Of Accidents and Calamities Future, and such as only threaten us at some distance.</i>	113
Sect. 2. <i>Of Evils and Difficulties actually present, and pressing,</i>	115
Sect. 3. <i>Affairs Intricate and Uncertain,</i>	118
Sect. 4. <i>Difficult and Dangerous Cases,</i>	119
Sect. 5. <i>Conspiracies.</i>	121
Sect. 6. <i>Treasonable Practices,</i>	126
Sect. 7. <i>Disorders and Popular Insurrections,</i>	127
Sect. 8. <i>Faction and Combinations,</i>	130
Sect. 9. <i>Sedition,</i>	132
Sect. 10. <i>Tyranny and Rebellion,</i>	135
Sect. 11. <i>Civil Wars,</i>	137
Sect. 12. <i>Advice for Private Persons, how they should behave themselves in any of the forementioned Divisions,</i>	140
Sect. 13. <i>Of Private Differences and Disorders,</i>	146

Justice, The Second Cardinal Virtue.

Chap. 5. <i>Of Justice in General,</i>	147
Chap. 6. <i>Of Justice, as that regards a Man's Duty to Himself,</i>	153
Chap. 7. <i>The First Part of Justice; or those Universal Duties, due from All to All in Common. And first of Love.</i>	165
Chap. 8. <i>Mutual Faith, Fidelity; Perfidiousness, Secrecy,</i>	177
Chap. 9. <i>Truth and Freedom in Advising and Reproving,</i>	185
Chap. 10. <i>Of Flattery, Lying and Dissimulation,</i>	189
Chap. 11. <i>Of Beneficence and Gratitude,</i>	199

The Second Part of Justice.

Chap. 12. <i>The Duties of a Married State,</i>	220
Chap. 13. <i>Good Management,</i>	224
Chap. 14. <i>The Duty of Parents and Children,</i>	225
Chap. 15. <i>Duties of Masters and Servants,</i>	267
Chap. 16.	

The TABLE.

Chap. 16. <i>Duty of Princes and Subjects,</i>	269
Chap. 17. <i>Duty of Magistrates,</i>	279
Chap. 18. <i>The Duty of Great, and of Mean Men,</i>	285

Of Fortitude : The Third Cardinal Virtue.

Chap. 19. <i>Of Fortitude in general,</i>	282
Chap. 20. <i>Of External Evils,</i>	290
Chap. 21. <i>Of External Evils, with regard to their Fruits and Effects,</i>	297
Chap. 22. <i>Of Sickness and Pain,</i>	301
Chap. 23. <i>Of Captivity or Imprisonment,</i>	306
Chap. 24. <i>Of Exile, or Banishment,</i>	308
Chap. 25. <i>Of Poverty, and Want, and Losses,</i>	311
Chap. 26. <i>Of Infamy, or Disgrace,</i>	313
Chap. 27. <i>Loss of Friends,</i>	314
Chap. 28. <i>Remedies against Fear,</i>	317
Chap. 29. <i>Against Grief,</i>	319
Chap. 30. <i>Remedies against Compassion,</i>	321
Chap. 31. <i>Remedies against Anger,</i>	322
Chap. 32. <i>Remedies against Hatred,</i>	329
Chap. 33. <i>Remedies against Envy,</i>	330
Chap. 34. <i>Remedies against Revenge,</i>	331
Chap. 35. <i>Remedies against Jealousie,</i>	333

Temperance, The Fourth Cardinal Virtue.

Chap. 36. <i>Of Temperance in General,</i>	335
Chap. 37. <i>Of Prosperity, and Advice thereupon,</i>	337
Chap. 38. <i>Of Pleasure, and Directions concerning it,</i>	339
29 MR 59	
Chap. 39. <i>Of Eating and Drinking, Abstinence and Sobriety,</i>	347
Chap. 40. <i>Of Luxury, and Excess in Apparel ; and their contrary Virtues, Frugality and Modesty,</i>	350
Chap. 41. <i>Of Temperance, with respect to Carnal Plea- sure ; which is, Chastity or Continency,</i>	352
Chap. 42. <i>Of Ambition and Temperance, with regard to the Desire of Honour and Fame,</i>	357
Chap. 43. <i>Of Temperance in Speaking.</i>	361

OF WISDOM.

The Second Book.

Containing General Rules and Instructions for the Study and Attainment of Wisdom.

CHAP. I.

The first Disposition to Wisdom:

Exemption from the Errors and Vices of the World, and from one's own Passions.

THE first step towards the Knowledge of any thing being a distinct and adequate Idea and Comprehension of the Subject to be Treated of, I should, according to this Rule, lay down for the first Rudiment of Wisdom, the Knowledge of a Man's Self in particular, and of the Condition of Humane Nature in general. But This, having been the Subject of the entire First Book, I have Reason to hope is sufficiently provided for already. All therefore which I think necessary to repeat upon this occasion, is,

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That

That every Person who makes Wisdom his Aim and End, ought in the first place to be thoroughly well acquainted with Himself, and with Mankind. The true Knowledge whereof is a very important and beneficial Study, of wonderful Efficacy and Advantage. For Man is the Subject proper for the Philosophers Consideration; none but the Wise understand it, and every Man that does really understand it, is Wise. But at the same time it is a matter of great Intricacy and Difficulty; for Man is extremely addicted to fallacy and disguise; so full of it, as to impose very often, not only upon other People, but upon Himself too. Every one takes a pleasure in cheating himself, is industrious to flatter his own Conscience, solicitous to hide and extenuate his own Failings, and diligent to magnifie his few commendable Actions and Qualities; shutting his Eyes, and fearful to see the worst of himself; and therefore, since Sincerity, even at home, is so very little regarded, we cannot reasonably think it strange, that Wisdom is so very rarely to be met with. For how can we expect it should be otherwise, when so very few are perfect, so few indeed give any attention to the very first Lesson in this Science, and Men are so far from undertaking to Instruct others, that they are wretchedly Ignorant and take no care of informing themselves! How many profess'd Masters, how many zealous Learners do we see in other matters, which are foreign, and of little or no moment, while every Body neglects the Business which most nearly concerns him; and while he is taken up with other matters abroad, is absolutely in the dark at home! What an unhappiness! What an exquisite Folly is this! How great a Reproach to the Generality of Mankind!

Now in order to the being competently skill'd in this point, we should get acquainted with all sorts Men, Those of the most distant Countries and Climates, the most differing Tempers and Ages, Conditions and Professions; (in which History and Travelling are very considerable Helps) we should observe their Motions, their Inclinations, and their several Dealings and Behaviour, not only in publick, (for these are full of Artifice, and consequently less improving) but their most secret and reserved Actions, the most natural and freest from Constraint, such as may let us into the dark and mysterious
part

part of Human Nature, and discover some of the hidden Springs by which Men are moved. And particularly, great regard should be had to those Passages wherein Mens Interests, or particular Humours come to be nearly touch'd; because there the Man will be sure to shew himself in his own true Colours.

When these Remarks are made, a Man must draw them together, and form some general Notions and judicious Reflections from them. But particularly one must be very careful to descend into Himself, to try and sound his own Breast to the bottom; that no lurking Deceit escape him there; but every Thought, and Word, and Action, be justly and nicely weighed.

The Result of such Observations would certainly be a sad, but serious Sense, how miserable and weak, how defective and poor a Creature Man is, on the one hand; and yet how vain and arrogant, how proud and presumptuous, how bloated and big with Air and Wind, what a meer Tumour, a Bladder, a Bubble he is, on the other. The former of these Representations will move our Compassion, the latter will raise our Horrour and Indignation. Now the former Book hath done him right in all these Respects, by taking him to pieces, and examining every part and feature by it self; viewing him in all the different Lights, and taking every Prospect the Picture was capable of being drawn in. So that I shall trouble my Reader no further with any account of this nature at present: But hope he will make a good Proficiency in the business of this Second Book, by the Assistances given him in the First. And in order to it, we will proceed to warn him of the chief Obstructions in his way to Wisdom, as They, who build, must first clear the Ground, and remove the Rubbish out of the way.

The Man, who desires to become Wise, must at the very first entrance into this design, seriously set about, and stedfastly resolve upon delivering, preserving, and guarding himself effectually from two Evils; which are directly opposite, and irreconcilable Enemies to Wisdom; and such absolute impediments to our progress in the studies of it, that till They be got over, or taken out of the way, no Advances can possibly be made. One of these is External, consisting of the Vices, and the Opinions in common Vogue, which, by the advantage of

being Popular, spread, and propagate Folly, like a contagious Disease; the other Internal, and consists of a Man's own Passions; so that in short, the Two great Adversaries we have to fear, and are most concerned to defend our selves against, are the World, and our Selves. And after such an Advertisement, there needs no more be said to shew, how hard this undertaking is: What course shall we take to get quit of these two, or how shall we run away from them? Wisdom indeed is difficult and rare; but it is upon this account chiefly, that it is so; This is the troublesome part of it; This in a manner the sole Conflict we have to fear; when once This Combat is won, all the rest is easie, and the Day our own. For the first thing, that can fit, or put us into any Capacity for Wisdom, must be to get clear of that Evil, which obstructs our whole Design, and will not admit Wisdom to dwell with, or grow near it. Now this is the Benefit my Reader is expected to reap from the First Book, which, as I said, may furnish him with sufficient Instructions for the getting thoroughly acquainted with the World and Himself; and this Knowledge will possess him with so just a Character of Both, as cannot but assist and lead him on, to Consideration and Care, and teach him to stand upon his guard, and diligently beware of both. Thus there is a strict and natural Connexion between the two parts of this Treatise; for the Beginning and First Step of the Second Book, is the End and Fruit of the Former.

2.
*Popular
Error.*

Book I.
Ch. LII.

Let us first then say somewhat of that Hindrance, which is External. Now we have heretofore given a large and lively Description of the Temper of the Common People; the strange unaccountable Humours of That, which is by much the most numerous part of Mankind; and it can be no hard matter to make a Judgment from thence, what monstrous effects those Humours must in all reason be expected to produce. For since the Vulgar are so bewitched with the love of Vanity, since they abound with Envy and Malice; since they are so totally void of Justice, and Judgment, and Discretion; since they are perfectly Strangers to Moderation and good Temper; what sort of Deliberations, and Opinions, and Judgments, and Resolutions, can we suppose them taken up with? How indeed is it possible that they should think,
or

or speak, or act, according to Truth, and good Sense? We have likewise before, in that Chapter which under- Book I.
took to represent the Misery of Human Nature, given Ch. xxxix.
several remarkable, and but too notorious instances of the Faults and Failings, which the generality of the World are guilty of, both in point of Judgment and Choice; how miserably their Understandings are darkened, and their Wills depraved; which may very easily convince us, how fix'd, and deeply rooted they are in Error and Vice. To this purpose are those Sayings common among wise Men, That *the Greater part is always the worse part of Mankind; There is not one of a Thousand Good; That the Number of Fools is infinite.* And that *there is very great Danger of Infection in the Crowd.*

3.
Upon these accounts their Advice is not only to keep one's self Clear and Free, and have nothing at all to do with such Opinions, and Designs, and Affections, as are popular and in vogue; but, as if all this Restraint were too little, not so much as to venture your person among the Mob, to decline all manner of Conversation and Familiarity with the Vulgar; since it is impossible ever to approach that diseased part of Mankind, without some Taint, some pestilential Vapours, such as will certainly bring danger and detriment to our own Health. So contagious is the very Breath and Company of the People; so little ought even the wisest and persons best established in Virtue and Wisdom, to trust themselves among them. For who indeed is strong enough to sustain the Attack of Vices, when they march up in form of Battel, and charge by whole Troops at once? We see what a World of Mischief one single Example of Avarice or Luxury does; The Conversation of One Effeminate Man softens by degrees and enervates the Minds of them that live with him; One Rich Neighbour kindles our Desires of Wealth; One Lewd Companion strikes as it were his Extravagance and Debauchery into us so forcibly, that we may even feel the Impression; it eats like a Canker, and nothing is so solid, so clean, to be free from the Rust of it. And if this be the Case of particular Instances, what do we think must the Condition and the Power be, of those Vices and Dispositions that are become General, and such as all the World run into with full Cry, and wild Career?

4.

And yet after all, as necessary as this keeping aloof off from Infection is, the thing is exceeding difficult, and but seldom put in practice. For to follow the beaten Tract is something very plausible, and carries a great Appearance of Justice and Goodness, Humility and Condescension in it. The Road is plain and large, and Travellers are easily seduced into it. Singularity is a By-path, and none but fanciful or conceited Men are thought to take it. We go on after our Leaders, like Beasts in a Herd: The Reasonableness, and Worth, and Justice of a thing is rarely examined; but Example and Custom are the moving Arguments; and thus we hurry on, and stumble at the same Stones, and fall upon one another in heaps; we press and push forward, and draw whole multitudes upon the same Precipice; and there we fall and perish, merely upon the Credit of those that go before us. Now the Man that would be wise indeed, must take quite contrary Measures. He must receive nothing upon Content and Example only; but be very jealous and considerate, and suspect every thing which he finds the generality of Mankind agreed in, and fond of; and instead of counting Numbers, and practising by the Poll, he must weigh the Goodness of the thing; not suffering himself to be deluded with fair Appearances, with general Approbations, or common Use, or doing as the rest of the World do, but nicely examine the real intrinsick worth of Things and Actions, and resolve to stand alone, where this will not justify his Compliance. *Thou shalt not follow a Multitude to do Evil*, is a just, a prudent, a necessary Precept: and a most vicious and mistaken Modesty That is, which prevails with us to disobey it. When therefore any one would cut us short, and thinks to knock all our Arguments on the head, by saying, *All the World is of this Opinion, or all the World does thus*, a considerate Man will answer to himself at least, *I like it so much the worse for that; this is but a very scurvy Cautious, for their Approbation makes me suspect it the more.* Thus the Wise Phocion, when he saw the whole Auditory highly applaud something he had spoken, turned about, and asked his Friends that stood by, What was the Matter; whether he had let fall somewhat which ought not to have been said, or been guilty of some egregious Impertinency, that all the People were so mightily pleased with

with him. The wisest method then, is to decline, as much as possibly we can, any Familiarity or frequent Conversation with the People, who are generally foolish, ignorant, and a very odd Medley of Men: But, if our Affairs will not permit that, yet at least it must be our constant Care to avoid their received Opinions, not to be born down with their Judgments, nor conform our selves to their Temper and Complexion, nor be corrupted by their vicious Dispositions and Practices: But at the same time we live in the World, we must not be of the World. And This indeed is the Reason why Solitude is so much and so earnestly recommended by Philosophers and Wise Men; a Solitude, that consists in setting the Soul free, and discarding all popular Opinions, and reigning Vices; delivering the Mind from the Bondage and Confusion, which Custom, and Example, and the common Cry subject it to; that so it may have leisure to retire into it self, and takes its full Range without Interruption or Restraint.

The other Inconvenience, and fatal Obstruction of Wisdom, is Internal; and as such threatens more imminent Danger, and requires a greater portion of our Care. And This is that Slavery and Perplexity which our own Passions and disorderly Affections put us into. And against These there ought to be a strict and strong guard, to prevent their Tumults and Insurrections; or rather indeed we ought, if that were possible, to dispossess them quite, that so our Mind might be clean, and open, and un sullied, like a Blank Paper, ready to receive any Inscription, any Tincture of Wisdom, against which the Passions are formal and declared Enemies, by the Stains and Prejudices they leave upon it. This gave occasion for that Saying of some Wise Heathens, That it was not possible, even for *Jupiter* himself to be in Love, or to be angry, or affected strongly with any other Passion, and yet to be Wise at the same time. And accordingly both Reason and Revelation in the Ideas they teach us to form of God, represent him void of all Passions, Body, or Bodily Affections; as Infirmities by no means consistent with the Excellencies of an absolutely Good and Perfect Being. Wisdom is a regular Conduct of the Soul; it proceeds in number, and weight, and measure; it is an evenness and smoothness, a sweet and pleasing Harmony of our

5.
Second
Thing, Ex-
emption
from Pas-
sions.

Judgments and Wills, and well-proportioned Dispositions; a constant health and soundness of the Mind; whereas the Passions quite contrary, are the Ague-fits of a distempered Soul, the Boundings and Reboundings of Folly; the wild Skips, and wanton Sallies, and impetuous Emotions, and rash unguided Flights of the Man, without any Aim, or Order, or Measure.

6.
General
Remedies
against
them.

The Colours, in which the former Book painted our Passions, are so black and hideous, that they cannot but shew us their Deformity, and may create in us a just horror and detestation of them. The Remedies and Means for subduing each of these in particular, will come in more properly in the Third Book, under the Topicks of *Fortitude* and *Temperance*. But of those which are general, and our present Business, there are several, and of different kinds, some Good, and some Evil. I do not here reckon that Happiness of Constitution and Natural Blessedness, which renders the Man so well tempered, as to preserve him calm and serene; not subject to any strong Passions, or violent Emotions of Soul; and keeps him in a constant, smooth, even, uniform composure of Spirit, harden'd and impenetrable, and proof against all Attacks. This indeed is an uncommon Excellency; but it is not so properly a Remedy against Evil, as an Exemption from it; it is not a Medicine or an Instrument of Recovery, but it is an effectual Prevention of Sickness, and the State of Health it self. This therefore falls not within the compass of our Subject and Design in this place, which is to prescribe Remedies truly so called; and of them I shall propose Four to the Reader's Observation.

7.
Stupidity.

The First, which in truth is not at all advisable, nor hath any real Goodness to recommend it, is a sort of Stupidity or Insensibility of Mind, which does not feel, nor apprehend at all. A Brutish Apathy, incident to mean Souls, such as are either perfectly seared and dead, or have their Apprehensions in great measure blunted and dulled; a sort of Callousness and Crust upon the sensitive Parts; a Spiritual Lethargy, and constant Heaviness, which though it have some Air of Health and Ease, yet what we think so is in effect its Disease. For there can be no such thing as Wisdom and Constancy, where there is no Knowledge, no Sense, no Activity at all. And therefore

fore this does not cure the Distemper, but only render the Patient insensible of his Illness. But yet This, as bad as it is, is better, and much rather to be chosen, than the knowing, and feeling, and suffering ones self to be vanquished and preyed upon by the painful Impression: What *Horace* says of his Writings, is thus far applicable to the Affections and Follies of Mankind;

* ——— *I had rather be a little Wit,
So my dull Verse my own dear Self delight,
Than know my Faults, be vex'd, and die with Spight.*
Creech.

The Second Remedy is very little or nothing better than the Disease it self, and yet it is more used, and oftner applied, than any other. This is, when a Man vanquishes one Passion, and stifles it by the more prevailing Force of another. For the Passions are never equally poized, but one or other of them will always cast the Scales. Now we are frequently guilty of a great Error, in attributing things to Virtue and Wisdom, in which They never had the least hand or concern, but they are purely the Effects of Passion. And it happens very well for Persons under these Circumstances, when those which rise highest, and have got the Dominion in their Souls, are not of the worst sort of Passions.

8.
*A Counter-
Passion.*

The Third, which is indeed a good Remedy, though not the very Best, is a matter of Prudence and Artifice, by which a Man steals out of the way, runs, hides himself, and keeps at a distance from the Occasions and Accidents, which he knows, or hath found by Experience, apt to provoke and put him out of Temper; such as wake the sleeping Lion, and give Fire to his Passions. This is a Study, and a Knack Men have of putting themselves upon a posture of Defence; or rather of keeping good Out-guards; upon the alarming whereof they may have leisure to retreat, or so to secure the Passes and Avenues, that the Approach of Evils may be intercepted and prevented.

9.
*Preven-
tion.*

* *Prætulorim Scriptor delirus inersque videri,
Dum mea delectent mala me, vel denique fallant,
Quam sapere & ringi.* *Horat. Epist. 2. Lib. 2.*

Of

Of this kind is that common Story of a Prince, who immediately broke a Rich Cup that was presented to him, for fear it should provoke his Anger, if by Chance or Negligence it should happen to be broken by another hand. The proper and constant Prayer of these men is, *Lead us not into Temptation*. Thus it is, that Men resolve against Gaming, who feel themselves unable to command their Temper, and cannot play without Passion. And thus Men of nice Honour, and prone to Anger, decline Disputes in Company, and crush the very first motions to Strife in the birth. For when a man is once engaged, it is difficult to make a good Retreat; and the After-Game of Wisdom and Discretion is very hard and hazardous to play. In the Beginning we manage things as we please, and have them at our mercy; but when once the fire is kindled, and we are grown warm they manage and carry Us how and whither they will. It is certainly much easier wholly to decline a Passion, than to keep it within just bounds and measures; and that which few can moderate, almost any body may prevent. And the Reason is plainly this; Because all things in their infancy and at first, are small and feeble, flexible and tender. But the misfortune is, that while they are weak we are not sensible of the Danger; and when they are grown stubborn and strong, we are not capable of a Remedy. This any man may observe in common Conversation. How many instances could every one of my Readers recollect of persons, who upon every slight occasion fall into Quarrels, commence Law-suits, engage in Disputes and Controversies, and are at last forced to give out with Disgrace; come to shameful and dishonourable Accommodations; take Sanctuary in mean and equivocating Interpretations; belye and contradict themselves; betray their want of Honesty; go against their own Sense; palliate, and disguise, and colour over matters of Fact; which are all of them miserable Refuges, and Remedies ten thousand times worse, than the Disease they would cure? In all these cases it were much better not to begin at all, than to bring matters to such a Conclusion. For, for want of timely Prudence and good Conduct, they fall into want of Integrity and Good Sense. And so in all their Proceedings they run directly counter to that wise Advice of *Bias*, which is to set out and

Chap. I. *The First Disposition to Wisdom.*

II

and undertake things coolly and considerately; but, when we are well satisfied of the Justice and Reasonableness of our Enterprize, then to prosecute it warmly and vigorously. It is in this manner, that those foolish Men expose themselves, who out of a vicious Easiness and Complaisance, are ashamed to deny any request made to them; but after this mighty Liberality in promising, are every whit as apt and easy to break their word again, and prostitute that Honour vilely, which was engaged with so much Levity. And therefore in all our Affairs, in all our dealings and Conversation with men, nothing is more requisite, than to look before us, to make true steps at first, and be well advised, before we begin.

The Fourth, and infinitely the Best Remedy of all is a staunch and Vigorous Virtue; a Resolution and Firmness of Mind, by which a man is qualified to look any Accidents in the Face; to meet and come up close to them, without Starting, or Disorder, or Confusion; to enter into the Lists, and encounter them gallantly. This is a brave, a noble, a glorious Impossibility indeed; which sets the Mind above Trouble, directly contrary to the first of these Remedies, which consisted in an impenetrable Temper, a heavy, sottish, senseless Stupidity. And there is nothing will contribute more to the working us up into this generous Gallantry of Spirit, than the furnishing and forming our Judgments with good Instructions; digesting them thoroughly, and applying them seasonably; but especially the fortifying our selves with Thought and Deliberation, that so we never fall under the Terrors of Surprise; but be prepared to defend our Post, whenever they attack us. For Reasoning and Discourse masters the Passions, and Premeditation is the thing which hardens the Soul, and renders it Proof, against all the Evils that would soften and subdue it. And one great help towards the preserving us impregnable, will be a serious Reflection upon what hath already been delivered in the foregoing parts of this Book; For the proper method of calming and sweetning the Passions, is to get well acquainted with the nature of them; to examine them nicely, and know exactly, what Influence they have upon us, and what Command we have over them. But especially we should guard our selves against too easie a Credulity, and not suffer any rash

10.
Virtue.

From the
10.

rash Surmise or Opinion, to foment or inflame our Passions; for Falshood, and Folly, and Uncertainty, transport Fools only; a Wise Man will weigh things calmly, and coolly, and suffer himself to be carried no farther than mature Judgment, and measured Truth lead him: For Reason is his only Guide, and every Impression is brought to this Standard, and strictly examined by it. But of this, besides the light given us already, we shall be more fully and particularly qualified to make a Judgment, both from what follows in this Second Book, and from the Instructions to be added in the Third, when we come to enlarge there upon the Vertues of *Fortitude* and *Temperance*.

II.

But above all other Passions, That of Self-Love, and Presumption, and inordinate Fondness of our own Imaginations, Opinions, and Actions, requires a strict and watchful Eye, and the strongest guard we can possibly set over it. For this is the very Pest of Mankind; the most mortal and irreconcilable Enemy to Wisdom; the very Corruption and Gangrene of the Soul, by which it mortifies, and grows absolutely incurable. This swells us with vain Conceits, and false Satisfactions and Confidences; we make undue estimates of our selves, and are marvellously pleas'd with our own supposed Sufficiency; nay we perfectly Idolize, fall down and worship our Selves, and neither believe, nor hear any body but our Selves. Now indeed we can never be in worse hands than our own, and that Prayer of the *Spaniards* is a very significant and sensible one, *O God preserve me from my self*. Such Presumption and foolish Self-Love proceeds from mistake; and Ignorance, is not so truly the Mother of any Devotion, as of this. Were Men but duly sensible, how weak and wretched, how impotent and little, how full of Infirmities and Errors, Human Nature is in general; and were each Man duly so of his own personal Defects and Frailties in particular, that Divine Counsel of *not being wise in our own Conceits*, would be much better obey'd: And obeyed it is necessary it should be; for till we are free of this Vanity, we can never arrive at true and sound Wisdom. It stops our Ears against all Advice and Instruction, and suffers us not to see our own Wants, nor the Abilities of others to direct and improve us. *Honesty* and *Integrity*, *Modesty* and *Diligence*,

Rom. xii.
16.

gence, a meek and teachable Temper, a serious, and hearty, and humble acknowledgment of our Deficiency; These are not only the first and surest Steps to Vertue, but the greatest Evidence of a solid Judgment, a clear Understanding, a rightly-disposed Will, and unbiaſſed Affections; and consequently, a most hopeful and promising, as well as it is an indispensably requisite Preparation, to the Study and Attainment of Wisdom and Goodness.

CHAP. II.

*An entire Liberty of the Mind; The Second Pre-
Disposition, requisite in order to Wisdom.*

THE other Disposition to Wisdom, which is in truth a natural Consequence and Improvement of the former, is (after we have delivered our selves from the Bondage and Captivity of Popular Opinions from without, and our own Passions from within) to attain to a full, entire and generous Liberty of Mind; and this is of two sorts, according to the two great Faculties concerned in the Pursuit of Wisdom, implying, first, a Liberty of Judgment, and then a Liberty of the Will.

The Former of these, which regards the Judgment; consists in considering, judging, and examining all things; yet not Tying one's self up to any, but remaining still free, and at one's own disposal; of a large universal Spirit, open and ready to hear any thing that shall be offered. This is the highest pitch of Soul, the most peculiar and distinguishing Privilege of a truly Great and Wise Man; but such a one I confess it is, as all People are not capable of understanding, and much less still of attaining to it. Upon which account I think my self oblig'd to establish this Point, against the Objections of those Vulgar Souls, which are not of Capacity large enough for true Wisdom.

And first of all, to prevent all Mistakes and unreasonable Cavils upon Words, I will explain the Terms made use of here, and give the true meaning of them. Now this Description consists of Three things, which mutually Produce

duce, and Support one another. And these are, *Judging every thing, being wedded or tied up to Nothing, and preserving a Largeness of Soul, and being ready to hearken to any thing that shall be offered.*

By *Judging* in the first of these Particulars, it is plain I cannot mean Resolving, Determining, or Positively Affirming; because this would imply a direct Contradiction to the second Branch of the Description. And therefore no more can possibly be understood by it, than Examining and Weighing all Matters that come before us; putting the Arguments for either side of the Question into the Balance, to see which Scale preponderates, and where the Merits of the Cause lie; that by this means the Truth may, after long and diligent Disquisition, at last be clearly made out.

Then again, *By not espousing, or being bound up to any thing.* I do not intend stopping short of the Truth, affecting Uncertainty, and floating in the Air; sometimes talking and acting one way, and sometimes the direct contrary; and so never proceeding or resolving any thing after such Deliberations as are requisite for a Man of Constancy and Prudence, nor venturing to act, because he cannot be positive, that his Judgment is right; For I would have my Philosopher conform to the Customs of the World, and in all the external and common Passages of Humane Life, act like other Men. The Rules prescribed here have nothing at all to do with any Man's Commerce or outward Behaviour; their Business is only to regulate the Mind; and to set the Thoughts and Judgment right within. Nay, and even in this Inward Regulation too, I am content, that Men should readily assent to probable Evidence; That they should stick to that side, where they find the greatest appearance of Honesty and Justice, of Convenience and Advantage. But still that this should be done with some sort of Modesty and Reserve; avoiding all Positiveness and Stiffness; all indecent Censures and contemptuous Usage of those who think otherwise: Treating the contrary Opinions, be they never so distant, be they New or Old, with Candor and Caution; disdaining nothing that can be offer'd, but ready and content to hear the Arguments of those that oppose us. Nay, not only content, but desirous that they should oppose us, and alledge whatever they have to

to say against our Notions; Because this will put us upon a more accurate Exercise of the First of these Qualifications, and oblige us to consider and weigh things more cautiously.

Now these three Qualities I affirm to preserve, and mutually to support each other; for he that examines things carefully and without Passion, will find somewhat of Reason and Probability on every side; so much at least as will preserve him, not only from Rashness and Precipitation, but from Peremptoriness and Obstinacy; and this puts the Mind in that State of Ingenuity and Indifference, which I mean by Openness and Universality of Soul. Whereas on the contrary, the Man who fixes absolutely, hath cut himself out from farther Examination, he is fastned down to the Notions already entertain'd by him; and makes himself of a Party, resolv'd to maintain his Opinion, in despite of all Sense and Reason to the contrary.

Simple, and Credulous, and Foolish Men, are defective in the First of these Qualifications; Opiniators, and Dogmatical Arguers are faulty in the Second Point; and both the one and the other sort, when they turn Factious, and espouse a Party, offend against the Third. But a Philosopher indeed, whose only aim is Truth, and whose Pursuits of it are regular and discreet, is Wise, and Modest, and Moderate, and so an exact Observer of all these Rules.

It is farther necessary, for the giving a true State of the Matter I am now upon, to add, that by the *All things* to be nicely examin'd, and the *No one thing* to be resolutely espous'd, I mean such Objects only, as are merely human, and Matters proper for a Philosophical Enquiry. So that this Direction must by no means be thought to concern Revealed and Divine Truths. For these we are oblig'd not in Duty only, but by the strictest Reason too, to receive, with an entire Submission and most profound Humility. These are not Matters for Discussion and Controversie: we have nothing to do here, but to bow down the Head and Worship; to restrain the Insolence of Reason, when it would sawcily pry into the Ark; to check and captivate our Minds, and resign our Understandings to the Obedience of Faith. But these Religious and Sacred Objects excepted, none of the rest need disdain to come within those Conditions, and ought not to be receiv'd upon easier Terms.

This

This short Explanation of the Terms might perhaps suffice for Men of Equity and good Sense, and save me the Trouble of any farther Enlargement; but because I see plainly that there are a Party of Men in the World, of a positive, fierce and domineering Spirit, who are for leading all Mankind after them in a very Magisterial manner; and, having first inviolably engag'd in some particular Principles and Opinions themselves, take the Confidence to expect that every Body else should come in upon their Authority; and for that reason will not endure any thing that looks like asserting Liberty of thinking: In opposition to these stiff, assuming Gentlemen, and to prevent, or at least to defeat their Outcries upon this Occasion, I think my self under some necessity to prove, and confirm what hath been here advanced; and will therefore consider each Branch of this Proposition distinctly, as the parts lie before us.

2. The First of These is *Judging every thing*; which is the peculiar Character of the Wisest and most exalted Understandings, The proper Office of a Man; the most natural, most becoming employment of a Rational Soul. To what purpose, I would fain know, were those Noble Faculties of Discourse given us; why have we that penetrating Wit, that Discerning and Acute Spirit? Is it to build Castles in the Air with, and feed our selves with Extravagant Fancies, or to lavish it away upon useless Vanities, and Trifles, as the greatest part of Mankind do? Eyes certainly were made to take Advantage of the Light; and these Powers to exert themselves in that Judicial Authority, which this Superintendant of the lower World, hath over the Works of Nature and Providence. To entrench upon this Prerogative, were to maim his very Essence; to unman, and to degrade him into Beast. And to exercise this Right is the Property of a Man, and to do it in an Eminent and Uncommon Manner, is the very Mark and Distinction of a Wise Man. If then the Neglect of this Power be so great a Violation of the Nature and Privileges of Mankind in general, the giving up an Original Right, which ought not by any means to be parted with; how much more inexcusable is it in a Wise Man, who is so much better qualified for it, and hath stronger pretensions to that Authority, than those of meaner Abilities can have? It is therefore, in my Apprehension,

prehension, a most amazing thing, that so many Persons, even among those, who either have, or at least set up for Learning and good Sense, should of their own accord give up so just a Right, and tamely submit to what comes next; nay, approve whatsoever hath the least Colour of a Probability; or perhaps nothing but Custom and common Credit to keep it in Countenance; without ever going about to call the Cause, and examine whether there be any Merits in it or no. Nay, not only to submit, but to think themselves bound to do so; and that they are not at liberty to satisfy their own Reason. What a horrible Indignity, what a Degradation of Humane Nature is this? In other Cases we find them bold and assuming, extremely Jealous of their Honour, and tenacious of their Privileges: But here they are despicably tame, and poor-spirited, which is the justest, the most indisputable, the most inherent Property of any that belongs to them.

'Tis certain, that there can be but one Truth, but Falshood is infinite: A Thousand differing Judgments upon the same Thing, and but One of all these in the right; and shall I in the midst of all this Doubt and Confusion, be forbidden to use the Means God hath put into my hands, for the finding out which that is? Shall it be thought taking more upon me than becomes me, if I endeavour to discover the best Appearance of Truth, or Equity, or Profit, or Convenience, for a Rule and Measure to my own Actions? Is it possible to suppose, that among the many disagreeing, nay opposite Laws and Customs of the World, none but ours should be good for any thing? Are all Mankind out of their Senses, and hath every other Nation taken wrong Measures? Who can have the Confidence to assert this? Or who makes any Question, but other Countries are even with us, and think every whit as meanly of our Constitutions, as we do of theirs? Nay, there is no dispute, but this very Person, whoever he be, that is so blindly fond of his Native Manners, would have had the same partial Liking for those of any other place, where it had been his Fortune to have been born and bred: He would have been as warm in preferring those, above such as he now thinks best, for no other Reason 'tis plain, but because he hath been used to them.

If any Man shall venture to assert the contrary, I must beg leave at least to answer him ; that this Liberty of Judging is a good Rule however for all Foreigners to make use of ; that so they by the Practice of it may convince themselves, how much our methods of Living excel theirs. This he must grant me sure ; and if he do, it will follow, that a Wise Man will think it advisable to do this upon all Occasions ; and pass Sentence upon nothing, till he have allow'd it a fair hearing, and weigh'd the Matter impartially. To be led thus like Oxen, and follow the Herd, is fit for none but Brutes, or Men but one remove above them. I would by all means have a Man behave and express himself, and make his Figure in compliance with the rest of the World ; but I would not have him conform his Judgment to theirs, nay I would have him even sit in Judgment upon theirs. What Privilege do you leave the greatest Philosopher above the most ignorant Clown, if the noblest part of him, his Mind, shall be enslaved to common Vogue ? Methinks the World should be very well satisfied with a Man's Compliance in outward Behaviour : But all within is *my Own* ; and what hath the World to do with my Thoughts ? They shall give Rules if they please to my Tongue, and my Hand ; but my Mind, by their good leave, is out of their Jurisdiction, and is accountable to another Master. *The Liberty of the Mind* is what no Body can actually take away ; and if any attempt it, they are of all Tyrants and Usurpers, the most unreasonable, the most insupportable. Every Wise Man will be sure to be tender of it, and offend in neither Extreme, for he will neither endure to part with his own Freedom, nor offer to invade any other Man's.

3. Now I own, that while a Wise Man asserts this Liberty to himself, it cannot be expected that he should be always of a piece : For at this rate, his Hand and his Opinion, his Body and his Mind will be frequently put upon Contradictions to one another ; and there is no avoiding it ; because Prudence governs his outward Actions, and private Judgment the Sentiments of his Soul. So that here are two different Characters to be maintained, and he must play both, or be unjust either to the World, or to himself. The common Remark, that all Mankind act a part upon this Stage of the World, is as strictly true of the

the Wifest Men, as of any others whatsoever : for they are quite other sort of persons within than they appear to the Spectators ; and if they should not play thus, but shew themselves without any manner of disguise, the difference would never be endured, all their Behaviour would be so particular : And yet at the same time, were their real Opinions in agreement with their Practice, this would involve them in so many Errors and Corruptions, that they would not be able to endure themselves. Many Compliances must be indulged out of Respect to the Opinion of the World, and the Laws and Customs, which prevail abroad ; and particularly in the places where we dwell : But then a Man owes it to himself too, not to make These the Standard of his Opinions, but form Them upon the Dictates of Nature, and the Rules of Universal Equity and Reason. And he who does thus, must content himself with many things which he does not strictly approve ; and while he lives among Men, must act as They do, but with this Reserve to himself, that these things are not done by him, in the Quality of a Wise Man, but merely under the general Character of a Man, and a Member of Society. Thus He in his Actions, will be like *Cicero* in his Expressions ; who declared, he referred the Usage of Words to the People, but the proper meaning of them he reserved the right of judging in to himself.

To instance now in a few particulars ; and those some of them very frivolous, and of little or no Consequence. I make no Scruple to pull off my Hat in Civility and Deference to a Man of Quality, because this part of the World expresses their Respect that way ; but at the same time I am free to think the *Eastern* Custom better, who express their Reverence by laying their Hand upon their Breast ; and never hazard their Health, nor expose themselves to any of the other Inconveniences incident to frequent Uncovering of the Head. So again, were I an Inhabitant of the Oriental parts of the World, I would eat my Meals upon the ground, or leaning, or lying along, as they do, and as great part of the World did heretofore, particularly the *Jews*, as we find by the Description of our Lord's last Supper ; but still I could not forbear in my own private judgment, preferring the sitting upright at Table, as our present manner is, for the much more commodious

way of Eating. Again, to mention a Matter of somewhat greater Importance, I am satisfied, that the dead Bodies of my Friends should be interred, and given as a Prey to the Worms; but still I cannot but think the old way of burning, and preserving their Ashes in Urns, much more cleanly, and more noble; that Fire is more respectful than Putrefaction and Stench; an Element, which even Religion hath given some Countenance to, by commanding the Remainders of the Paschal Lamb heretofore to be burnt: But what can we do worse, than to cast our Friends to rot in the Ground, and be eaten by Vermine and Insects; an Indignity, which to Me seems fit to be offered only to those Scandalous Wretches, who die by the Hands of Common Executioners; but the Remains of Persons of Honour and Virtue (in my poor Apprehension) should be otherwise treated. For of the five several Ways by which dead Bodies are capable of being disposed of (the committing them to the Mercy of the four several Elements, or suffering them to be devoured by Beasts;) that of Burning seems to me much the most eligible.

Once more. I am well enough pleased to have the Wise Man of my forming look out of Countenance, and take care to decline and conceal every thing that passes for Immodest in the Esteem of the World; and must have a very ill Opinion of him, should he do otherwise: But then I desire he should be satisfied, that this is due from him in regard to the Customs and common Sentiments of other People; not to any shame in the Nature of the Things themselves. For Nature, that is, the God of Nature, never made any thing which was reproachful, and these Ignominies are purely accidental; the product of Sin, which is the Greatest Enemy and Corrupter of Nature. Even Religion it self, which is much more Chaste and Reserv'd than Philosophy, assures us, that while Man continued in his Original Innocence and Perfection, there was no such thing as Shame; but That and Guilt entred the World at once.

I comply with the Mode of my own Country, in point of Cloaths and Dress; and so I would have gone Naked too, if my Lot had cast me in a Country where it is usual to do so. But to Me both these Fashions appear so inconvenient, that, were I left to my own Choice entirely, I should do neither. The manner of those Nations, which

which use some One slight Garment, plain and light, without Constraint, or Ceremony, or great Expence, is much the best in my apprehension. For the multitude of Cloaths, and the different Sorts of them, but especially the Vanity and abominable Extravagance the World is guilty of in them, is a thousand times worse than going Naked. These Instances I content my self with the mention of at present; my Reader may multiply them to himself at pleasure, upon occasion of the infinite Variety of Laws and Customs, and Modes, and Matters of Fact; and the as great Variety in Opinions too, and Contests in Matter of Right, and what is fit to be done, as well as what is actually done.

If any shall suppose me in the wrong, as to the foregoing Instances, or object against this Liberty in general, as an Indulgence of dangerous Consequence; that by this means Mens minds will never settle, but they will be eternally lost in a Wood, and fill their Heads with idle and fantastical Notions: I answer, as to the former part, which relates more immediately to my self; that it is very possible I may lie under a mistake in some or all of those Cases; but then it argues great Confidence thus to charge any Man with being in the Wrong; for such a one does in effect assume to himself the knowledge of Exact Truth, and seems to say, that He is Master of it, though others be not. Nor should I much be mortified, though the Charge were true: For the not hitting upon the Right, is no certain Argument, that a Man judges amiss. For This consists in not giving Arguments their due weight, not confronting them fairly, nor holding the Scales even; not measuring by the Level and Standard of Universal Reason, and Nature in her Primitive Perfection. Now a Man may discharge the examining part very faithfully and diligently, and yet he may not attain to the Truth notwithstanding. But, to deal plainly, I give no Credit to any thing till it be proved to me. If the Objector brings me stronger and more weighty Reasons against my Opinion, than any I have to urge in defence of it, I bid him heartily welcome; and shall thank him for the Opportunity which his Contradiction gives me, to exercise this Judicial Authority with so much greater accuracy. I only take up with my present Thoughts, till better Information give me Cause to change them; and therefore they

they are only upon good liking; ready to be dismissed, when more rational ones may succeed in their stead.

But, as to the more general Part of the Objection, which regards the dangerous Consequences and pernicious Effects of such a Liberty; besides what hath been urged already, and will be more at large hereafter, (That the Rule by which our Judgments are to be directed, is Nature and Universal Reason, which so long as we keep close to, we are secure from Error:) the Second Branch of this Judicious Liberty, will provide us with Remedies against this supposed Mischief; and that is what I shall now apply my self to treat of particularly and fully.

5.

The other Branch then of this Absolute Liberty of Soul, consists in a sort of Indifference, and a Suspending ones Judgment and final Resolution. By this the Wise Man preserves his Temper; his Affections are not engaged, and so he can consider every thing without Heat or Passion: He is not at all provoked by Opposition, not staked down to any one Notion; but keeps an Ear always open for the Contrary Party, and is ready to receive either the Truth, or that which seems to make a nearer Approach, and carry greater Resemblance to it, than the Ideas he hath entertain'd already. When he seems most determin'd, his secret Sense goes no farther, than *This is my present Opinion*; and *I have reason to embrace it above any other*: but still he can hear it contradicted without any Disorder, and satisfy himself to know all that can be said against it; and if what is offered preponderates, he makes no scruple to change his Mind; and constantly, even of That Opinion which stuck last by him, he goes no farther in vindication than that possibly there may be some other better grounded, but this is the Best that he hath met with. Now this Suspension and Indifference I speak of, is built upon several famous Maxims entertain'd and propagated by the Greatest Philosophers, and likewise upon the Freedom they us'd in their Writings and Behaviour. For this Quality must be confess'd to have been the concurrent Practise, and avow'd Principle of Wise Men in all Ages; the Most, and most conspicuous among them have made no scruple openly to confess their Ignorance, and their Doubts; saying, *That all Nature was full of Difficulties and Dilemmas*; *That nothing was more certain than Uncertainty*; *That there was scarce any thing so plain,*

plain, but an Ingenious Man might bring plausible and almost equal Arguments for Either side of the Question; and a thousand other such Sayings; by which they remarkably argued a distrust of their own Judgments. The rest of them, though upon some occasions they have proceeded somewhat dogmatically, and delivered their Minds boldly and positively; yet seem rather to have dissembled their Doubts, than not to have had any; and to put the best face they could upon the matter, that the World might see how far their Wit would carry them, in the Search of Truth; a Thing * *which Learned Men seem rather to have framed an Idea of to themselves, than to have known her as she is.* For after all their boasts of attaining her, their Courage fails them at last, and the Things uttered by them they dare not venture to bestow any more honourable Titles upon, than that of Probabilities and Appearances of Truth; and while they represent them variously sometimes in one prospect and form, and sometimes in another; by Questions, and Problems, and Ambiguous Disputes; as if their design was rather to enquire, than to teach; and that they sought Information themselves, while they pretend to give it to others; from all this I say, and the whole current of their Style, we may reasonably gather, that they wrote and spoke, not so much with a design to establish a Notion, or render it unquestionable, as for Diversion, and to exercise their Wits; as one says, We cannot be sure what their Opinions were, or that they really believed their own Writings, for indeed † *they seem not to have designed we should gather their Sense of things, so much as that we should observe and admire their Parts and Skill, by those Trials, which the nicety and difficulty of their Subject put them upon.* And who can ever persuade himself, that Plato intended his Republick and fanciful Ideas should ever pass for Current Doctrine; or that Pythagoras in advancing his Numbers, and Epicurus his Atoms, spoke their own real Opinions, and such as they thought were weighed and measured Truths? They pleased and entertained their own Minds with these nice Speculations, but * *the Notions were owing more to the*

* Quam Docti fingunt, magis quam norunt.

† Non tam id sensisse quod dicerent, quam exercere ingenia materiz difficultate voluisse videntur.

*Fruitfulness of their own Inventions, than to any strength of Proof, or force of Knowledge.** And indeed they may seem sometimes to have gone out of the common road on purpose, and with great Industry to have sought somewhat of Difficulty, the better to amuse the World, by thus concealing the Vanity of the Subjects they were upon, and to furnish matter for the gratifying their Reader's Curiosity. How wretchedly is *Aristotle*, the very Idol of these Dogmatists, confounded and at a loss? How inconsistent with himself, and forced sometimes to confess the Impotence of Human Nature, and how short the most inquisitive come of the Truth?

6. Those, that afterwards signaliz'd themselves by a more positive and magisterial way of Writing, and from thence got the Title of Dogmatists, were Men of a Pedantick, and presumptuous Temper. They, it is true, condemn and detest this Rule of Wisdom; and were sonder of a hot-headed peremptory Fellow, though contrary to their own Party and Judgment; than of a peaceable, sedate, and modest Man, who contents himself with Doubting, and declines the pronouncing any thing definitively; that is, in plain *English*, they esteem a rash Fool, more than a cautious Wise Man. (Like Women, who take it ill not to be contradicted, and had rather be answered rudely, than not at all; because they think the Coldness and Indifference of Silence argues greater Contempt and Disdain, than it is possible for the most injurious Language to express.) In which they betray great perverseness and injustice. For what reason can be given, why a Man should not be allow'd to suspend his Judgment, and still to deliberate upon things as doubtful, without venturing to affirm on either side; when They at the same time take a privilege of determining as They see fit? Is not there the same Equity at least, the same Right for the one, as for the other? And what mighty Crime is it frankly to confess one's Self Ignorant, when he is really so; and to say nothing, when he cannot speak with good Assurance, and full Satisfaction?

It is certain, that all Philosophers are agreed so much to our disadvantage, as to pronounce, that we are Ignorant of a great deal more than we know; nay, that our Knowledge is not comparable, not fit to be mention'd in

* *Quæ ex ingenio finguntur, non ex Scientiæ vi.*

competition with our Ignorance. The Causes of which are infinite; for we may be mistaken in the Objects of our Enquiry, by reason of their being too near or too distant; too great or too small; of too long or too short duration; and in perpetual Flux and Uncertainty. These Causes of Error proceed from the Object, but then there are infinite Others owing to our Selves, and our Manner of Perception; which in truth is not yet universally agreed upon, nor perfectly well understood. What we think our selves sure of we do not really know, nor can we be secure of continuing in our present Opinion any time. For how often do we see fresh Arguments extort it from us? or, if our Obstinacy will hold it fast, in despite of all Reasons to the contrary; yet at least they raise a Dust, and disturb us in the Possession of it. Now I would be glad to know, which way a Man shall ever be capable of improving his Judgment, if he fasten himself down to some certain Notions; resolving to look and examine no farther, nor enduring to hear any thing offered in prejudice of an Opinion, which he fancieth himself abundantly satisfy'd in already. The plain Truth is, Men are ashamed of this Suspense I am treating of, because they have a wrong Notion of it. They look upon it as a Sign of Want of Judgment; whereas in reality the greatest and most Judicious Philosophers that ever liv'd, were the most frank in this Point. The Idea of Positiveness and Presumption hath taken such fast hold of them, and they think Dogmaticalness and Learning so inseparable, that they are out of Countenance in any case to own their Ignorance, lest this should be thought a Reflection upon their Parts and Attainments. There is no persuading them, That there is a sort of Ignorance and Doubt, more Learned, more Generous; and consistent with better Assurance, and more accurate Knowledge, than all their boasted Science and Certainty. This gave that great Renown to *Socrates*, and entitled him to the Character of the Wisest Man of his Age: This is the Fruit of Study, and deep Enquiry; it is a modest, candid, innocent, and hearty acknowledgment, of the sublime mysterious Nature of Truth; and the Defects and Poverty of our own Understanding; so weak within, so beset with Mists and Darkness without, and from Both so uncertain, and unsteady in its Resolutions. *The Lord knoweth the Thoughts of Man, that they are but vain,* says the

the *Psalmist* : And another Author, that, * *The Thoughts of Mortal Men are full of Fears and Misgivings ; their Inventions uncertain, and all their Forecasts Dark and Confused*. And I, for my own part, am so fully possessed of this Truth, that I have order'd this Motto, *I know not ; Je ne scay*, to be engrav'd over the Gate of my little House which I built at *Condom*.

Now there are a sort of Persons, who take it ill, that Men should not submit themselves absolutely, and fix on some certain Principles ; which ought, they tell you, never to be examin'd or controverted at all. Now I allow, that if These be such as manifest themselves to a Man's Reason, they ought to be receiv'd ; but that merely upon the account of their Reasonableness, and not for the pompous Name of Principles. To impose any thing unconditionally, is Tyranny and Usurpation ; and though upon due Consideration, and the Approbation of my own Judgment, I allow them, yet if they will not admit me to try whether they be *Sterling* or *Counterfeit*, before I take them for current Coin ; this is a Condition full of Hardship and such as I can never yield to. For who, I would fain know, hath power to give Law to our Thoughts, to enslave our Minds, and set up Principles, which it shall not be lawful to enquire into ; or admit any manner of doubt concerning them ? I can own no such Power in any but God ; and He hath it upon the account of His being Truth it self ; the Supreme Spirit, and the only Principle and Source of all things : which makes it as reasonable to believe Him upon His bare Word, as it is, not to believe other People barely upon theirs. For this Foundation of our Belief being One of his Incommunicable Perfections, it will unavoidably follow, that no other thing is injur'd or disparag'd, by our refusing the same entire Resignation to it, and challenging our Right of Examining, before we yield our Assent.

If a Man requires my Belief to what are commonly stiled by the Name of Principles, my Answer shall be the same with that of a late Prince to the several Sects in his Kingdom, *Agree among your selves first, and then I will give my Consent too*. Now the Controversies are really as

* Cogitationes mortalium timidæ, incertæ ad inventiones nostræ & Providentiæ.

great about these Principles, as they are concerning the Conclusions advanc'd upon them ; as many Doubts upon the Generals as the Particulars ; so that in the midst of so many contending Parties, there is no coming into any One, without giving Offence, and proclaiming War upon all the rest.

They tell us farther, that it is a horrid uneasie state of Mind, to be always thus upon the Float ; and never coming to any settled Resolution, to live in Eternal Doubt and Perplexity of Thought ; nay, that it is not only painful, but very difficult, and almost impracticable, to continue long in such Uncertainty. They speak this, I suppose, from their own Experience ; and tell us what they feel themselves : But this is an Uneasiness peculiar to foolish and weak People. To the Former, because Fools are presumptuous, and passionate, and violent Espousers of Parties and Opinions ; full of Prejudices and strong Possessions ; fierce Condemners of all that differ from them ; never yielding the Cause, nor giving out the Dispute, though they be really convinc'd ; and supplying the want of Reason by Heat and Anger, instead of ingenuous Acknowledgments of their Error. If they find themselves oblig'd to change their Opinion, you have them then as peremptory and furious in their new Choice, as ever they were in their first Principles ; in short, They know not what it is to maintain an Argument, without Passion ; and when they dispute, it is not for the sake of Truth or Improvement, but purely for Contradiction, and the Last Word, and to assert their own Notions. These Men I make no scruple to call Fools ; for in truth they know nothing ; not so much as what it is *to know* ; so exceeding pert and confident are they ; and insult as if they carry'd Truth about in their *Pockets*, and it was their own incommunicable Property.

As for Men of weak Judgments, and such as are not able to stand upon their own Legs ; it is very necessary they should not be left alone, but seek a Support from Persons of better and more discerning Abilities : But These are not concern'd in my present Rule ; it is their Misfortune to be born to Slavery, and out of all Capacity to enjoy the Freedom I am treating of.

But as for Wise Men, who are qualify'd for it, Men of Modesty and Reserve, and prudent Candor, it is the most com-

compos'd State of Mind that can be ; and puts us into a Condition of Firmness and Freedom, of Stable and Uninterrupted Happiness. ** We are so much less under Constraint than other Men, by how much more our Minds enlarge themselves, and the Liberty of Judging is preserved entire.* This is a safe Course to steer, and keeps us off from many dangerous Rocks and Shelves ; which Warmth, and Rashness, and a Positive conceited Humour drives Men upon. It delivers us from the vain prepossessions of Fancy, and Popular Mistakes ; from the Precipitation of thinking wrong at first, and the Shame of retracting when we come to think better afterwards ; from Quarrels and Disputes, and engaging in, or becoming offensive to Parties : For, take which side you please, you are sure to have a great many against you ; and a Zealous Espouser of any Cause, must unavoidably live in a constant State of Wrangling and War. In a Word, this Suspension of the Judgment keeps us snug and under a Covert, where the Inconveniences and Calamities which affect the Publick will seldom sensibly affect, and scarce can ever involve us ; at a distance from those Vices and vehement Agitations, which ruffle and discompose first Men's own Minds, and then Human Society in general. For this Fierceness and Peremptoriness, is at once the Spawn, and the Parent of Pride and Insolence ; Ambition, and Vainglory, and Immoderate Desires ; Presumption and Disdain ; Love of Novelty and Change ; Rebellion and Disobedience in the State ; Heresie and Schism in the Church ; Faction, and Hatred, and Contention in both. These are all of the same Lineage and Descent. These are begun, fomented inflamed by your Hot, and Positive, and Opinionative Men ; not by the Modest and Doubting Men, who are cautious and tender, never Over-confident of themselves, and content to believe, that others are at least in a possibility of being in the right ; all which are but so many other Names for Wise, and well-temper'd Men.

7.

I will advance yet one Step farther, and venture to affirm, that the Temper of Mind I am now recommending, is so far from having any ill Influence upon Piety, and Religion, that it is extremely well calculated to serve

* Hoc liberiores & solutiores sumus, quia integra nobis iudicandi potestas manet.

and promote it ; whether we regard the first Propagation among Unbelievers, or preserving a due Reverence of it, where it is already received. Divinity, and especially that part of it which is Mysterious and Revealed, tells us plainly, that the Mind must be cleansed and purified, in order to receive those Heavenly Truths, and the Impressions of the Holy Spirit. That God will not inhabit our Souls, till all corrupt Opinions as well as Affections are cast out ; for, with regard to both, we shall do well to understand those Commands of *Purging away the old Leaven, and putting off the Old Man.* From whence we may collect, that the most compendious and successful Method of Planting the Christian Religion among Infidels, would be first to establish them in the Belief of these following Propositions. “ That all the Knowledge of this “ World hath a large embasement of Vanity and Falshood “ attending it : That the Generality of Mankind are de- “ luded with fantastical Notions, the Forgeries of their “ own Brain : That God created Man to the End he “ might acquaint himself with the Divine Nature and “ Dispensations, and employ his Soul, and find his Hap- “ piness in these noble Contemplations : But that, in “ this decay’d and declining State, Man is not capable of “ discovering Truth by his own Strength : That there “ is consequently a Necessity of God (who is Truth) “ manifesting it to him : That God hath in much “ Mercy vouchsafed to do this by particular Revela- “ tions : That it is He who inspires Men with a De- “ fire of Truth, as well as he provides for the Gratify- “ ing that Desire : That in order to dispose and qualifie “ our selves for being instructed in the Divine Revela- “ tions, we must abandon all worldly and carnal Opi- “ nions, and as it were, bring our Minds, a pure blank “ for God to write his Will in.” When these Points are gained, and Men are in such preparation to resign them- selves to Truth, then it will be time to lay the Founda- tions, and instil some of the first and plainest Principles of Christianity : To shew them, “ That these Doctrines “ came down from Heaven : That the Person, who “ vouchsafed to bring them was a faithful Ambassador, “ and entire Confident of God : One who knew his whole “ Will exactly : That his Authority was abundantly con- “ firm’d by infinite Testimonies, such as were miracu- “ lous,

“lous, supernatural, and so authentick proofs, because
 “capable of coming from no other hand but God’s only.”
 Thus this Innocent and candid Suspense and Unresolved-
 ness of Mind, would prove a happy Instrument toward
 the creating, and first begetting a Knowledge and Belief of
 the Truth where it is not : Nor would the Efficacy of it
 less in preserving it, where it is planted, and hath taken
 root already. For such a modest Caution and Deference
 would undoubtedly prevent all manner of Singularity, and
 daring Extravagance in Opinions; but to be sure, it would
 absolutely put a Stop to Heresies and Publick Divisions.
 You will answer me perhaps, that the Temper I am descri-
 bing, As it is too full of Indifference to make any Hereticks,
 So is it too, to make any good Catholicks; and that the
 Danger of it is, At last degenerating into Scepticism, and
 want of Zeal for all Religions. Were the Condition of
 Religion the same in all points with That of other No-
 tions, and Philosophy in general, I allow there would be
 force in this Objection. But as it is, this is not to argue
 from my Rules, but to pervert them. I have already
 said, That Religion stands upon a firm undoubted bottom
 of its own. That God in this differs from all his Crea-
 tures; that whatever He says is exempted from the com-
 mon Rules of Enquiry; and there can but one Question
 lie before us, which is, Whether he hath said it or no.
 When once this appears to us, there is no room for sus-
 pending our Judgments any longer; no pretence for Neu-
 trality, or Liberty of Thought, nor a questioning *How*
these things can be? God cannot lye, and we cannot err in
 believing Him; but for all things else, the more cautious
 and curious, and the more loose and disengaged we keep
 our Mind with regard to Them, the Safer and Easier we
 shall be. I have made a sort of Digression here, in Ho-
 nour of the Rule I am recommending, that those who
 profess themselves Enemies to it may find their great Ob-
 jection obviated. In which, if I have trespassed upon my
 Reader’s Patience, I ask his pardon; And now to our Bu-
 siness again.

After these two Qualities, of Judging all things, and
 fixing our Minds obstinately upon Nothing, follows the
 Third Qualification, which is, a Largeness, or Universa-
 lity of Soul. By Virtue of This the Wise Man casts his
 Eyes, expands and stretches out his Thoughts over all
 this

Chap. 2. *The Second Disposition to Wisdom.*

31

this vast Universe; with *Socrates* becomes a Citizen of the World, and takes in all Mankind for his Neighbours and Country-men. Looks down, like the Sun, with an equal, steady, and indifferent Eye, upon the Changes and Vicissitudes here below, as things that cannot reach, nor have the power to change Him. This is the Security, the Privilege of a Wise Man, That which resembles him to the Powers above, and renders him a sort of God upon Earth. **The Mind of Man (says Seneca) is a great and generous Being, and is bounded no otherwise than the Divinity it self. The Wise Man is not confined to the same narrow compass with the rest of the World. No Age, no Time, no Place limit his Thoughts, but he penetrates and passes beyond them all. How agreeable is it to Nature for a Manto stretch his Mind infinitely? For Nature hath formed him to this very purpose, that he should emulate the Gods, and like Them fill his own Infinite Space.* This I confess is a sort of Stoical Rant: But thus much is strictly true; That the Bravest, and most capacious Souls are always most of this Universal Temper; as on the Contrary, the meanest and most incapable, are most cramped, have the narrowest Notions; and are always particular in their Judgments of Men and Things, aptest to be positive themselves, and to condemn all that dissent from them. It is in Truth great Folly and Weakness, to imagine that all Nations are bound to think and act just as we do; and, that none live as they ought, who do not comply and agree in every point with what obtains in our own little Village or our Native Country: to think, that the Accidents which happen to Us, are general and in common, and must needs affect and extend to the whole World equally. This Senseless Wretch, when you tell him of Opinions, and Customs, and Laws, directly opposite to those he hath been bred up in; without more ado, condemns and expresses the greatest Detestation of them imaginable, and rails at the People, as Rude and Uncivilized; or else

* *Magna & generosa res animus humanus, nullos Tibi poni, nisi communes & cum Deo terminos patitur: Non idem sapientem qui ceteros terminus includit, omnia illi sæcula ut Deo serviant. Nullum Sæculum magnis ingeniis Clausum; nullum non cogitationi pervium tempus. Quam naturale in immensum mentem suam extendere? & hoc à Naturâ formatus homo ut paria Diis velit, ac se in spatium suum extendat.*

he

he gives no credit to these Accounts, but looks upon them as the Romantick Tales of Travellers, who take liberties of representing Foreigners very oddly to those that cannot disprove them; so absolutely enslaved are his Judgment and Affections to his own Municipal Constitutions; so impossible is it, as he thinks, that any but these should be true, or agreeable to Nature; and therefore he is verily persuaded they must needs, or at least should be Universal too. It is exceeding common to traduce every thing with the Reproachful name of *Barbarism*, that we do not fancy, or see frequently practised at home; and to depend upon the Example and the Ideas of the Persons, with whom we converse, the Notions and the Usage of our own Country, for the Test to distinguish Truth and Reason by. Now this is a mean and brutish Debasement of the Soul, which we ought to get above; and to enlarge it, by looking no longer upon this Picture of Nature in Little; but take a view of her, as she is drawn at length, and in all her full Proportions. The just Idea of Nature is to consider her as the Common Mother of us all; an Universal Queen, whose Authority and Dominion hath the same Limits with the World, (nay, extends to more Worlds if, (as some eminent Persons have thought) more Worlds there be.) This would inspire us with becoming and great Apprehensions of her Majesty, and Beauty; There we should behold, as in an exquisite Painting, a constant and endless variety of Things, and the longer we gazed, the more our Entertainment and our wonder would be. Infinite Difference in Humours, disagreeing Judgments, Opinions, Customs and Laws; Innumerable Disorders, Commotions, and Alterations in States and Kingdoms; surprizing Turns of Fortune in the Affairs of private Men; a World of Victories and Triumphs buried and lost in the Rubbish of Time; many Noble Entries and Processions, Poms and Grandeurs utterly vanished, and as if the Courts and Princes celebrated by them had never been at all. And by taking such a Prospect as this, and observing how such different Things and Events, like Colours well mingled, conspire to make up a general Portraiture of the World; we shall learn our own Littleness, and be surprized at nothing; nor esteem things at all new or incredible; nor be over-tenacious and positive in vindicating our own, and condemning the Practice of others; since it is not necessary
or

or at all Essential to Beauty, that all who pretend to it, should be of Our Complexion. And that the Darkeness and Difference of other Nations, like the Shades in Drawing, make a more grateful Variety; and are all agreeable and useful, for setting forth the Skill of the Great, the Divine Artificer, whose Workmanship the Original, and the Life is.

This large, brave, open, and universal Disposition of Mind is indeed scarce to be found, and hard to be compassed; and it is not every common Man, that can aspire to it. Nature hath not cut out all her Children for such an Excellence; no more than she hath qualified them all for that Wisdom and Perfection it leads to. But yet there are several Considerations, that may be serviceable in helping us toward it. Such is, *First*, what you find already insisted upon in the foregoing part of this Treatise, concerning the wonderful Variety, and vast difference observable in Men; according to those Qualities of Body and Mind, which Nature hath distributed so very unequally among them. *Secondly*, Those Differences Men have made among themselves, by the disagreeing Laws, and Customs, which obtain in several Nations and Constitutions. To both which may be added the strange Variety of Opinions which we find the Ancients received, and delivered down to Posterity, concerning the Age, the Condition, and the Changes of the World; which yet to Us seem to be very Romantick and Extravagant. * The *Egyptian* Priests told *Herodotus*, That since the Reign of their first King (from which they reckoned down above Eleven thousand Years, and shewed the Statues of Him, and all his Successors, in the draughts taken from the Life) the Sun had changed his Course four several times. The *Chaldeans* in *Diodorus* his time, as He and *Cicero* both say, kept a Register and Annals, comprehending the Space of Four hundred thousand Years. *Plato* tells us, That the Citizens of *Sais* had Memorials in Manuscript of Eight thousand Years standing; and yet they owned, that the City of *Athens* was built a Thousand Years before that of *Sais*. *Aristotle*, and *Pliny*, and others, pretend that *Zoroaster* lived Six thousand Years, before *Plato* was

Book I.
Ch. 37, 38.

* Concerning those Egyptian and Assyrian Calculations, see Bishop Pearson on the Creed, Art. 1. Pag. 58, 59. where he plainly refutes the Account, according to the common Computation of Years, from their own Authors.

born : Some have advanced a Notion of the World's Existing from all Eternity, that it hath been destroyed and revived again several times, and hath, and will for ever hereafter go through many such Vicissitudes. Others, and those some of the most renowned Philosophers, have held the World to be a God ; but yet of so inferior a Quality, as to derive its Form and present Being from another, and much greater God ; or else, as *Plato*, and some others have been induced by the Motions of it, to affirm, with some degree of Confidence, That it is certainly an Animal, consisting of Body and Spirit : That the Soul or Spirit is lodged in the Centre of the Universe ; but though its chief Residence be there, yet it expands it self all over, to the very utmost Parts of the Circumference, and that its Influences are conveyed and communicated in Musical Numbers : That the several parts of it too, thus animated and directed, as the Heaven and the Stars for instance, are made up of a Body and Soul ; and these, though Mortal in respect of their compounded Nature, are yet Immortal by the determination of their Almighty Creator. *Plato* says, That the World puts on quite another Face ; that the whole Scene is shifted ; that the Heaven and Stars vary so much in their Motions, as quite to change sides ; so that Before shall be Behind, and the Point which is *East* at one time, comes to be the *West* at another. There hath also been an Opinion of great Authority, much countenanced and promoted by the most eminent Philosophers, suitable to the Power and Majesty of God ; and grounded upon fair and probable Reasons, that there is a Plurality of Worlds ; for we see no other thing single or solitary but This, if this be so ; All Species are multiplied in Numbers, and therefore it is not unlikely, that God hath not left this part of his Workmanship quite desolate and alone ; nor exhausted his whole Power and Skill in the forming of an Individual. Nay, even Divinity assures us, that God can make as many Worlds as he pleases ; for upon a Supposition of the Contrary, we must affirm his Power to be but Finite, because this World is so. And That were a Notion contradictory to the absolute Perfection of his Nature. Let it also be considered, how much we have learnt toward the Rectifying our Notions of this kind, by the Improvement of Navigation, and the Discoveries lately made of a New World in the *East* and *West-Indies*. For by this we are plainly convinced, that all the

Ancients

Ancients were in a gross Error, when they imagined that they knew the utmost Extremities of the Habitable World; and had comprehended and delineated the whole Extent of the Earth in their Maps and Books of Cosmography, except only some few scattered remote Islands. And that they were perfectly in the dark about the *Antipodes*; For here, all on a sudden, starts up a New World just like our own Old one, placed upon a large Continent; inhabited, peopled, governed by Laws, and Civil Constitutions; canton'd out into Provinces, and Kingdoms, and Empires; adorn'd and beautified with noble Cities and Towns; larger, more magnificent, more delightful, more wealthy, than any that *Asia*, *Africa*, or *Europe* can shew; and such they have been some thousands of Years. And have we not reason from hence to presume, that Time will hereafter make fresh discoveries of other Lands yet unknown? If *Ptolemy*, and the Ancient Writers were mistaken in their Accounts heretofore, I would be very glad to know, what better Security any Man can have of being in the right, who pretends that all is found out, and fully discovered now? If any Man shall take the Confidence to be positive in this point, I shall take my liberty in believing him. Secondly, We find the *Zones*, which were look'd on as uninhabitable, are very plentifully peopled. Thirdly, We find by Experience, that the things which we profess to value our selves most upon, and pretend to have had the earliest Intelligence of, have been received and practis'd in these lately-discovered Countries for a long time, and perhaps as soon and as long as we our selves have observed, or had notice of them. I do not pretend to determine whence they had it. And that, whether we regard Religious Matters, and such as come to us by Revelation from Heaven; as for Instance, the Belief of One single Man at first, the Universal Progenitor of all Mankind; the Universal Deluge; of a God that lived in Humane Flesh, and took the Substance of a pure and holy Virgin; of a Day of General Judgment; of the Resurrection of the Dead; the Observation of Solemn Fasts; the Ornaments of those that Minister in Holy Things, the Surplice and the Mitre particularly; the Respect paid to the Cross; Circumcision like that of the *Jews* and *Mahometans*; and Counter-Circumcision, which makes it a point of Religion, to prevent all appearance of any such thing upon their Bodies: Or, whether we regard Civil Constitutions; as That of the Eldest Son

inheriting his Father's Estate; Patent Honours taking new Names, and Titles, and laying down that of their Families; Subsidies to Princes; Armories, and Fortifications: Diversions of Players and Mountebanks; Musical Instruments, and all kinds of Diversion, in use in these Parts of the World; Artillery, and Printing. From all which it is very natural to deduce these following Inferences, That this huge Body, which we call the World, is very different from the common Apprehensions of Men concerning it. That it is not at all times, and in all places the same; but hath its Tides, its Ebbings and Flowings in perpetual Succession: That there is nothing so confidently asserted, and believed in one place, but is as generally received, as peremptorily maintained, nay, as fiercely contradicted and condemned in another. And that the Original of all this, whether Agreement, or Difference, is to be resolved at last into the Nature of Man's Mind, which is susceptible of Ideas of all sorts: And that the World being in perpetual Motion, is sometimes at greater, and sometimes in less Agreement with it self, in the several parts of it. That all things are comprehended within the general Course of Nature, and subject to the Great Director of Universal Nature; and that they spring up, are alter'd, decay, and are abolish'd, according as He in his Wisdom thinks fit to vary them, by the Change put upon Seasons and Ages, Countries and Places, the Air, the Climate, the Soil, in which Men are born, and bred, and dwell. And lastly, That, as our Predecessors were but Men, so We are no more; and since the Errors in their Judgment of Things are manifest, this should teach Us to distrust and suspect our own. And when these Inferences are justly made, the Result of them must needs be, to be inseparably wedded to no Opinion, to espouse none of our Arguments and Speculations too eagerly; to be astonished at nothing, though never so unusual; not to lose our Temper upon any Accident; but whatever happens, or how violent soever the Storm may be, to fix upon this Resolution, and satisfy our selves in it; That it is but according to the Course of Nature; and that He who governs the World, works as He pleases; and proceeds by the Rules of His own Wisdom; and therefore all we have to do, is to take a prudent Care, that nothing may hurt us through our own Weakness, or Inconsideration, or Dejection of Spirit.

Thus

Thus much I thought sufficient and indeed necessary to be said upon this perfect Liberty of Judgment, consisting of the Three Particulars so largely insisted on. And indeed so largely, by reason I am sensible, it is not suited to the Palate of the World; but denounces War against Pedants, and positive Pretenders; which are all of them Enemies to true Wisdom, as well as to this Principle of Mine. The Advantages whereof have been sufficiently represented already, the Mischiefs it prevents, and the Tranquility it brings. This was the particular Character of *Socrates*, that Father and Chief of the Philosophers, and universally acknowledged as such: By this (as *Plutarch* says) though he had no Off-spring of his own, yet he managed others so, as to make Them fruitful, and Midwit'd their Productions into the World. This Temper is in some sense like that *Ataraxie*, which *Pyrrho's* Sceptical Followers called the Supreme Happiness of Man: But if that resemblance be a little over-strained, yet it may very well bear being compared to the Neutrality and Indifference, which the Sect of the Academicks professed. And the Natural Effect of such a Temper is to be discomposed or astonished at nothing; which *Pythagoras* thought the Sovereign Good, and *Aristotle* called the True Greatness of Soul. So *Horace*;

* Not to Admire, as most are wont to do,
It is the only Method that I know,
To make Men happy, and to keep them so.

Creech.

And is it not a most amazing perverseness that Men cannot be prevailed with to make the Experiment; nay, that they should not bear to have it so much as recommended or mentioned; but prefer Slavery and Dependance, before living upon their own Stock, getting above Fortune, and making themselves easie and Masters at all Times, and Places, and upon all Accidents alike? May we not most justly cry out with *Tiberius*, more justly indeed than He did, (*O Wretches, born to be Slaves!*) How absurd is it, that we, who are such Patrons, and Sticklers for Liberty in the Case of our Bodies, Estates, and all other Properties, should not bear to have our Mind free, which after all is the only

* Nil admirari prope res est una Numici,
Solaque quæ possit facere & servare beatum.

Horat. Epist. 6. Lib. 1.

Free-born thing that belongs to any of us? We seek and employ conveniences fetch'd from all parts of the World, count no expence too great, for the Health, the Service, the Ornament of the Body; but grudge every thing for the improvement and enriching of the Mind. In short, We are so partial, as to take all possible pains, that the Body may be at large, while the Soul is fetter'd, and coop'd up in Prison.

10.
*Liberty of
the Will.*

The other Branch of this Liberty, in which the Will is concern'd, is of yet greater value, and ought to be more endeavour'd after by a Wise Man, as indeed it is more serviceable to him, than the former. Now here I think it necessary to admonish my Reader, that the Matter under our present Consideration, is not that Faculty and Privilege of Human Nature, which Philosophers and Divines commonly stile Free-Will, nor shall we treat of it in the same Method with Them: But my meaning is, That a Wise Man ought to preserve his own Ease and Quiet, to keep his Will and Affections free and disengag'd; and to lay them out upon very few Objects; and those such as may justify his Choice; (for indeed the Things that deserve our Choice and challenge our Affections, if nicely examin'd, will be found but very few). But this is not all; For even Those that deserve them best, will not justify our Vehemence, and Eagerness, and immoderate Fondness of them. And here I find my self under some necessity of encountering two very popular and plausible Opinions. The One is That which teaches us to be always forward to serve other People; to lay aside all thoughts of one's self, for the sake of our Neighbours; and especially when the Publick Good is concerned, pretends that no private Interest ought to come in Competition with it; And the Other prompts us to espouse such Matters with all possible Zeal, and to the very utmost of our Power. He that declines the Former, is accused of wanting good Nature, and a publick Spirit; and he that is remiss in the Latter, is suspected of Coldness and Indifference; want of Generosity, and the Zeal that is required of a good Man, and in short, reputed incapable of making a Friend. Now whatever there may really be at the bottom of these Opinions, yet it is plain, the World have overloaded the Foundation, and built such Notions upon it, as exceed all Reason and Measure; and nothing can be more Romantick and Extravagant, than what we find deliver'd upon these Occasions. For our Go-
vernors

vernors, who feel the Advantage of them, oftentimes infuse Principles into us, not according to the true Merits of the Cause, but in proportion as they perceive they may prove serviceable and beneficial : And it frequently falls out, that those Opinions, which are in themselves most reasonable and true, are not most convenient to be generally entertained. And besides this, Observing how natural the Love of our Selves and our own private Advantage is, and what Partialities and unreasonable Excesses it is apt to carry us into, they thought it necessary to divert and draw us off as far from This as possibly ; and so took the common Course of bending the Crooked Stick the contrary way, that it might at last stand strait by being forced toward the other Extreme.

But these Opinions, when misunderstood, and misapplied, (which is commonly the Fate of most Opinions, when they fall into the hands of a Multitude) occasion great Injustice, and Disorder, many Difficulties, and grievous Mischiefs. As we may plainly observe in those persons, that snap at every bait of this kind ; let themselves out to hire as it were ; and devote all their Time and Pains to the Service of other People. These Men do not only suffer themselves to be managed, and taken absolute Possession of by their Friends ; but they thrust themselves forward of their own accord, and will have an Oar in every Boat : It is indifferent to them, whether the Matter concerns them, or not ; whether it be of great consequence, or of none at all ; still they Interests themselves in all alike ; for indeed they often do it merely to keep themselves in Motion and Employment ; It stirs their Spirits, puts their Soul into a pleasing sort of Agitation ; and thus ** they are busie purely because they love to be so.* They cannot bear the having nothing to do ; nor can they confine their Thoughts to their own Affairs ; but either do not see, or carelessly overlook them ; and so seek Employment abroad, and meddle and turn Undertakers in things that are forein and distant, as if they had nothing at all to do at home ; no Concerns that are essential and necessary to be followed ; no personal, no domestick Cares, that lie upon their Hands ; such as ought to be first dispatch'd ; and which, if duly attended to, would leave no room for Sloth, nor leisure so great, as

II.

* In Negotio sunt negotii causâ.

should prove a Temptation to us, to turn Managers for other people, that we may keep our selves in Action. Many of these Persons are good Husbands of their Purse, and careful not to part with a Penny of Money, but upon valuable Considerations; but they are unreasonably prodigal of their Soul, their Life; squander away their Time and their Pains, their Affections and their Will, most profusely and unaccountably; dedicate themselves and all their Powers, to any occasion that calls for their Assistance; And yet, when all is done, These are the valuable Treasures, of which we ought to be exceeding choice and sparing; and in such Instances it is chiefly, that Frugality and good Management are commendable. But alas! the Persons we speak of are so far from this, that they glory in their Extravagance; act all with such Violence, and Passion, that they are lost to Reason and common Sense; and never think they do enough, till they have engaged as deep as is possible; and given up their Persons, and their Wits both, to the Cause they espouse. Great Men make their Advantage of such Tempers as these; Men that will be eager, and angry, and expose, may lose their Lives upon pretences of Friendship, and Punctilios of Honour and Respect, are special Tools for their purpose. And they are not wanting to countenance and caress them, throw out large Promises, and use a thousand little Stratagems to draw them in, and fix them to their Party; But though Fools believe and are caught by them, yet Wise Men know this is all Trick and Design; that there is Deceit in the Bait, and Death upon the Hook; and that all their fair Carriage and large Promises are designed not at all to serve Us, but to serve themselves of us.

12.

Now, *First* of all, This Temper we have been describing, puts all into confusion, exposes the Mind to perpetual uneasiness, and brings it into a State of absolute Slavery. It argues Ignorance of that, which every one ought to know, and that is, how much he owes to himself, and what the Obligations are, and the Offices arising from them, which are first and strictly due at home. All which these persons violate; for while they are so mighty officious, and liberal in the Service of other People, they injure and defraud themselves; and spend that Stock of Ease and Comfort, which is their own due, and ought to be preserved. Besides; if we desire Business, Providence hath cut us out enough of our own; let us but look at home, and discharge the Duty

of

of our respective Stations diligently ; but especially, let us but look within ; and we shall be far from finding any occasion to ask for work of our Neighbours : The difficulty will then be to dispatch that which they ask of Us ; and instead of laying our selves out upon every Bodies business besides, we shall then find our Hands full, and a necessity of keeping close to our own. He that takes care to live as becomes his Virtue and his Honour ; so as may preserve his Health, and give him a contented and chearful Enjoyment of the World, hath enough to do ; and he that neglects or impairs any of these, merely to do another Service, is ill advised ; and under colour of Good-nature to his Friend, is guilty of great Injustice and Ill-nature to himself. To oblige and assist others, so far as may be consistent with the securing these things to our selves, is sufficient ; but to go beyond that, is to break our Duty in one particular, while we Supererogate in another. He is an unreasonable Man, that expects one should Sacrifice his Virtue, or his Happiness to him ; and He is a very foolish Man, that will do it, if it be expected. And therefore I repeat again a Direction given just now, That a Man ought to espouse and devote himself to but very few Things ; and to take care that these be such, as will justify the setting his Heart upon them ; and they, to be sure, can be but very few.

Secondly, This Eagerness of Intention and vehement concern is not only unfit and unjust in other respects, but it is also an Inconvenience to it self. For it puts Men beside their Measures, and proves the greatest hindrance and perplexity that can be, to that very Undertaking, which we are so impatient to accomplish, and have set our Hearts so much upon. As, when we strive to go exceeding fast, our Legs sink under us, or step awry, or interfere, and stop one another. * *The very Swiftness of the Pace confounds it self, so that even Hast breeds delay. And he that begins too fast is slowest in finishing.* Thus it is likewise with the Mind of a Man, when Intoxicated with this forward and furious vehemence of Intention ; he confounds and hampers himself ; betrays himself to Indiscretion and Injustice in his proceedings ; renders himself suspected, and hardly thought

* *Ipse se velocitas implicat, unde Festinatio tarda est. Qui nimium properat serius absolvit.*

of, gives offence and ground of Resentment to others ; and puts his own Mind upon a perpetual Fret and Ferment ; as oft as any thing happens, that either defeats or delays the Success he is labouring after. * *Heat and Violence never manage anything well.* We may observe it daily, what Advantages Men lose, and how great an Injury they do to themselves, their Business, the Cause and Party they espouse, by this want of Temper ; even to the ruin of the fairest and most promising Expectations, in matters of the greatest Importance. And the thing is no less evident too, in the most common and insignificant cases. In a matter so frivolous as Play, for instance, where He that is eagerest and most intent upon Winning, breaks the Rules and proper Methods, overlooks the Advantages of the Game, and contributes to his own Loss. Whereas an Adversary that plays calmly and sedately, hath always his Eyes and his Wits about him ; his Passion never transports his Reason ; but he makes the best of every Chance, and does not only enjoy the Diversion, but bid fairest for the Success. He makes his Feints, and Doubles ; and lays hold on every favourable occasion ; if he fail of his Design, he bears it with Moderation, and makes it up another time ; is always ready to observe and to improve every Change of Fortune ; and by jogging on leisurely, and keeping the Reins in his own hand, comes soonest and safest to his Journey's End.

14.

This leads us to a Third Remark of very great Consequence, which is, that this vehement and eager Zeal infects the Mind, and corrupts the Judgment. For while Men are addicted to one Person or Party, and wholly set upon promoting their Advantage, they go furiously to work, and strain every thing beyond its due pitch. They extol their Favourites and Partners in the same Cause with undeserved Commendations ; and load their Adversaries with odious Characters, and false Accusations ; turn Superstitious to the last degree ; and interpret every Event as ominous, and a Prognostication of Good in favour of themselves and Friends ; and a plain Declaration of Providence, against those that are engaged in opposition to them. Nay, they carry this Folly so far, as not to see or allow any Virtue or good Quality in their Adversaries ; represent them as Vicious and Villains, and would have us believe, that all who think, and act, and design otherwise, than they

* Male cuncta ministrat——Impetus.

them-

themselves do, must be either Knaves, or Fools, and Madmen; and those who are more just and moderate in their Sentiments, that observe any real Virtues, and give due Praises to those that differ from them, are presently suspected to be of the same Party and Principle; merely for their Charity in vindicating or excusing, and not running into the same Excesses of Partiality and Prejudice, the same unreasonable Censures and Condemnations, with these hot-headed Zealots. Whereas indeed nothing can be more extravagant, than to imagine that a Man who is not one of Us cannot possibly be a Good Man; and that he may not, for the main, or at least in some cases where the Point in difference is no way concerned, be very honest and commendable, though it be his unhappiness, to be under a wrong Persuasion, and in some particulars embarqued in the Interest or Opinions of those who are very naughty Men. That Passion should commit a violence upon the Will, is but too much; but that it should debauch and blind the Judgment, and destroy Charity and common Sense, is abominable, and not to be endured. And Men should by all means think themselves obliged to proceed with Equity and Candor; to see and to acknowledge Goodness, wherever it is to be found, though in the worst and most mistaken Enemies; and not to palliate, or overlook, much less to defend and applaud the Vices and Follies of our Friends and Followers; but to lay aside all private Considerations, and frankly to express our Derestation of these things, let the persons guilty of them be who, or what they will. The contrary wicked Practice (for a very wicked one it is) seems to proceed in great measure from want of considering and distinguishing aright, what the Points in difference are, and how far they extend. For it is most certain, that where the Controversy is no way concerned, we ought to behave our selves with all manner of Indifference; and pass fair and equitable Judgments, as we would do, supposing no Dispute or Disagreement at all. And Resentments should never be carried beyond that particular Subject which provokes them; nor Anger, of all Passions, suffered to grow general and unlimited. And these are some of the many Evils, which too great Eagerness and Intention of Mind naturally brings upon Men, let the Matter we set our hearts so much upon, be what it will; for this Disposition is capable of Excess, and liable to Inconveniences, when fixed upon the very best Object; and a Man may suffer by
being

being too vehement and hot, in the pursuit even of Goodness and Wisdom it self.

15. Now in order to moderate this Affectionate Earnestness, and reduce the Mind to due Temper; every Man ought to remember, that the most important thing given us in charge by God and Nature, that to which we have the strongest Obligations, and consequently such as ought to be first satisfy'd, is, That Every Man should look well to his Conduct: This good management of our selves is the very business upon which we were sent into the World at first, and are continu'd in it still. And this Duty we do by no means discharge faithfully, except the Peace, and Tranquility, and Liberty of our Minds be consulted and preserv'd. And preserv'd these cannot be, unless we make it our Principle and Rule, to Lend our selves to a Friend, but to Give our selves up to none but our selves; to take business in hand, but not to lay it to heart; to bear it as a burden, and be content with sustaining the weight of it upon our shoulders, but not to incorporate and unite with it, by making it inseparable and a part of our selves; to bestow all possible Diligence, but not to misplace and throw away our Affections, upon it; to fasten eagerly upon very few things, and to stick to them only so, as still to continue at our own disposal, and be disengag'd easily and at our pleasure. This is the true, the sovereign Remedy, against all the Inconveniences and Uneasinesses formerly mention'd; and this is not any such selfish or narrow-spirited advice, as some may imagine. It does not condemn or exclude any of those Duties or good Offices requir'd from us; it does no prejudice to the Publick, our Friends or our Neighbours; so far from That, that it is most certain we are bound by all the Tyes of Honour and Religion, to be courteous and kind, assisting and serviceable to one another; to comply with the Customs and Occasions of the World, and apply our selves to the Observance of the one, and the Supply of the other, as our Circumstances will permit; and in order hereunto, every Man is oblig'd to contribute to the Common Good; and conscientiously to perform all those Duties and mutual Offices, which any way concern him, as a Member of the Body Politick, and may conduce to the Benefit of Human Society. * *He that is a Friend to himself, is a Friend to all Mankind*; for the

* Qui sibi amicus est, hunc omnibus scito esse amicum.

Love and Care of one's self is so far from engrossing, and confining all we can do to our own single Persons; that it implies, and puts us upon the being as universally beneficial, and diffusing our Powers, as far and wide as we can. But still, I must insist upon it, that the most generous Inclinations and Endeavours of this kind ought to be temper'd with Moderation and Prudence; and no Man is publick-spirited as he should be, unless he be discreet withal; and That in these Two respects particularly. First, Not to apply, or lay himself out upon every occasion that offers indifferently; but first to sit down, and consider well the Justice, the Reasonableness, and the Necessity of the thing; whether it will answer his design, and be worth his pains. And if this were done, a world of trouble might be spar'd. Then Secondly, That even those occasions, which have the best Title to his Application, may be follow'd without Violence and Vexation of Mind. A Man should contract his Desires, and bring them within as small a Compass as he can; The Little he does desire, should be pursu'd with Temper, and be desir'd moderately; His application should be free from Anxiety and Distraction: And in any the most Important Matters that we undertake, we may be allow'd to employ our Hands, our Feet, our Tongue, the Attention of our Thoughts, the Sweat of our Brows, all proper means in order to the effecting them, nay, to spend our Blood, and hazard our Lives, if the occasion require it; but still all this is to be done with a Reserve; calmly and considerately, without Passion and Torment; without Fretfulness and Impatience. A Man must always preserve the Government and Command of himself; the Health of his Body, the Soundness of his Mind, the Tranquility and Ease of both, so far as is possible. For Success does by no means depend upon Heat, and Forwardness, and an Impetuous Eagerness of the Will; but is much oftner and better attain'd without it; and the Cooler our Proceedings are, the greater Expectations we may entertain from them. It is a vulgar and a very gross Mistake, that no Affair is undertaken heartily and to purpose, without a great deal of Noise, and Hurry, and Bustle. For, as I have already shew'd, these only disorder and perplex the Cause; put Men beside their Biass, and are so many fresh Obstructions. How common a thing is it to observe vast numbers of Men, who venture their Persons in the Wars, and are in daily, hourly peril of their Lives; without any anxious Concern at all; they march up to the

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Cannon's Mouth when their Post requires it, and push on to Action, and yet neither the Hazard, nor the Loss of the Battels they fight, ever breaks them one Night's rest; They consider, This is their Duty, and upon that Consideration they discharge it chearfully. And yet at the same time that you see the Camp and the Field so easie, and void of Care; a Splenetick Politician, who never had the Courage to look Danger in the Face, shall sit you at home, and teaze and afflict himself with the Event of this Engagement; and be a thousand times more perplex'd and mortify'd with any ill Success, than those very Soldiers, who spend their Blood, and stake down their Lives in the Service.

16.

In a word; We must learn to understand our selves, and our Condition; and distinguish aright, between our private and personal, and our Publick Capacities. For every one of us is under a double Character, and hath two parts to play. The one external and visible, but somewhat foreign and distant; the other domestick, and proper, and essential to us. Now though our Shirt be next to our Skin, yet according to the Proverb, we should always remember, that how near soever our Shirt may be, our Skin is still nearer to us. A Judicious Person will discharge his Duty to the Publick, and fill an Office well; and yet at the same time will discern the Folly, and Wickedness, and Cheat, which a Publick Station exposes him to the practise of. He will not decline the thing; because it is agreeable to the Custom and Constitution of his Country; it is necessary and useful to the Publick, and perhaps advantageous to himself: He will submit in many things to do as the World does, because the Rest of Mankind live at the same rate; and since he cannot mend the World, it is to no purpose to disturb it, by being singular. But still he will look upon this, as a matter somewhat foreign, and consider this Character as adventitious and accidental, not natural to him; it is what he is oblig'd to put on, and appear in; but he was not born with it, nor is it a part of him. And therefore he will always exercise it with all due Limitations and Reservations; and not so embark in Business, as to be quite swallow'd up in it: but manage Matters so, that he may still enjoy himself; and be free and easie with a particular Friend, or at least, within his own Breast; not so serve the World, as to neglect, and be out of a Condition to serve himself; nor endeavour the Benefit of others, at the Expence or Loss of a Good, that is truly and properly his own.

C H A P. III.

True and Substantial Integrity of Mind, the first and fundamental Part of Wisdom.

THE Directions laid down in the two foregoing Chapters, being such Preparations, as were thought necessary for disposing aright the Person who aspires after Wisdom, and qualifying him to make a successful progress in it; that is, By removing the Obstructions, and clearing his Mind of Prejudices; and setting it at large from the Slavery and Confinement of Popular Opinions, and private Passions: and also by advancing to that noble and happy Freedom of Thought and Will already described; that from hence, as from some advantageous rising ground, he may take a full Prospect, and arrive at a clear and distinct Knowledge, and attain to an absolute Mastery, over all the Objects and Things that occur to him here below; (which is the peculiar Character and Privilege of an exalted and refined Soul;) It may now be seasonable to advance in the Method proposed at our Entrance into this Book; by giving some fit Instructions and general Rules of Wisdom. The two First whereof are still but in the nature of Prefaces to the Main Work; necessary to be laid in the Quality of Foundations, upon which to raise this Glorious Superstructure. And the Former and Principal of these Two, designed for the Subject of This Chapter, is *Probity*, and *Sincerity*.

That true Honesty and Integrity of Heart and Life is the First, the Chief, the Fundamental Point of True Wisdom, is an Assertion, which it may perhaps be thought needless for me to give my self any great trouble in proving. For in truth, all Mankind agree in highly extolling, and zealously pretending to it; (though it is but too manifest, that what some do in this kind seriously, and out of Conscientious regard to their Duty, and the real Worth of this Virtue; others put on only, to set the best face upon the matter; and are compelled to dissemble from Shame, and Fear, and the ill Consequences of avowing the contrary.) Thus far then the whole World is agreed; that Honesty is recommended, and respected, and at least complimented; every Man professes to be passionately in love with it, and subscribes

subscribes himself its *most Faithful, most Affectionate, and most Devoted Servant*. So that I may spare my self the pains of arguing in behalf of the Thing in general; but I am afraid notwithstanding, it will prove no such easie matter to make Men agree with the Notions of that, which in my esteem is the True and Essential Honesty, and to persuade the as universal Love, but especially the universal practice of that, which I think necessary upon this Occasion. For as to that, which is in common Vogue, and usually reputed such, though the World I know are generally satisfied, and trouble themselves so little about understanding or attaining to any thing better, that (except a very few Wise Men) they have no Ideas, no Wishes beyond this; yet I make no difficulty to affirm, that it is all but a spurious and counterfeit Virtue, Sham and Trick; and the product of Art and Study, Falshood and Disguise.

2.
False Appearances of it.

Now first of all, We cannot but be sensible, that Men are very often drawn on, and pusht forward to good Actions by several sorts of Motives. Sometimes such as are by no means commendable; As Natural Defects, and Infirmities, Passion and Fancy, nay sometimes by Vice, and Things in their own Nature Sinful. Thus Chastity, and Sobriety, and Temperance of all sorts, may be, and often are, owing to a weak Body, and tender Constitution, which cannot support Excess. Contempt of Death, to Peevishness and Discontent; Patience under Misfortunes, Resolution and Presence of Thought in Dangers, to Want of Apprehension and Judgment, and a due Sense, how great or imminent the Danger is. Valour, and Liberality, and Justice, are often inspired and practised by Ambition and Vain-glory; the Effects of good Conduct, discreet Management, of Fear, and Shame, and Avarice. And what a World of renowned and noble Exploits have been owing to Presumption and Foolhardiness, Rashness and Inconsideration? Thus, what we commonly call Actions and Instances of Virtue, are in reality no better than Masks, and counterfeit Appearances of it: They have the Air and the Complexion, but by no means the Substance of it. So much resemblance there is, that the Vulgar, who are no Criticks in Faces, may easily mistake the one for the other; and so much of good there is in the Effects and Consequences of such Actions, that other People may be allowed to call them Virtuous; but it is impossible the person himself who does them, should esteem them such; or that any considering Man

Man can either allow them this Character, when nicely examined ; or think one jot the better of the Man that does them. For Interest, or Honour, or Reputation, or Custom and Compliance, or some other Causes altogether foreign to Virtue, will be found at the bottom ; and however beautiful the Front may be, the Foundation is rotten and stark naught. Sometimes very great and surprizing things are the Result of nothing better, than mere Stupidity and Brutishness ; which gave occasion for that Reflection, That Wisdom and Insensibility met together in the same Point, and both of them felt and hardened themselves alike under Accidents and Misfortunes. From all which, and a great deal more that might be said, it appears, how exceeding dangerous and uncertain a Method those Men take, who look no further than the outward Face of Things, and from the Actions, as we see them, form a peremptory Judgment of the Probity, or the Disingenuity of the Person. Whereas, for a right understanding of this matter, we ought to take a distinct view of the Inside ; examine the whole Movement ; and mark well what Springs they are, that set it on going. For it often happens, that very ill Men do very good, and commendable, and beneficial Actions : And both Good and Bad Men restrain themselves, and avoid Evil ; but though both abstain alike, yet they do it out of very different Principles, as *Horace* hath observed pertinently enough to this purpose,

** So Crafty Foxes dread the secret Snare ;
The Kite and Hawk, although the Bait be fair,
Yet never Stoop, where they Suspect a Gin.
The Good for Virtue's Sake abhor a Sin ;
'Tis fear of Punishment restrains Thy Will.
Give leave ; How eagerly wouldst Thou be ill ?*

Horace by Creech.

To make a just discovery of the Man, and inform our Selves what is Honesty and Sincerity indeed, the Actions are too weak an Evidence, and he that goes no farther, can know

** Cautus enim metuit foveam Lupus Accipiterque
Suspectos laqueos, & opertum Milvius hamum.
Oderunt peccare Boni Virtutis amore,
Tu nihil admittes in Te formidine poenæ ;
Sit Spes fallendi, miscabis Sacra profanæ.*

Horat. Epist. xvi. Lib. 1.

E

nothing.

nothing. These are only the gross Substance, a Copy of his Countenance, and the Counterfeit Lustre of a False Stone; The Jewel cannot be distinguish'd with so superficial a view; it is not enough to hear the Sound, we must judge the Harmony, and know what Hand it is, that moves the Strings. For the Motive and Cause is the Life and Soul of all, and gives both Being and Denomination to the whole Action. This is the only Mark we have to judge by; and every Man is chiefly concern'd to take care that This be pure, and good, and in every regard what it ought to be. All which depends upon the Uprightness of the Intention, and unblemish'd Honesty of the Heart; and that is the very Quality we are now looking after.

3. That Integrity, which passes in common Estimation for the True, and is generally recommended and extolled, and which indeed is all, that those who have the Character and Commendation of Just, and Honest, and Fair-dealing Men pretend to, is at the best but a mean, and formal, and pedantick Virtue: Such as is a Slave to Laws, and takes its Measures from thence; is check'd and kept under by Hope and Fear; is acquired, learned, produced, and practis'd upon the account of, and in submission to the Religion we profess, the Government we live under, the Customs of our Country, the Commands of our Superiors, the Examples of Them we converse with, bound up in Forms, and limited by the Letter of the Law; an effeminate, poor-spirited Honesty, perplexed with Doubts, and Scruples, and Terrors of Conscience. For some People never think themselves innocent, and as they should be, when their Minds are quiet, and easy, and void of Fear. Now such an Honesty as this, must not only be mutable and manifold in several parts of the World, and vary as the Religion, and Laws, and Examples, and Forms, and Modes of the Countries, where Men happen to converse, shall vary; (For where the Springs of Action change, the whole Movement must needs change proportionably.) But, which is yet more to its disparagement, it must needs be irregular, and unequal; inconsistent with it self, floating and unsettled; full of Ebbings and Flowings, Intervals of Heat and Cold; inconstant and precarious; depending on the Events and Successes of Affairs; the Offering of Occasions, and Interposition of sudden Emergencies; the Difference of Persons and Circumstances; and a thousand other unforeseen Accidents, which move this Man and his Virtue, as a Boat

Boat is moved by Sails and Oars, by sudden strokes and spurts, and gusts and puffs of Wind. In a word, These Men are good purely by Chance, by fits and starts, by external and very distant Motives; and not in reality, and by virtue of a fix'd and governing Principle. This Defect of theirs is what not only Standers by, but even themselves are insensible of; they never observe, nor discover their own Imperfections, but it were easie to shew them to themselves, and make the thing plain to them, by holding a stiff Rein, observing them more nicely and distinctly; and quickning their Attention a little. And indeed nothing would be a more effectual Conviction of their Deficiency, than the mighty inequality of their Actions and Tempers, and their own Disagreement with themselves. For in one and the same Case, you shall find them coming to quite different Resolutions and Determinations; and acting in direct Contradiction to what they have done before. Sometimes they are so heavy and dull, that neither Whip nor Spur can get them forward; and presently upon the full speed, that no Bit can stop them. Now this prodigious unevenness and difference of Behaviour is occasioned by the difference of those external Motives, by which they are govern'd and manag'd; And as These sometimes agitate and heat them violently, swell, and multiply, or grow lukewarm and cold, and flag and droop again; so must Their Virtue and Zeal needs increase and abate accordingly; and thus it distinguishes it self from Real and Substantial Virtue, by that Property natural to all Accidents; which is, the being capable of Augmentation and Diminution; and so of no better Extract, than all those Qualities, whose Dishonour it is, according to the Terms of the Schools, *Recipere magis & minus.*

Now That True and Substantial Integrity, which I insist upon at present as a necessary Qualification, in order to Wisdom, is Free and Easie, void of Affectation and Constraint, Masculine and Generous, Pleasant and Chearful, Equal and Uniform, Constant and Steady, Magnanimous and Brave; keeping on its own Course, and never looking to the Right Hand or to the Left; never standing still, or slackning, or quickning its Pace, upon the account of Wind or Weather; Accidents and Occasions may change, but This continues always the same. It is not in the power of any Thing to alter or shake it; my meaning is, that the Man's Judgment and Will are fixed and immutable, and

the Soul, where this Integrity hath taken up its Residence, is never to be Corrupted, or diverted to dishonest Purposes. For the Sincerity of the Heart is the Virtue we are treating of; There it is lodged, by That we must judge; for External Actions, and those especially that are of a publick Capacity and Importance, are of a Nature and Consideration very different from this; as I shall have occasion to shew hereafter, when my Method brings me to treat of them distinctly.

5. Of this I shall give my Reader some Description, when I have first desired him to recollect what was said in the Preface; and that in agreement to the Design of this Treatise, I speak of Probity and Wisdom at present, as Virtues purely Human, such as entitle a Man to the Character of an Honest or a Prudent Man with regard to Civil Affairs, and common Conversation; without any respect at all to the Christian and more exalted Sense of the thing. Of which nevertheless, though Foreign to the general Intent of my Book, I shall take occasion to say some little matter, before I leave this Subject.

The true Spring and Source of this Probity is Nature, which obliges a Man to be such as he ought to be; that is, to conform and govern himself according to her Dictates and Directions. For Nature maintains a twofold Character, and is at once a Mistress to Command, and a Law to Teach, and set us out our Duty. With regard to the former of these Capacities, there is an Internal, Universal, that is, a natural Obligation incumbent upon every Man, to be an honest, sincere Man, and so to answer the End of his Creation. And This is an Obligation so strong, an Inducement so weighty, that no one need look for any greater, any additional Motives; nor indeed is it possible to find any that deserve greater Deference and Regard; any antecedent to it, since its Validity is of the same date with our Selves, and both It and We came into the World together. Every Man ought to make it his Business and Care to be a good Man, upon this very account, because he is a Man; for he who is regardless of this Point, is a Monster, renounces himself, reproaches his Nature, and in effect ceases to be what he appears, and usurps a Form, which of Right belongs not to him. This Probity must also be of its own growth, without Cultivating or Constraint; that is, It must proceed from an Internal Principle, which God hath wrought into our Nature and Constitution; and not be

be the effect of Accident, or any forein Induzement. No Man, whose Will is uncorrupt, would chuse a thing in its declension, as debas'd and faln from its natural Perfection; It is a Contradiction to pretend a Man desires a thing, and that he is indifferent at the same time, whether it be what it ought, and have all the Commendable Qualities of right belonging to it. A Man is solicitous to have all his parts in their true Perfection; his Head, his Eyes, his Judgment, his Memory, his whole Body; nay the very Conveniences and Accoutrements belonging to that Body; and shall his Will and his Conscience be the only neglected things about him? Shall it be no part of his Care whether These have their due Integrity or not? I would have a Man resolute in Goodness, though it were but purely upon his own account, and in regard to his Character as he is a Man; sensible, that to Act otherwise, is as much as in him lies, to abandon and destroy himself; and thus Probity will be an Internal Principle, as essential to, and of a piece with him, as He is with himself. No external Cause is capable of being a sufficient Foundation for it, because all such are forein and accidental; and as such are liable to Changes and Decays; and whenever the Foundation sinks, the Superstructure must of necessity tumble with it: If a Man be Virtuous and Just for the sake of his Reputation, or any other Advantage, What Obligation will this be to his Retirements, to his Solitary Actions? Take off the Hopes of his Virtue being known, and you either take off the whole thing, or cool, and check his vigor in the Practice of it. If fear of Laws and Punishments restrain him; put him but in a way to elude the Laws, and escape publick Discovery; and what shall secure his Honesty then; So poor, so precarious, so uncertain a thing is this Occasional Virtue: And yet this is the Virtue in vogue, and what very few rise beyond. As the World goes, 'tis very well if all these Considerations will prevail upon Men to do what becomes them; nay if their Actions be commendable or blameless, whatever their secret Dispositions are. Now I expect, in the Person whom this Treatise undertakes to form, a Probity that will stand upon its own bottom; so firmly rooted, that you can no more separate it from the Man, than you can his very Human Nature it self. I expect he should never yield to do an Ill thing, tho' he could be assur'd it will never be known. For is it possible to conceal it from himself? And if his own Conscience

be privy to it, what need any farther Witnesses ; This One is more than all the World besides. By the same Reason he must be as obstinately good, notwithstanding any Recompence which would bribe him to be otherwise ; for it is impossible he should receive a valuable Consideration in this Case ; and nothing can be so near to him, as his own Effence, which Wickedness impairs and corrupts. To yield upon such Temptations, is like the being content with a very ill Horse, provided a Man have an embroider'd Saddle. I must therefore insist upon it, that being a Man, and taking care to live as becomes one, that is, taking care to be a sincere good Man, should always go together, and be above the power of all the World to separate them. This particular I think is sufficiently urg'd, let us now proceed to the next.

6.

Now the Model and Pattern, the Spring and Source of this Integrity, is the Law of Nature ; by which I mean Universal Equity and Reason, that Candle of our Maker lighted up in every Breast, to guide, and shine in us perpetually. For This is the Dictate and Direction of God himself ; He is the King, and this the Fundamental Law of the Universe, a Ray and Beam of the Divine Nature, that flows from, and hath a necessary Connexion and Dependence upon that Eternal and Immutable Law, which the Almighty prescribes to his own Actions. A Man that proceeds upon this Principle, is his own Rule ; for he acts in agreement with the noblest and most valuable part of his Nature. This Man's Honesty is Essential to, and Inseparable from him ; not precarious and uncertain, and owing merely to Chance and Occasion ; For this Light and Law is born with, and bred in us ; a piece of our Frame, and Original Constitution ; and from thence obtains the Name of *Nature*, and the *Law of Nature*. Such a Man by consequence will be a good Man constantly, and at all times ; his Virtue will be uniform and even ; every Place, every Emergency will find him the same. For this Law of Nature is perpetual ; the Obligation of it is lasting and inviolable ; the Equity and Reason of it are Eternal ; written in large and indelible Characters ; no Accident can deface them, no length of time waste or wear them out ; even Wickedness it self, by the Customary Habits whereof the positive and additional Improvements of this Law, are corrupted ; yet cannot debauch, or exterminate these first and Natural Notions ; no Place, no Time can alter or disguise them ; but they continue every where the same. The Col-
lections

lections inferr'd from them differ infinitely, but these first Principles themselves, which are the Ground of all Moral Institutions, admit of no Change, no Increase, no Abatement; no Fits and Starts, no Ebbings and Flowings; but, as they are a part of our Substance, so do they agree with what the Schools say of all Substances in general, * that it is contrary to their nature *to be more or less* than they are. Why then, Vain Man, dost thou trouble thy self, to seek abroad for some Law and Rule to Mankind? What can Books or Masters tell thee, which thou mightst not tell thy self? What can Study or Travel shew, which at the expence of much less pains thou mightst not see at home, by descending into thy own Conscience, and hearkning attentively to its Admonitions? When Ignorance of this kind is pretended, the same Reply is fit for Thee, which would be given to a shuffling Debtor; who, when Payment is demanded, professes not to know how the Money became due, when all the while he hath the Bill about him: For thou carriest the Bond, and the particulars of thy Debt in thy own Bosom: and what thou seekest Information of from others, canst not but know, if thou consult thy Self.

To what purpose is all this Labour and Cost; the troublesome tumbling over of Codes, and Institutes; of Precedents and Reports; of Statutes and Records, when all these are contain'd in one small portable Volume? The Two Tables of *Moses*, the Twelve Tables of the *Greeks*, the Law written in the Hearts of them who had no Law; and in short, all the Rules of Equity, and Good Laws, that have any where been enacted, and obtain'd in the World, are nothing else but Copies and Transcripts produc'd in open Court, and publish'd from that Original, which thou keep'st close within thee, and yet all the while pretendest to know nothing of the matter; stifling and suppressing, as much as in thee lies, the Brightness of that Light which shines within; and so falling under the Condemnation of those mention'd by the Apostle, *who hold, or detain the Truth of God in Unrighteousness*. If This have not been sufficiently publish'd, and promulg'd as loud, as clear, as intelligibly as other human Laws, the only Reason is, that that Light which is really All-heavenly and Divine, hath been put under a Bushel, that is, too much neglected, and industriously forgotten. All other Institutions are but so

Rom. ii.

12.

Rom. ii.

18.

* Substantia non recipit magis & minus.

many Rivulets and Streams deriv'd from this common Source: And although they be more visible, and obvious, and express, yet is not the Water they carry so copious, nor so lively and pure, as that of the unseen Spring within thy own Breast; if thy own Negligence did not suffer it to waste and dry up. It is not, I say, so Copious; for as one well observes, * *What a world of Good Offices are there, which Piety, Humanity, Liberality, and Fidelity require from a Man, and yet no written or positive Law ever prescrib'd?* Alas! how poor and scanty a thing is that Honesty of your Formal and Hypocritical Pretenders, who stick to the Letter of the Law, and think, when That is satisfi'd, they have fully discharged their Duty; whereas there are infinite Obligations incumbent upon a Man, which no human Law ever binds upon him. † *He that is honest only in the Eye of the Law, hath but a very slender sort of Innocence to boast; for the Measure of our Duty is of a much larger extent, than the Law can pretend to.* " There
 " are infinite Cases unforeseen; sudden Emergencies, and
 " extraordinary Conjunctions; the Occasions and Circum-
 " stances whereof are too many and too intricate, for any
 " human Wisdom to foresee; and much more impossible
 " for it to make any competent Provision for; so that a
 " Man must often be left to his own Judgment and Dis-
 " cretion; and, even where he is not, a Good Man will
 " sometimes think the Rule too narrow; and disdain to
 " confine or cramp up his Virtue within the Compass of
 " that, which was thought necessary to be impos'd upon
 " every Common Man". And as this invisible Fountain
 within is more exuberant and plenteous; so is it more lively, and pure, and strong, than any of those Streams derived from it. Of which we need but this single Testimony; That, whenever any Disputes arise about the Interpretation and right Execution of a positive Law, the constant and best Method of Understanding the Equity and true Intent of it, is by running it back to its first Head, and observing what is most agreeable to the Law of Nature in the Case; This is the Test and Touch, This the Level and the Truth, by which all the rest are to be judg'd. For, as we com-

* Quàm multa Pietas, Humanitas, Liberalitas, Fides exigunt, quæ extra Tabulas sunt?

† Quàm angusta Innocentia ad Legem bonum esse; latius Officiorum quàm Juris patet Regula,

monly say, * *Reason is the Soul and Life of the Law*; here we find things clear and limpid in their Source, which when drawn out into Rivulets, grow foul and sully'd, by all that Faction, and Interest, Ambition, and serving of Parties, which corrupt all human Sanctions and Establishments.

And thus I have describ'd to you a Real, Substantial, Radical, Fundamental Honesty; born with us; rooted in us; springing from the Seed of Universal Reason. This in the Soul, is like the Spring and Balance in a Clock, it regulates all its Motions, like the Natural Warmth in the Body, which sustains and preserves it self, and is both its own Strength and Safety, and the Person's to whom it belongs. The Man that proceeds according to This, acts in conformity to the Will of God, in consistence and agreement with himself, in compliance with Nature, and obedience to those Rules, upon which all Government and Civil Constitutions are founded; he proceeds smoothly, gently, silently; his Virtue draws little Observation perhaps, as it makes no Noise, but slides on, and keeps its Course, like a Boat carry'd down by the Course of the Water in a Calm day: Whereas all other sorts of Virtue are the Products of Art and Accident, grafted into us by Discipline, and not of our own natural Growth, fickle and out of Temper, like the Intermitting Heat and Cold of a Fever; they are acquired at first, and drawn out into exercise afterwards, by Chance and Occasion, practis'd upon foreign and distant Considerations; acting by sudden starts, and short spurts; with Clamour and Noise, with Hurry and Clutter, with Ostentation and Vainglory.

And from hence we are led to the true meaning of all those Glorious things, which Philosophers and Wise Men in all Ages have said of Nature: For what Doctrines are more common in the mouths of every one of them, than these, † *That the way for a Man to live well, is to live agreeably to Nature; That a perfect Conformity with Nature is the Supreme Good, the most exquisite Happiness Mankind are capable of; That if we make Nature our Mistress and Guide, and constantly follow the Directions she gives, we shall never go*

7.

* Anima Legis Ratio.

† Naturam si sequaris Ducem, nusquam aberrabis. Eonum est quod secundum Naturam. Omnia Vitia contra Naturam sunt.

amiss. By all which it is plain, that Nature is set to signify that Universal Reason and Equity, which is given for a Light to our Minds; and is both of that vast comprehension, as to contain under it the Seeds of all kind of Virtue, Probity and Justice; the Common Parent, that gives Birth to all wholesome and good Laws, all just and equitable Judgments, that ever were or will be given; and also of that Clearness and Perspicuity too, that Men of the meanest Capacity and Attainments, might determine themselves, and be conducted by it. Whatever scandalous or disparaging Reflections some may asperse Nature with, or how great a part of them soever this Corrupted State of it may deserve, yet there is no doubt to be made, if we look back to their Original, and primitive Constitution, but all things were created and dispos'd in the best Order and Condition they were capable of; and had their first Motions toward Good infus'd and interwoven with their Being, and strong Tendencies to the End they ought to aspire after. This was the Work and Wisdom of Nature; and from hence it is, that no Man who follows and obeys her Dictates, can ever fail of obtaining and enjoying the End, and true Happiness proper to his Species. For after all, Men are naturally and originally Good; and when they follow Evil, they forsake Nature, and are seduc'd by the false Allurements of Profit, or of Pleasure: And because These are the two governing Motives, and such as will be sure to bear a powerful Sway in the World; therefore the Makers of Laws have always found it necessary to propose two contrary Objects, that is, Reward and Punishment, to the Persons whose Obedience they would engage. And the Design of These is by no means to put a Violence upon their Wills, and so constrain them to act against natural Inclination, as some weakly imagine; but it is in truth, to * reduce them to better sense, and bring them back to that, which is not only the best, but was the first and most natural Inclination of their Minds, till perverted by wicked and deceitful Appearances of Counterfeit Good.

8. Nature without all Controversie is a sufficient Guide, a gentle Mistress, capable of instructing every one of us, in all the Branches of our Duty, provided we would but be as

* *Sapientia est in Naturam converti; & ea restitui unde publicus Error expulerit. Ab illa non deerrare, ad illius Legem Exemplumque formari sapientia est.*

careful to hearken to its Admonitions ; to exert, and keep it awake and active. There is no need for us to beg or to borrow from Art and Learning, those Means, and Remedies, and Rules which are necessary for the good Government of our selves : for each of us can subsist and live by himself, his own proper Stock is sufficient to maintain him. A Happy, and a Contented Life is indeed what every one does and should aim at ; but these are Blessings by no means entail'd upon Learning, or Parts, or Greatness, or Honour ; a Man may attain them, and never see the face of a Court, or a City. There is a Proportion common and natural to all, which is enough for this purpose ; and All beyond that, however valuable, as additional Advantages, are yet by no means necessary ; we can do very well without them ; and which is worse, we are so far from doing very well upon their account, that they do but increase our Troubles and our Difficulties, and do us more Hurt than Good. How many plain, and ignorant, and mean Men do we see, that live with more sensible Pleasure and Satisfaction, more sedate and undisturb'd both in their Minds and Fortunes, and upon occasion can meet and encounter Poverty or Pain, Danger or Death, with a better Grace, and greater Composure, than the most Learned, and celebrated Philosophers ? And if one take the pains to observe it nicely, you will find more frequent Instances, more eminent Patterns of Patience, and Constancy, and Evenness of Temper, among plain Country People, and those of mean Condition, than all the Schools can boast of. These are simple and unaffected, they go on where Nature leads, are influenc'd by the Reasons she suggests, and the Impressions she makes, without creating new and imaginary Troubles. They feel no more than is to be felt, and use no Art and Industry to torment themselves ; their Passions are low, and quiet, and smooth, in comparison of Theirs who take pains to ruffle them ; and esteem it a piece of Bravery to indulge and blow them up ; and so they go on in all their Affairs more calmly and considerately, without Heat or Disorder ; whereas others look big and bluster, do every thing with Pomp and Hurry ; are in perpetual Agitation and Alarm, and keep themselves and all Mankind awake. One of the greatest Masters, and most exquisite Improvers of Nature was *Socrates*, as *Aristotle* was proportionably Eminent for Art and Learning. Each of these in their respective Province was wonderful ; but it is observable, that *Socrates* took a plain

a plain, and natural way, insinuated himself by vulgar Arguments, familiar Similitudes, an easie Style; and by talking as a downright Country Fellow, or a good discreet Woman would have done, did not only suit himself better to the Capacities of Men, but laid down such useful Precepts, and Rules of a Virtuous Life; such powerful Antidotes against all manner of Sufferings and Accidents, that the Strength and Vigor of them was never yet improv'd, nor the Success, exceeded, shall I say? No, not so much as match'd; or any thing like it invented by all the Study and Acquir'd Learning in the World.

9. But alas! we are so far from trusting to the Guidance of Nature, that we never so much as give it the Hearing. The Violence put upon it, and the intractable Temper of Vice and Extravagance, of unruly Appetites, perverse Dispositions, and depraved Wills, which are eternally striving to choak and suppress, nay quite to deface, and utterly to extinguish, as much as in them lies, the Light within; that mortifie and kill the very Seeds of Virtue; these are too gross to come within the present Account. My Complaint is, that whereas the Concurrent Advice of all Wise Men hath been to follow Nature, the Generality of Mankind run away from it. We let it sleep, and rust upon our hands; play Truant, while we may learn at home; and chuse to beg our Improvement abroad, to have recourse to Study and Art, which are comparatively fordid and despicable ways of attaining Knowledge, rather than content our selves with an Independent and noble Wisdom, which is generous, and of our own Growth. We have all of us a busie turbulent Spirit, that affects to be ever managing, and governing, and will have a hand in every thing; this is variable and humorfome, perpetually bustling and restless; fond of Novelty and Disguise; inventing, adding, altering; never pleased long with the same thing, nor ever content with pure Nature, and unaffected Simplicity; but a Contemner and Vilifier of Plainness, as if it were not possible for any thing to be Good, which is void of Art, and Cunning, and nice Contrivance. *Thus * Virtue, which is genuine, instead of the Frankness and Openness peculiar to it, is corrupted and changed into dark and crafty Speculation.* And besides all this, One Fault more we are tainted with; which is, the Disesteem

* Simplex illa & aperta Virtus in obscuram & solertem Scientiam versa est.

of every thing in general, which is the Product of our own Soil; What we can have for nothing is worth nothing; it must be far fetch'd and dear bought, to recommend it: Forein things only can please; and in agreement with this Whimsy it is, that we prefer Art before Nature; which is in effect, to shut out the Sun when shining in its Strength, and to light up Candles at Mid-day. All which Follies and Extravagant Humours are owing to One more; which is a Weakness in a manner entail'd upon the whole World; That, I mean, of estimating things, not according to their real and intrinsick Value, but only according to the Shew, and Figure, and Noise they make; which is to renounce our own Judgment and Experience, and in effect to give our selves up to be determin'd by the Common Opinion, of those, who are least qualified to know or judge at all.

Nor does this Folly stop here, but we proceed to yet higher degrees of Insolence; we even trample Nature under foot, disdain, despise, and are perfectly ashamed of it; are nice in Positive and National Laws, and disregard those that are Natural and Universal. Nay, for the sake of bringing Ceremony and Form into Reputation (which is a most horrible Indignity, and very Contemptuous Treatment) We cancel and condemn a Law of God's making, to advance Laws of Civility and good Manners of our own Forging. Thus Art carries away Nature; the Shadow is of greater Consideration with us than the Body; and the Air and Face of things, than the Solidity and Substance. We take great care to cover and conceal some things that are Natural, that we may not give Offence; we blush at the very sound of some Words in Modesty and good Breeding, and yet we are under no Fears, no Restraint of doing things Unlawful and Unnatural. To keep us at as great a distance from some sorts of Sins as is possible, we are not allowed so much as to name the Parts employed in them; and yet after all this scrupulous Shyness, how many are there who never boggle in the least at abandoning themselves to all manner of Debauchery and Lasciviousness? It was an old Complaint of the *Stoicks*, that though some very natural and innocent Actions of Life were industriously concealed, yet many others were named without a blush, which yet were in their own nature Wicked and Abominable; and what both Nature and Reason detest; such as Perjury, Treachery, Cheating, Lying, Murther, and the like. We may im-
prove

prove the Complaint, by adding, that in Our Days Men pretend to more Nicety in Conversation; but these really wicked Things, they do not only mention without Shame, but act without Fear. Nay, even in Treasons and Assassinations, those blackest of all Villains make pretensions to Ceremony, and think themselves obliged to Murther in point of Honour and Duty; and when this is done, that it be done with some sort of Decency. Prodigious Impudence and Folly! That Injustice should complain of Incivility; and Malice think it self wrong'd by Indiscretion. Does not the Art of Ceremony then plainly prevail over Nature, and shew, that its Influence is much stronger upon corrupt Mankind? Ceremony forbids us to express some things which Nature allows and justifies, and we submit contentedly; Nature and Reason would restrain us from wicked and mischievous Actions, and no body obeys, or at all regards them. This is manifestly to prostitute our Consciences, and abandon all distinctions, all common Sense of Good and Evil; and yet at the same time think our selves obliged to put on a modest Face, and look Grave and Demure. As if it mattered not what we are within, so nothing appear amiss in our Countenance; and the setting our Looks in Form, were of more consequence than the Innocence of our Souls. This Hypothesis is most monstrous and Absurd, and Nature cannot furnish us with an Incongruity like it, in all the Creatures that ever God made. My meaning is not here, what some may maliciously represent it, to find fault with that Decency and Ceremony, which gives an Ornament and Beauty to our Actions, and ought therefore to be strictly regarded. But my Complaint is like that of our Saviour to the Pharisees, *Ye Hypocrites, ye make clean the outside of the Cup and Platter, These ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.*

Mat. xxiii.

10.

One very sad Effect of this so general Alteration, and Corruption of our first Notions and Principles, is, That we are now come to that miserable pass, as to have no Footsteps of pure Nature left discernible among us. Insomuch that we are wonderfully perplexed, and at a loss, What and How many those Laws are, which she prescribes to us. The peculiar Character, by which the Law of Nature used to be distinguished from all others, is that of Universal Approbation and Consent. For it must needs be supposed, that what this Common Mother and Mistress of us All, had

had really enacted and appointed for our Rule, would be readily obeyed by all her Children; that in this There would be, as it were, One Heart and One Soul; and not only every Nation and Country, but every private Man would come in, and live in perfect Agreement with it.

Now, if we come to examine Matter of Fact in this Case, we shall scarce find any one thing in the World, which is not somewhere or other disapproved and contradicted; not by a few particular Persons only, nor by one single Nation, but in several entire Countries; And on the other hand, there is not any thing in our Apprehension so prodigious and unnatural, but some Countries have entertained it, and given it not only the Countenance of a favourable Opinion, but the Authority of Custom and common Practice too. Neglect of increasing their Families, and Indifference in point of Posterity; the Murthering of their own Parents, of their own Children, nay of their own Selves; Marrying with the nearest Relations; Pilfering and Stealing; Commerce and Publick Societies of Robbers; publick Bartering away one's Liberty, selling and letting out their Bodies, and that in Persons of both Sexes: These are things in the Opinion of most People very Monstrous and Detestable; and yet there are several Nations, which do not only connive at and allow, but use them so, as to make them the Custom of the Country.

What course then can we take, or which way shall we turn our selves to find out Nature and its Original Institutions? 'Tis plain, our own Species have little signs of it left; and if there be any Impressions of this kind still unworn out, we must expect to meet with them only in Brutes, who want the Mercury we have, and so have not debauch'd and corrupted their primitive Constitution, by a troublesome and restless Spirit, by the pretended Improvements of Art, nor the real Fopperies of Ceremony. All which we have indulged to so extravagant a Degree, that there is some reason to suspect, whether even Beasts are altogether so sound as they should be in this Point; and if the keeping so ill Company as Mankind have not in some degrees drawn upon Them the Infection of our Follies. The rest of the Creation however follow Nature entirely; they are content to stick and abide by that First and Universal Order, and Rule, which the Great Author and Governor of all, thought fit to establish and appoint. Man is the only factious and discontented Creature; he breaks in upon

upon the Condition and good Government of the World; and while he professes to mend and polish what Nature hath prescribed, he confounds all with his Freedom of Will, and Gallantry of Spirit; ceases to be regular upon pretence of being more refined; and destroys Nature, while he goes about to exalt and add to it.

12. In a word then, True Honesty and Integrity, that which is the very Foundation and Support of Wildom, consists in following Nature, that is to say, acting in agreement with right Reason. The Happiness, the Aim, the End, That wherein all the Ease, the Liberty, the Contentment of the Mind is comprised; and to be short, the utmost Perfection we are capable of in this World, is to govern our Lives and Actions by the Rules which Nature hath set us; and keeping the Order of our Creation. And that Order consists in this, That the meaner and more gross Appetites should be kept in due Subjection, and that which is the most excellent part of our Nature, should controul and bear sway. That is, When Reason governs Sense, and Truth is preferred before false and empty Appearances. And as the Needle, when touch'd with the Load-stone, rests at no Point but the *North*; and by fixing there becomes a Guide to Sailors in their Course: So Man is never in his due Position, when his Eyes are not fixed upon this Primitive, this Divine, this Universal Law of Humane Nature. For That is the proper Compass, to direct his Inclinations and Opinions by; and all the other Helps he enjoys, are but so many fresh Lamps kindled at this Original Light.

13. Now although This be a Power from which no Man is excluded, yet I cannot but acknowledge, that the putting it in practice, and bringing the Endeavours of this kind to good effect, is not in every Man's power equally. Some do it with much greater Ease and Success than others. There are a sort of Persons, who seem to be made for Virtue; their Complexion and whole Constitution disposes and fits them for it. Their Tempers are so well mixed, so naturally sweet and gentle, that they feel in themselves a strong Inclination, and an Original Propensity to Goodness and Integrity, without any pains to bend their Affections by Art, or to subdue and correct them by Discipline and Study. This happy Frame of Mind is what I conceive to be principally owing to the first Formation of the Parts; the Proportions and Composition of the Spirits and Humours;

mours ; and afterwards, to the proper and kindly Nourishment of a good Milk, and the Care and Management of their Infancy and first Beginnings of Education. And those who are thus inclined to follow and comply with Nature and Reason, who bear a secret Reverence to its Dictates, and find little or no difficulty in submitting, are the Persons properly meant, when we speak of the Happiness of good-temper'd Men ; and such as we say, Nature hath been kind, or partial to. This natural and spontaneous Honesty now, which comes as it were into the World with us, is properly called Good Disposition, the Quality of a Soul and Body well put together, and of Humours duly moderated ; It is a Sweetness, Easiness, and Gentleness of Temper. By which I would not be so mistaken, as to be thought to make no difference between this, and a Softness, which is indeed an effeminate, sottish, unconcerned, and vitious Easiness of Mind ; which is managed and led by the Nose ; hath no Courage, no Choice of its own ; strives to carry fair, and become agreeable to every Body, and above all things declines giving Offence to any ; that will not do an Act of Virtue and Justice, if it be likely to displease ; nor dares refuse the wickedest and most unbecoming Compliances, when the Favour and Opinion of Men lie at stake : These Persons have no regard in the Earth for Equity or Reason, the Merits of the Cause, or the Service of the Publick ; but all their Considerations are fixed upon the Consequences, as to their own private Interest, and they look no farther than who is like to be obliged or disobliged, by what they do. It is of such wretched, poor-spirited, Complaisant Persons, that you hear People frequently give that false and most unjust Commendation ; Oh he is a wonderful good Man ! for he is kind even to the worst and wickedest Men ; whereas indeed This Charge is much more deserved and true of them ; That such a Man cannot be a Good Man, because he is not severe to Ill Men, but encourages their Villany by his Mildness, and false shew of good Nature. Such a Goodness as this is, should rather be called *Harmlesness*, for it is just like that Quality of little Children, and Sheep, and such other Beasts as we commonly call poor, innocent, simple Creatures. But the true Sincerity and Honesty I am speaking of, hath a very different Character ; it is a masculine, brave, vigorous, and active Goodness of Mind ; a strong constant Affection, an easie, ready Inclination, by which the Soul embraces, and stands

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always

always bent to that which is consonant to Reason and Nature; and Nature in this Sense is but another word for Goodness, and Equity, and Justice.

Again: There are many Instances, on the other hand, of Persons so cross and ill contrived, that one would be tempted to think them Monsters in Humane Form. They have a Disposition singular and by themselves, so very rough and unmanagable, as if some evil Genius had shuff'd them up together, in perfect Contradiction, and despite of Nature. In such Circumstances there is great difficulty; This vitious Disposition must be cured and corrected; the Harshness of it sweetned; its wild and brutish Roughness tamed and made gentle; its crooked, and stiff, and irregular Humours bended and bowed down, and made flexible and complying with the streight Rule and Plan of Universal Nature; which is the true Level and Standard Men should bring themselves to. And the properest Remedy for effecting this Cure is for such People to betake themselves to the Study of Philosophy (as *Socrates* did) and to the serious and resolute Practice of severe Virtue; which is a constant Combat with Perverseness of Temper; a painful and vigorous Conflict with all manner of Vice; a laborious Study and Exercise of the Mind, that requires a great deal of Time and Toil, indefatigable Diligence, and strict Discipline. *Virtue is attended with Hardship, and employed upon a subject, that can never be easie; Labour and Sweat watch perpetually at the Gate of Virtue, and no Entrance is to be attained but by their means,* say some of the Antients to this purpose. And again: *The Gods have set a high price upon Virtue, and sold it dear to Mankind, at the Expence of great Labour and Trouble.* Now the End of all this Severity and Pains, which I propose to Men of this unkindly Composition, is not to graft in a fresh Fruit upon the Crab-stock, not to introduce, I mean, a new, foreign, or artificial Honesty, and consequently such a one, as (according to the account already given of this matter) would at the best be but occasional and accidental only, and so, far short of that substantial and perfect Integrity I am aiming at: But the Design and Effect of this Study must be to clear the Rust and Rubbish, to take away Obstructions, not to create, but to awaken the Powers of Nature; to snuff and trim this Lamp within, which is foul, and burns dim; and to quicken all those original Seeds of Goodness, that have been long kept down, and almost quite choaked and killed, either by any vitious Habit

Habit in particular, or by some personal Indisposition, and natural Defect. For the Eyes of the Mind are like those of the Body; the visive Faculty is form'd with them, and inherent from the Beginning; and therefore the way of helping the Sight, is not to add any thing new, but to remove the Films that grow over the Pupil; as a Man wipes away the Dust from a Looking-Glass, to make the Reflexion clear and strong.

From this Representation of the Case we may perceive, that True Integrity may be distinguish'd into two sorts; The One natural, easie, gentle, and even, which is properly call'd a Good Temper; The Other is acquired, full of difficulty, attained by labour and much pain, and This is termed Virtue; to both which we may add a Third, which is a kind of Compound of the Two former, and so there will be Three Degrees of Perfection in the Case before us. The First and Lowest is an Easiness of Temper, a Mind so well disposed, as to have naturally and of its own accord, a dislike and aversion to all manner of Extravagance and Vice; and this we may call Goodness, or Innocence. The Second and next Stage, which we call Virtue, consists in the Art and Labour of Prevention, setting it self with all its Force and Vigour, to guard the Avenues, to hinder the Advances of Vice, and check the very first Motions of the Passions, when they grow mutinous; and if the Insurrection be actually begun, to muster and arm all a Man's Forces to stop, and quell, and reduce them. The Third and Highest Degree of all is a mixture of Noble Resolution, and a Happy Temper; so that the Man from both these met together, is so excellently well disposed, as not only to continue impregnable, but to be free even from Attacks. Not so much as a Temptation rises to give him Trouble; the very Seeds of Vice are quite rooted out. Virtue is the only, the natural Growth of this prosperous Soil, and becomes not the Habit, so much as the Complexion and Constitution of the Man. This Last may justly be stiled Perfection; This and the First kind do thus far resemble one another, and are both very differing from the Second; That they are silent and still, without difficulty, and without struggle, the natural Air, and constant Course of the Man, a cheap and easie Virtue, that costs him little or nothing; whereas the Second is a perpetual Conflict, and dwells in the midst of Hurry, and Alarms, and Battels. The last and most perfect of these Degrees, is acquir'd by a long and painful Study,

14.

Three Degrees of Perfection.

Study, a serious and constant Exercise of the Rules of Philosophy, added to a Good, and Generous, and Noble Nature, largely and liberally furnished; and a Mind enriched with all manner of good Dispositions. For in this Case Both must concur; Nature and Industry must each do their part; and it cannot be entirely the Work of one of these, not all infused, nor all acquired. This is the End which all the old Philosophers proposed to their Studies; but above all the rest, the *Stoick* and *Epicurean* Sect (I make no scruple of saying the latter did it as well as the former, though this I confess might seem strange, had we not the Testimony of *Seneca*, and several other Antient Writers in confirmation of it.) These gallant Men look'd upon Disgrace and Contempt, Want and Sickness, Pains and Tortures, nay even Death it self, to be Toys and Trifles, fit for none but Fools and Children to be anxious or concern'd about. They did not only despise them, and endue them with Patience and Constancy, and gain an absolute Conquest over all the Troubles and Difficulties of them, whenever they made the Assault; but they went out into the Field, they fought and provoked them, Rejoiced in, as well as Triumphed over them. They look'd upon these Encounters as necessary Breathings for their Virtue, to keep it in Exercise and Vigour; and by the frequency of such Engagements, did not only secure and establish that Virtue, and render it firm, and steady, and severe (as *Cato* and some other renowned Stoicks for instance did) but even Chearful and Gay; and if that be not an improper Expression, Wanton and full of Play, by the perfect Mastery they had got over all external Accidents and Things.

15.

Upon the stating of the whole Case, and comparing these Three together, some who have but imperfect apprehensions of the noble Height, and true Excellence of the Third Degree, have been inclined to think, that the Second was the most Honourable, and to be valued above either of the rest, by reason of the Difficulties and Dangers it contends with, and the many painful and laborious Struggles the Attainment of it costs. And, as *Metellus* said, that the doing Evil was a despicable thing, because it was the effect of Cowardice and Laziness; so the doing Well, where it is without the expence of Trouble and Hazard, is look'd upon by these persons, as too vulgar and cheap a thing; but the attempting and going through with it, in despite of Hazards and Troublesome Oppositions, and where these
attack

attack us in great number, and labour hard to obstruct, and deter us from our Duty ; This is the Commendation of a Good, and a Virtuous Person indeed. * *Whatever is Excellent is Difficult*, was, we know, the usual Saying of the Noblest Philosopher. But to deal plainly, and speak the Truth of the Matter, the Difficulty of obtaining any thing does by no means alter the nature, or add to the real and intrinsic value of the thing it self ; nor is it, as I have taken occasion formerly to observe, any just and warrantable Cause for raising it in our Esteem. Nay, it is beyond all Controversie certain on the other side, that Natural Excellencies are much more desirable, and better than those that are studied and acquired. That it is much more Brave, and Great, and Divine, to act by the motions and spontaneous Perfections of Nature, than with the most exquisite Dexterity and nicest Improvements of Art ; in an easie, free, equal, and uniform manner, than with laborious Efforts, Uncertainly, and with Doubt, and Danger, and Perplexity of Thought. It is in the former of these two Senses, that we term Almighty GOD Good, his Excellencies are his Nature, Essential to him ; and if They could cease, he must cease to Be. And therefore to call not Him only, but even the Blessed Angels, and the Spirits of Just Men made perfect, Virtuous ; is a Diminution and Disparagement to them. Theirs is properly Goodness too, but Virtue is a Title too low for the Happiness of unfinning Perfection, a State of Indefeetibility, and above the reach of all Temptation. 'Tis true indeed, in the Condition we now live, where Dangers surround, and threaten, and Frailties betray us perpetually ; Virtue makes somewhat of noise and clutter, and is forced to act with some Vehemence ; and this gives it the Preference before smooth and still Goodness. For the generality of People always measure the Excellence of a Thing by the Shew, and the Difficulty ; and admire that most, which costs dearest ; but this is a false method of judging ; and we are not much to wonder if They are wrong here, who indeed are generally so in all their Estimations of Men and Things. For these great Swelling Performances, that look so big, and seem to be all Zeal and Fire, are not substantial, nor to the purpose ; They are no part of true Honesty, nor the Products of that

* *Difficilia quæ pulchra.* χαλεπὰ τε καλὰ. Plato.

fix'd Principle we are speaking of ; but rather intemperate Heats, and Feverish Fits, very different from that Wisdom we are now in quest of, which is healthful and moderate, gentle and calm, equal and uniform.

Thus much may suffice to be said of Honesty or Sincerity in general ; For as to the several Parts of it, and the particular Duties resulting from thence, they will come under our Consideration in the Third Book, and particularly, when we shall treat of the Virtue of Justice.

16.
Of Grace.

And here I find my self under an Obligation of discharging my Promise, in the necessary Addition of what follows in this Paragraph. To silence (if it be possible) the unjust Malice, and disadvantageous Character cast upon me by some who find fault with my (as they think them) Extravagant Commendations of Nature ; as if This were able to do every thing, and no other Assistances were required. To these Persons it might suffice to reply, that by *Nature* I understand (as was observed before) the God of Nature, and the Dictates of Eternal Reason, written and engraved in every Heart by His Almighty Hand. I might also alledge, that the Subject of this Book is only Natural, and Human ; and that the Author is not obliged by his Design to concern himself with any Virtues properly Divine, or the Advantages above the power of Nature to confer. But waving all this, I readily acknowledge, that to render the Virtue and Integrity I have been describing compleat, and give it all the Perfections it is capable of, one thing more is necessary : The *Grace of God* I mean ; which must animate and invigorate this Goodness and Probity, shew it in all its lustre, give the finishing stroke, refine and exalt it from a mere Moral to a Christian Virtue. This renders it accepted at the Throne of Heaven, approved of God, capable of an Eternal Recompence ; and so crowns it both with Perfection here, and a Reward hereafter. It is not easie to find Apposite Resemblances for Things which cannot present themselves to us by any sensible Ideas : But if you will pardon the meanness of the Comparison, I should almost venture to compare the Probity here insisted on, to a Skilful Master, who touches the Keys of an Organ with absolute Accuracy and Art ; but all to no purpose, the Instrument is dumb, till the Wind express the Excellence of his Hand, by giving Sound to the Instrument ; and making that Melody, which all his Mastery in playing was not able to do without it. Thus Moral Virtue is but a sort of Speculative

culative Perfection, till the Grace of God inspire, and enable us to put it in Practice, and produce the Fruits of it.

Now This is a Blessing which does not consist in refin'd Thought, nice Notions, and long or learned Discourses; it is not to be acquired by Rule, or the methods of Humane Industry and Art, nor can we attain to it by our own Labour and Toil; the utmost we can do is to prepare, and endeavour to qualifie our selves duly for the receiving it; for after All, Receive it we must; It is a Gift that comes down from on high, and the very Name of *Grace* is designed to represent to us the Good Will of the Donor, and that the Gift is entirely free. Our part is to ask, to seek, to implore it, with all imaginable Humility, and the most fervent Desires we are capable of. To prostrate our selves before the Throne of Grace, and with the utmost Contention of Heart and Voice to say, " Vouchsafe, O my God, " in thy Infinite Goodness to look down with an Eye of " Mercy and Pity upon thy poor Servant; Accept and " grant my Desires, assist my weak Endeavours, and " crown those good Inclinations, which are originally derived from Thee: The Law by which I stand obliged, " the Light by which I am instructed in my Duty, are of " thy Ordering; thou hast stamped our Nature with these " Impressions of Good and Evil, and shined in our Hearrs " by thy Precepts; O give Success to thy own Institution, and finish the Work thou hast begun; that so the " Glory and the Fruit may redound to the Planters use, " and thou may'st be first and last in all my Actions and " Designs, my Thoughts and my Desires. Water me abundantly with thy Grace, and take me for thy own, that I, " who am of my self miserable, and poor, and naked, and " blind, and weak, may be able to do even all things, " through Christ, who strengtheneth me.

These are proper Addresses upon such an Occasion, but the properest and most probable Method to obtain them, that is, to incline the Compassion of God, and dispose him to gratifie such Desires, will be strict Moral Honesty, and a Conscientious Observation of the Law of Nature to the best of our power. For this, though it be not an absolutely meritorious Cause, is yet a Conditional one, and a good Preparation for the receiving Supernatural Assistances; as Matter ready disposed is cloathed with the Form and the Vegetative and Sensitive Soul derived from our Parents, lead the way, and put all things in readiness, for the Ac-

cession of the Rational and Intellectual one, which proceeds from God. Thus Humane Wisdom is the Introduction to Divine Philosophy, the Handmaid to Religion, the Natural and Moral Duties of a Man subservient and Instrumental to the Liberty of a Christian, the Light, and Favour of the Children of God. He who does his best in the Matters of Reason, and Morality, gives God an occasion of exercising his Bounty, and bestowing larger and nobler Virtues upon him. It being an equitable Method, and such as our Blessed Saviour assures us, God himself proceeds by, to trust that Man with more and greater Talents, who hath approved himself diligent and faithful in the good management of less. To this purpose are all those Holy Aphorisms. *Thou hast been Faithful in a very little, be thou Ruler over much. God giveth the Holy Spirit to all them that ask Him. To him that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance. God denies no Man Grace, who does his utmost. God is wanting to no Man in necessary Supplies; and the like.*

On the other hand, To live in Contradiction and Defiance to Men's Natural Light, is to put one's self out of all Capacity of God's Favour, and, as much as in us lies, to make it impossible for Grace to be given us. Since He, who gives it, hath expressly declared upon what Conditions Men are allow'd to expect it; and if He exceeds those Measures, and bestows it upon persons wholly unqualified, this is beside the common Method, and an excepted Case from His regular Dispensations. This obstinacy and perverseness is expressly mentioned, as the Reason why our Saviour refused to Preach in some particular Places; and, since the Evangelists, St. Cyril, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustin, and other of the Fathers have largely Discouried upon that matter to this purpose.

By all which it appears evidently, that *Grace* and *Nature* are not contrary Principles; for (in the Sense I have all along used the Term in this Chapter) Grace is so far from forcing or destroying Nature, that it is a gentle and seasonable Relief to it; nay, it strengthens, and crowns, and perfects Nature. We must not therefore set these two in opposition to each other, but join both together, and put on the One as the Ornament, the Fulness, and just Finishing of the Other. Both proceed from God, though after different manners; and therefore we must neither put them at variance, nor confound them for want of duly distin-

distinguishing them asunder; for each hath its proper Springs, and peculiar Motions. They neither set out together, nor operate alike; though both came from the same place, and lead to the same End at last.

Nature may be without Grace, and when duly followed hath its commendation even then, in regard to those Circumstances which admitted of no more. Thus it was with the Philosophers and Great Men heretofore, Persons whose Proficiency under this First and General Law, and their Attainments in all sorts of Moral Virtue, may be allowed to excite our Wonder, as well as challenge our Praise. Such likewise is the Case of all Infidels at this day; because the Grace we speak of is a Gospel-Blessing, and They who are not under the Evangelical Covenant, have no Title to it. But *Grace* cannot be without *Nature*; because This is the Matter for it to work upon; for the business of *Grace* is to reform and perfect; and therefore This as necessarily supposes *Nature*, as the raising of a Roof supposes a Foundation to be laid, and Walls already carried up. The Organist may exercise his Fingers, 'tis true, upon the dumb Keys, and make his Hand; but the Harmony must come from the Breath; or if it could sound, yet would it be but like *St. Paul's tinkling Cymbal*, of no worth or significancy at all: But all the Air in the World will never make Musick of the Instrument, without a Hand to strike the Keys. In This I have been the more particular, and descended to familiar Comparisons, because some, I find, have suffered themselves to be led into very gross Mistakes upon the matter. Persons, who have never conceived a right and worthy Notion of that true Pobity and entirely Honest Principle we have been recommending; but are blown up with strange Romantick Conceits of Grace; which they doubt not to attain, and practise eminently well, without any regard to Morality; and by a Scheme of Pharisaical Accomplishments, some easie, lazy, formal Performances, which carry a great appearance of Sanctity to the World; but as for the real Substance, and inward Power of Goodness and Integrity, they give themselves no trouble at all about it. I see great store of these Men in the World every day; but alas! I can find but very few such as *Aristides*, *Phocien*, *Cato*, *Regulus*, *Socrates*; no *Epaminonda's*, no *Scipio's*, no Strict and Conscientious Professors, I mean, of stanch and solid Virtue; and Philosophical, or, if you please, common Justice, and downright Moral Honesty. The
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Reproaches and Complaints so liberally bestowed by our Saviour upon the *Pharisees*, and *Hypocrites*, will never be out of season ; for the persons obnoxious to these always abound ; and even those who set up for the great Censors of Manners, the Zealous Railers at Vice, and Grave Reformers of the World, are not all exempt from this Charge themselves. But enough of this. I have spoken largely of the Virtue it self ; now before I close this Chapter, I must take leave to add one word, concerning the Disposition of Mind contrary to it.

17. *Wickedness* Now Wickedness (or Evil Practices and Temper) is against Nature, it is deformed, odious, and offensive ; all that can judge and discern must needs detest and loath it ; which gave occasion for some to say, That it is a monstrous Birth, the Product of Brutality and Ignorance. It does not only provoke the Dislike and Aversion of others, but raises the Indignation of a Man's own Mind, who is guilty of it ; Repentance and Self-Condernation are its certain Consequences. It gnaws, and corrodes, and frets the Soul ; like an Ulcer in the Flesh ; makes one restless and uneasie ; out of Countenance and out of Conceit with himself ; and is ever busie in contriving and inflicting fresh Torments, as if it were ordained to be its own Executioner. Hence those Observations ;

** None quits himself ; his own impartial Thought
Will damn ; and Conscience will record the Fault :*

And again,
*Not sharp Revenge, nor Hell it self can find
A fiercer Torment than a Guilty Mind.*

Hence † *Wickedness is said to drink the greatest part of its
own Poison ; the bitterness and the dregs fall to its own share.*

* ———Prima est hæc ultio, quòd se
Judice, nemo nocens absolvitur.

Juv. Sat. xiii.

Pœna autem vehemens, ac multo sævior illis
Quas aut Cædicius gravis invenit, aut Rhadamanthus
Nocte dieque suum gestare in pectore testem.

Ibid.

† Malitia ipsa maximam partem veneni sui bibit : Malum consilium
consultori pessimum,

Evil

Evil Counsel turns most to the prejudice of the person that gives it. As the Wasp, though she may hurt and occasion some Smart to the Person stung by her, yet does it felt the greatest harm; and suffers more by the loss of its Sting, and being disabled for ever after. It is true, Vice is attended with some Pleasure; for were there not this to recommend it, Wickedness would never find any Entertainment in the World. No Man ever was, or can be vitious, merely for the sake, or satisfaction of being so. But still, when we have allowed this Advantage of a short and sensible Satisfaction; yet we must not forget what follows, and how poor a business this is, in comparison of that lasting Displeasure, and Dissatisfaction it begets afterwards. So that, as *Plato* says truly, The Punishment constantly follows the Sin; or rather indeed, as *Hesiod* yet more nicely observes, They are Twin-Children, and come into the World together. Now the Case of Virtue is just the Reverse of This; It gratifies, and soothes us; leaves sweet and pleasing Remembrances behind: Fills us with inward Complacencies, secret Congratulations of our own Happiness, and inexpressible Satisfaction, in having done what becomes us. This is the true Reward of a virtuous Mind, a Happiness inherent and essential to it. And the Applauses, and Joys, and Transports of a Good Conscience, as they are sure to us, and cannot be withheld by any who envy our Virtue, or our Fame; so are they likewise, so large and full, so Generous and Noble, and sufficient, as may very well encourage, and satisfy us, during our continuance in this present World.

That Vice is, above all things in the World, to be hated, 18.
abominated, and avoided, no body, that I know of, ever *Whether it*
pretended to dispute. But some Question may be made, *be ever al-*
whether we are oblig'd to be so general, and irreconcilable *lowable to*
in our Hatred, that it should be impossible for any Pleasure or Advantage so desirable to offer it self, for the pro- *do a fault.*
spect of which the committing of any Vice might not be allowable, at least excusable in us. Many People indeed are but too apt to think, that there are several such reserv'd Cases, wherein the common Rules of Morality may be very fairly dispens'd with. And, if we allow the Advantage to be publick, the Writers of Politicks make no doubt of it, (provided the proceedings be so qualify'd, as I shall have occasion to advise, when I come to treat of the Virtue of Prudence in point of Government). But some have not been

been content to restrain this Liberty to the necessities of State ; but have enlarg'd its bounds beyond their just extent; and given the same Allowance to the Private Pleasure and Profit of single Men. Now This is a thing not possible to be determin'd in favour of their Assertion, without the Case were stated in all its Circumstances ; and both the Person, the Quality of the Fact, and the Nature of the Advantage propos'd, particularly specify'd. But otherwise, while we treat of the Matter simply, and abstractedly, it is a general Rule, not only in Religion, but in meer Morality too, That the prospect of no Advantage or Pleasure whatsoever, will justify a Man in doing any thing ill in it self, or which is contrary to his Duty and Conscience.

19. Again ; It is past a doubt, that Sin and Wickedness hath
Whether all it not in its power to furnish out Pleasures and Satisfacti-
Sin begets ons so solid and agreeable, as Virtue and the Consciousness
Repentance of one's own Sincerity, is able and wont to do ; nay, it is
 most certain, that Vices are their own Tormentors, and ex-
 ecute severe Vengeance upon the Authors. But yet this is
 not universally, and in all Cases true ; and therefore it is ne-
 cessary to make some distinction of Persons and Circum-
 stances. Now Wickedness and Wicked Men may be distri-
 buted into three sorts. Some, *first*, are perfectly incorpora-
 ted with Evil, they Reason themselves into it ; their Re-
 solutions and the whole Bent of their Wills are fix'd entirely
 in its Interests ; or else long Custom hath got such a per-
 fect Mastery over them, that they cannot Disengage them-
 selves. These miserable Wretches are utterly abandon'd ;
 their very Understanding is Vitiated, sees, consents to, and
 approves the Evil : And This usually is the Case, when Vice
 and Debauchery meets with a Strong and Vigorous Mind,
 and hath taken such deep root in it, that it comes at last to
 be naturaliz'd, and of a-piece with it ; all the Faculties
 are tinctured, it is corrupted throughout, and Vice so close-
 ly interwoven, as to become a part of its Temper and Con-
 stitution. Others, *secondly*, have their Intervals of Folly
 only ; They are wicked now and then by fits, just as any
 violent Gush of a Temptation disturbs or puts them out
 of their Course ; or some impetuous Passion drives them
 headlong upon the Rocks ; so that these Men are surprized,
 and carried away forcibly, by a Current too strong for them
 to stem. The *third* sort are betwixt these two Extremes :
 They have a right Notion of Vice, considered in it self ; and
 when they reflect upon their Fault abstractedly, do severely
 accuse

accuse and condemn themselves for it ; and thus they differ from the First Sort, who are advanced even to the desperate degree of a good liking of Wickedness : But then they have not the violence or surprize of Passions or Temptations to qualifie and extenuate their Crime ; and in this respect they differ from the Second Sort too. But these Men go to work in cold blood, and with great deliberation ; they weigh Circumstances, and drive a Bargain as it were ; observe well the Heinousness of the Sin, and then put the Pleasure or Profit it brings, into the contrary Scale ; and thus they barter away their Souls, and are content to be wicked at a certain Price, and for such as they think a valuable Consideration. They lend themselves to the Devil, for so much Interest to be paid for the use of their Persons ; and are so foolish to think, that there is a great deal to be said, in excuse for such a Commerce as this. Of this kind we may reckon Extortion, and Oppression, and Covetousness for Gain ; and the Excesses and Debaucheries of Wine and Women for the sake of Pleasure ; and indeed several other Sins committed upon occasions, though they be not reigning and habitual ; such as Men think, and consult upon, and at last resolve wrong ; where the Will is manifestly concerned, or where the Complexion of the Man is apt, against his Reason and better Sense, to determine him.

Now the first of these Three sorts are past repenting by ordinary Means, and nothing less than an unusual, and almost miraculous Impression from Heaven can be supposed to reclaim them. For *they are* (as the Apostle expresses it) *past feeling, and commit Evil even with Greediness.* The Stings and Prickings of Wickedness are very sharp and piercing indeed, but these Mens Consciences are so tough and hardned, that nothing can enter them. Besides, The Understanding, as was observed, is brought over to an Approbation of the thing ; and so all Sense of Remorse must be lost, which proceeds chiefly from acting against our better Judgment ; The Soul is entirely corrupted, the Distinctions of Good and Evil obliterated and worn away ; and consequently the Will can be under no solicitude to restrain or refuse. The Third sort of Men, though they may appear in some measure to repent, and condemn themselves, yet in reality, and properly speaking, they do not. Take the Fact by it self, as a Matter unlawful and unbecoming, and so they disallow it ; but view it drest up in all its gay Attire, with all the Circumstances of Pleasure and Profit, that

20.

These three compared.

that recommend and set it off, and you shall find them of another Opinion. They think the Advantage of their Sin, a sufficient Compensation for the Guilt; and cannot be said to repent of That, which had the full and free Consent of their Reason and Conscience; and with which they are always ready to close, as often as it shall proffer it self upon the same Terms. So that in Truth the Second sort seem to be the only Persons, that are seriously concern'd to repent and reform. And since we are now upon the mention of Repentance, I shall take this opportunity to say one word upon that Subject.

21. *Repentance* is a Disposition, or rather an Act of the Will, whereby the Man disclaims, and so far as in him lies, undoes again what he had done before. It is a Grief and Sadness of Heart, but differing in this one respect from all other Pains and Passions of that kind, arising from external Causes, That Reason begets and heightens This, whereas it mitigates and expels Those. Repentance is wholly internal; the Ground and Foundation of it is from within, and upon that account it is more violent than any other: As the Cold of Agues and Heat of Fevers is more fierce and insupportable to the Patient, than any which is ever occasioned by Objects from without. Repentance is the Physick of the Soul; the Death of Vice; the only Health of wounded Consciences and Depraved Wills. But though all Mankind must agree in the Excellent Effects and Commendations of the thing, yet many mistake it; and therefore good care should be taken to distinguish aright, and be perfectly informed in this matter. As First; There are some sorts of Sin, of which Men very hardly, and seldom repent; as was observed just now concerning old inveterate Vices, such as Custom hath made in a manner natural and necessary, and the Corruption of the Judgment hath given Authority to, by determining in their Favour. For while a Man continues under the power of such Habits, and the Blindness of such an erroneous Choice; the sense of his Mind is with him; and he feels no Check or Reluctancy at all; so that Repentance, which implies such Regret, is (usually speaking) terminated in Accidental and Occasional Miscarriages; the sudden and surprizing Faults, where there is not leisure for Deliberation to interpose: or the violent Sallies of Passion, where the Judgment is over-power'd, and under some Constraint to do amiss. Another sort of things there are, which a Man cannot be said with any Truth or Propriety of

of Speech to repent of; and those are, Such as are out of a Man's own Power: At these indeed we may conceive a just Indignation, or be much concern'd, and extremely sorry for them; but we cannot be said to Repent of them, because This implies not only Sorrow, but the blaming and condemning our selves, and failing in what we might have done better. Nor does That displeasure of Mind deserve this Name, which proceeds from the disappointment of our Expectations or Events contrary to our Wishes and Intentions. We laid, as we thought, a very wise Project, and had a very fair prospect of Success; but Matters have hapned quite otherwise, than we imagin'd it likely or possible for them to do; and some unforeseen Accident steps in betwixt, and blasts the whole Design. Now pray, What is all this to the Matter in hand? or what ground can here possibly be for Repentance? The Design, and the Method, were well and justly contriv'd; every wise and good Man would have taken the same Course. You have done your Duty; but you have not succeeded in it. And is that any fault of Yours? You advis'd well, and proceeded regularly; and this is the utmost Man can do. For we can neither command Events, nor have any positive knowledge beforehand what they will be. The Uncertainty of the Issue is the foundation of all Prudence and good Conduct, for were This fix'd and foreknown, no place could be left for Deliberation and Management; And therefore there is not a greater weakness, nor a more unreasonable pretence in the World, either for tormenting our selves, or entertaining meaner thoughts of others, than Want of Success. Advice, and Conduct are by no means to be judg'd by the Event; for there is an unseen, and an unaccountable Providence, that directs all the Chances, that sometimes defeats the wisest, and prospers the weakest and most unpromising Counsels and Undertakings. Again; Repentance is not, as some fondly suppose, that Change of Mind, which proceeds from Old Age, Impotence, want of Opportunity, or want of Inclination, or any such Disrelish, as either Satiety and Excess, or a natural Alteration of Palate, brings upon us. For there is a mighty difference between forsaking Vice, and being forsaken of it; between denying our Appetites when they are keen and eager; and gratifying them by a pleasing Abstinence from what they are cloy'd with already. Besides, To like any thing the worse upon these accounts, is really a Corruption of, and a Reflection upon our Judgment.

ment. For the things are still the same; the same Approbation, or the same Dislike, was due to them heretofore, no less than now; All the Change is in our Selves only, and that too is a Change in no degree voluntary or chosen, but purely necessary or accidental, the effect of Age or Sickneſs. We ſpeak moſt improperly, when we ſay that a Man is grown wiſer or better in ſuch Caſes; for all the Reformation that proceeds from humour or diſcontent; from diſreliſh or diſability; is Fear, and Phlegm, Coldneſs and Liſtleſneſs. There is oftentimes not the leaſt of Real Conviction, or any Principle of Conſcience in it. And ſure a feeble Body is a very unfit Conveyance, to carry us to God, and drive us to Repentance and our Duty. For true Repentance is ſomewhat very different from all this; it is a particular Gift of God, by which we grow wiſe in good earneſt; a Remorſe, which checks our hotteſt Career, even in the miſt of Sprightlineſs and Courage; and this is what muſt be created and cheriſhed in us, not by the want of opportunities, or of power to uſe them, not by the weakneſs of a Body broken, and worn out, and grown unſerviceable to Vice any longer; but by the Strength of Reaſon and Thought, and the better conſideration of a Reſolute and Vigorous Mind. For nothing more argues Greatneſs of Soul, than the Correcting our former Follies, and Steadineſs in a new Courſe of Lite; notwithstanding all the Difficulties and Diſcouragements of an entire Reformation.

22.
Of confeſ-
ſing and ex-
cuſing
Faults.

Now One Fruit of true Repentance, is a frank, and conſcientious Confeſſion of one's Faults; This is uſually the Sign, the Conſequence, and in ſome Caſes ſo neceſſary a Qualification, that all Profeſſions of Penitence without it are Hypocritical and vain. It is with the Mind in theſe Reſpects, as with our Bodies. For, as in Bodily Diſtempers there are two ſorts of Remedies made uſe of, One, that make a perfect Cure, by going to the very Root, and removing the Cauſe of the Diſeaſe; Another, which only ſooth the Patient, conſult his preſent Eaſe; and are properly termed Quieting Medicines; and, as in this caſe, that former Application is much more painful, but withal more powerful and effectual, and better for the perſon, than the latter; So likewiſe in the Wounds and Sickneſſes of the Soul, the true Remedy is of a ſearching and a cleaſing quality; and This is ſuch an Acknowledgment of our Faults, as is full of Seriousneſs and Shame; a being content to take the Scandal, and the Folly of them upon our ſelves.

But

But there is another deceitful Remedy, which only covers and disguises them; its design is not to heal, so much as to conceal the Disease; and this consists in Extenuations and Excuses; from whence we commonly say, That *Wickedness makes it self a Garment, to cover its own Shame.* This is a Remedy invented by the Author of Evil himself; and it answers the Malice of his Nature and his purposes, by rendring the Party so much the worse, and obstructing the Methods of his Recovery. Such were the Shifts and Shufflings, such the Covering of their Nakedness, which the first Transgressors made; the Fig-leaves and the Excuses were both alike, and made the Matter but so much the worse, while they labour'd to mend it.

We should therefore by all means learn to accuse our selves; and get that necessary Conquest over our Pride and Self-love, as frankly and fully to confess the very worst of our Thoughts and Actions, and not allow our selves in any reserves of this kind. For, besides, that this would beget a brave and generous Openness of Soul; it would likewise be a wonderful Check, and effectual Preservative against all such Actions and Thoughts, as are not fit to be publicly known, and what a Man would be asham'd of, if they were so. For he that obliges himself to tell all he does, will be sure to take care not to do any thing which shall need to be conceal'd. But alas! the Common Practice of this naughty World is the direct contrary to the Advice I am giving. Every Man is discreet, and modest, and secret in the Confessing; but bold, and free from all restraint, in the Committing part. For as indeed the Confidence and Hardiness of the Crime, would be very much curb'd and abated; so likewise would it be in some measure compensated, by an equal frankness and hardiness in the accusing of our Selves, and acknowledging what we have done amiss. For whatever Indecency there may be in doing an ill thing, not to dare to confess our selves in the wrong, is ten thousand times more odious and base. To this purpose we may observe, that there are several Instances of Persons eminent for Piety and Learning; such as St. *Augustin*, *Origen*, *Hippocrates*, and the like; who have taken pains to disabuse the World, and to publish Books, wherein they confess and retract their own Mistakes and erroneous Opinions; and well were it, if People could be brought to such a degree of Sincerity, as to do the same in point of Morals and Misbehaviour. Whereas now, they oftentimes incur a greater Guilt,

by endeavouring to hide and smother a less; for a publick premeditated Lye seems to carry some Aggravations along with it, which render it more abominable and more Vicious, than some other Facts committed in secret; though these be such as in their own Nature are apt to raise a greater Abhorrence and Detestation in us. All this does but inflame the Reckoning; it either makes the first Fault worse, or adds a fresh one to it; and in either Case the Guilt of the Man is not abated, but increased; and whether we count this Increase by way of Addition, or of Multiplication, the Matter comes all to one.

C H A P. IV.

The Second Fundamental Point of Wisdom.

The Fixing to one's self a particular End, and then chalking out some determinate Track, or Course of Life: which may be proper for leading us to that End.

I.

After having spoken so largely concerning this first Fundamental Point, the Real and Hearty Sincerity, upon which Wisdom must be built, we are now led to say some small matter of the Second Predisposition, which is also necessary in order to living prudently and well. And That is, the Pitching upon, and Drawing out to one's self some determinate Method or Course of Life, that we may not live at large, and at random; but betake our selves to some particular sort of Business or Profession, which may be proper and convenient for us. My meaning is, such as a Man's own Temper and Natural Disposition qualifies him for, and applies it self cheartfully to; (with this Caution only, that, while we follow our own Nature in particular, there be a constant Regard had to the Dictates of Humane Nature in general, which is and ought to be the Great, the General, the Governing Mistress of us all, as you were told in the last Chapter.) For Wisdom is a gentle and regular Management of our Soul, that moves and acts in due measure and proportion, and consists in a constant Evenness of Life, and Consistency of Behaviour.

It

It must then of necessity be a matter of very great moment, to manage our selves well in making this Choice; ^{2.} *This no easy matter.* with regard to which People behave themselves very differently, and act with great Confusion and perplexity; by reason of the great variety of Considerations and Motives, which they are influenced with; and These many times such as interfere and confound one another. Some indeed are very fortunate in this Choice, and proceed with great Alacrity and Success; and these are such, as either by reason of a particular Happiness in their Nature, found no great difficulty in discerning and chusing what was most proper for their purpose; or else by some lucky hit, which spar'd them the trouble of any great deliberation, are thrown into their own Element; so that Fortune hath chosen for them, and fixed them right; or else the friendly assistance and discreet care of some Friends, who had the advising or the disposal of them, hath conducted them in this weighty Affair, to the best Advantage.

Others again are in the contrary Extreme, the most unhappy and ill-suited with their Circumstances, that can possibly be imagin'd. They made a false Step at first, and have never been able to retrieve it since. Either they wanted the Judgment to know themselves, or the diligence and care which was necessary, to take right Measures, or to think better, and knock off in time, when they found they had taken wrong. For the best thing left for Them to do, had been to recede quietly; whereas for want of this prudent retiring, they find themselves afterwards engag'd too far, and beyond all possibility of a Retreat. Which being now cut off, they are forc'd to drudge on, through infinite Inconveniences; and lead a Life made up of nothing else but Trouble and Constraint, Repentance and Discontents.

But then This frequently happens too, from some failure in the Person that deliberates about it, and considers amiss; as well as from the Ignorance or the Rashness of such as consider very little, or not at all. And That may be from a Man's mistaking his own Genius or Capacity; and thinking too highly of his own Abilities. And when upon these false Presumptions he hath undertaken any thing above his management, the Consequence of it is; Either to lay it down again with Disgrace; or else to live in perpetual pain, and torment, by obstinately persisting in an Attempt too much for him. We should always remember, that he that lifts a Burden, must be stronger than his Burden; for else

there is no Remedy, but he must let alone what he cannot carry, or sink under the weight of it. And a wise Man will always be Master of his own Business, and not undertake more than it is possible for him to dispatch.

There is also another Obstruction of this kind, no less common and fatal than the Former; which is a strange Levity of Temper, that never sticks to any thing, but is every day forming some new Project: Thus we see abundance of People that are never pleas'd or satisfy'd with any thing; every thing gives them uneasiness and discontent; Tired of Business, and Sick of Leisure; Governing and being Governed makes them equally restless, and they can neither lead nor follow quietly. Such Creatures as these are doom'd to Wretchedness irrecoverable; for they are always under Constraint and Misery; every thing they do is grievous, and against the grain: And, which adds yet more to their Unhappiness, they can never rest in quiet, but are always in motion and bustle, and all the while without any design; constantly busie, and nothing done; whereas the Actions of a Wise Man have always some Aim, to direct and determine them. ** And you must know, 'tis no small commendation for a Man to be constantly the same; for all of us are of a thousand different forms and shapes, and none but the Wise Man is all of a-piece.*

But the greater part of Mankind never bestow any serious thought upon the matter; and if you ask why they are of this Profession rather than any other, the only account they are able to give is, that their Father was of it, or that they took a sudden fancy to it; they are carry'd by Instinct or Constraint, their own blind Inclination, or the Authority of Friends and Relations. And as they engag'd in it without Thinking, so they are at a loss how to disengage again.

3. Now in order to a Man's managing himself in this Affair as he ought; that both his Choice may be wisely made, and the Discharge of the Employment he hath chosen may prove successful; there are Two things which require a very particular Consideration; and these are The true Nature and Condition, both of Himself, and of his Business.

1. First, it is absolutely requisite, he should be perfectly well acquainted with his own Mind; the Constitution, In-

** Magnam rem puta unum hominem agere; præter sapientem nemo unum agit, multiformes sumus.*

clination,

clination, Capacity, and Temper of Soul and Body both; Wherein it is, that his Excellency lies; and which are his weak and blind Sides: What he is qualified for, and of What he is incapable, or less disposed to. For a Man that goes against Nature, does in effect tempt God, and bid defiance to Providence; he cuts himself out a great deal of Work, which he can never finish; and by breaking that known Rule, of ** attempting nothing which we cannot master*; exposes himself to Scorn and Derision, and becomes the Jest of all that know him.

2. After this Knowledge of himself, it is, in the next place, as necessary, that he should be acquainted with his Business; that is, with That Employment, or Trust, or particular Condition of Life, which he proposes to fix in. For there are some Professions incumbered with Matters of great Difficulty; Others of vast importance; a Third sort, that expose us to Danger; and a Fourth, where the Business, though it be not of any mighty Consequence, is yet extremely intricate and perplexed; and involves a Man in a World of Trouble and Care, and other Affairs that depend upon, or are interwoven with it. Now all Employments of this Nature do greatly harass and fatigue the Mind; and keep one's Thoughts always busie and bent. Besides, As the Business of each Profession differs from the rest, so do the Faculties and Parts, that qualify Men for it. One requires Accuracy of Judgment; Another Liveliness of Imagination; a Third, Strength of Memory; and a Man may be very eminent and commendable in himself; and yet spoil all, by being in a wrong way. Now what hath been formerly observed in the first Book, concerning the Parts and Faculties of the Mind in general, and the differing Temperaments of the Brain, may, I presume, be of some use in this point; and, if judiciously applied, assist and direct Men toward the Understanding, both the Nature of each Profession, and Course of Life; and their own Fitness or Incapacity for it. For by examining first their own Disposition, and then the State of Life they have thoughts of, and then confronting, and comparing these two together, they will soon discern, whether these will ever hit it, and agree long with each other; for agree they must, or no Good can be done: This will quickly shew Men what they are to trust to. For if it happen, that a Man be obliged to struggle

* Nec quidquam sequi quod assequi nequeas.

with his own Inclination, and must conquer, and commit a violence upon his Nature, to make it serviceable to his purpose, and capable of discharging the Employment he hath taken upon him; Or, on the other hand, if in obedience to Nature, and to gratifie our Inclination, we are, either with our own consent, or insensibly and against our Wills, trapan'd into a Course, that falls short of our Duty, or runs counter to it; what miserable Confusion and Disorder must here needs be? How can we ever expect Evenness, under so much Force? Constancy from so much Constraint, or Decorum where every thing is against the Grain? For, as is well observed, * *If there be such a thing as Decency in the World, it is seen in nothing more than in an easiness and consistency both of one's whole Life in general, and of each particular Action in it. And this Decorum can never be maintain'd, if you live in conformity to other peoples Dispositions, and have no regard to the following your own.* There cannot be a vainer Imagination, than to suppose any thing can last long, or be well done, and eminently good in its kind, or that it can become a Man, or sit easie upon him, if there be not somewhat of Nature and Inclination in it.

† — *Discern which way your Talent lies,
Nor vainly struggle with your Genius.*

Lord Roscom.

|| *That which is most a Man's own, is always most graceful; And we must always take care so to order matters, as first to offer no Violence against Nature in general; and then to follow our own Genius in particular.*

But now, if it should so fall out, that a Man, either through Misfortune, Imprudence, or any other Accident, should perceive himself entred into a Profession, and course of Life, full of Trouble, inconvenient, and improper, and that he is so deeply engaged too, that there is no possibility

* Si quicquam decorum, nihil profecto magis, quam æquabilitas Vitæ universæ & singularum actionum; quam conservare non possis, si aliorum imitans Naturam, omittas tuam.

† Tu nihil invitâ dices faciesve Minervâ.

Hor. Art. Poet.

|| Id quemque decet quod est suum maximè. Sic est faciendum, ut contra naturam universam nil contendamus; eâ servata propriam sequamur.

of changing, or getting quit of it; in this case, all that Wisdom and good Conduct hath to do, is to resolve upon supporting, and sweetning it; keeping one's self easie, and making the most of it: Like skilful Gamesters, who when they have an ill Throw, mend it in the playing. For *Plato's* Counsel is best upon these occasions, the bearing our Chance patiently, and managing it to all the Advantage an ill Bargain is capable of. You see what a Knack of this kind Nature hath given to some sort of Creatures; when the Bees out of an Herb so rough, and harsh, and dry, as Thyme is, can extract so sweet a Substance as Honey. And This is such an Excellence, as all those wise and good Men imitate, who manage Difficulties dextrously, and, as the Proverb expresses it, *make a Virtue of Necessity.*

C H A P. V.

*The First Act or Office of Wisdom.**The Study of, and Serious Endeavour after True Piety.*

THE necessary Preparations to Wisdom, being thus explain'd in the former Chapters, which are in the manner of laying our Foundation, it may now be seasonable to proceed to the Building it self, and erect upon this Ground-work, the Rules and Precepts of Wisdom. And here the First, both in Order and Dignity, which offers it self to our Consideration, concerns true Religion, and the Service of Almighty God. For certainly Piety ought to have the precedence of all Virtues, and is the highest and most honourable in the Scale of Duties; But the greater and more important it is, the more we are concerned to have a right notion of it; especially, when to the infinite consequence of the thing, we add the danger of being mistaken, and withal, how very common and easie it is, to deceive our selves in this Point. Great need therefore we have of Caution and good Advice, that we may be truly inform'd, how the Man who makes Wisdom his Aim and Business, ought to manage himself upon this weighty Occasion. And the giving Directions of this na-

ture is the design of my present Discourse; after I have first made a short Digression concerning the State and Success of several sorts of Religion in the World. Of which I shall chuse to speak but briefly here, and refer my Reader for farther Satisfaction, to what I have said more at large to this purpose, in another Treatise of mine, called the *Three Truths*.

I.
Difference
of Religi-
ons.

And first of all, I cannot but take notice, how dismal and deplorable a thing, the great Variety of Religions is, which either now do, or formerly have obtained in the World. And, which is yet a greater Misfortune and Reproach, the Oddness of some of them; Opinions and Rites, so fantastical, so exorbitant, that it is just matter of Wonder and Astonishment, which way the Mind of Man could so far degenerate into Brutality, and be so miserably besotted with Frauds and Folly. For upon Examination it will appear, that there is scarce any one thing so high or so low, but it hath been Deified; and even the vilest and most contemptible parts of the Creation, have, in some Quarter of the World or other, found People blind enough to pay them Divine Honours, and Adoration.

Now, notwithstanding this Difference be really as vast, and as horrid, as I have intimated, or my Reader can imagine; yet there seem to be some General Points in common, which, like Principles or Fundamentals, are such, as Most, if not All of them have agreed in. For however they may wander from one another, and take different Paths afterwards, yet they set out alike, and walk hand in hand for some Considerable Time. At least they appear, and affect to do so; the Devil transforming himself into an Angel of Light, and undermining the Truth by Mimicking it; as knowing that the most effectual Art to seduce Men is by contriving fair and plausible Lyes; and dressing up Wickedness in its most engaging Attire. To this purpose it is observable, that the most prevailing Persuasions have sprung from the same Climate; and first drew Breath in almost the same Air. *Palestine* I mean and *Arabia*, which are Countries contiguous to one another. Some of their First and Main Principles are very near alike; such as the Belief of one God, the Maker and Governor of all Things; All own the Providence of God, and his particular Love and Favour for Mankind; the Immortality of the Soul; a Reward in Reserve for the Good; and terrible Punishments,

nishments, which await the Wicked, even after this Life ; some particular Profession, and set Form of Solemn and External Worship, by which they put up their Prayers, invoke the Name of God, and think that a decent Honour, and acceptable Service and Homage is paid to the Divine Majesty by so doing. To give these a better Countenance and greater Authority in the World, some of them really produce, and others pretend Revelations, Visions, Prophecies, Miracles, Prodigies, Holy Mysteries, and eminent Examples of Saints, Persons exemplary for their Piety, or Sufferings, or Doctrine ; and these Allegations, whether true or false, speak the General and Natural Sense of Mankind to agree in the expectations of Revelation from Heaven, and that Miracles are proper Attestations of them. Each hath a particular Scheme of its own, which distinguishes the Receivers of it from Those of different Persuasions, and imposes certain Articles of Faith, and Forms of Discipline ; Some as Terms of Communion, and Marks of Distinction, and Others as necessary to be believed in order to Salvation. All of them have at first been weak, and low, and little regarded ; but from those slender Beginnings have by degrees gained ground upon the People, been insinuated, received, applauded, and at last entirely submitted to, by vast Multitudes ; spread far and wide, and establish'd themselves ; as if Opinions ran like contagious Diseases, and all that came within the Air of them, were sure to catch the Infection. And yet some of these owe all their Authority to Fictions and Tricks ; insomuch that even the absurdest and most senseless of all Errors, have been embraced with as great Reverence and Devotion, and maintained with as much Stiffness and as Positive a Confidence, as the very Truth it self. All of them do likewise agree in their Notions of Appeasing God ; and teach unanimously, that Prayers, and Offerings, Promises and Vows, Days of Extraordinary Humiliation and Thanksgiving, are proper Methods to incline his Ear, and obtain his Favour and good Acceptance for our Persons and our Requests ; All believe, that the Principal and most pleasing Service we can pay to God, the most powerful Means of averting his Indignation, reconciling our selves, and becoming agreeable to him, is by giving one's self some torment and trouble ; by laying heavy Burdens upon our selves, and cutting out a great deal of Work, the more difficult and contrary to our Inclination, the better, and more meritorious. For what other

other account but this, can we give of those infinite professed Austerities enjoind to particular Orders, the abundance of Fraternities and Societies of Men, which in all Religions throughout the World, the *Mahometan* as well as *Christian*, are devoted to sundry peculiar Exercises, full of Severity and Discipline, of Poverty and Pain, and Corporal Sufferings; even so far in some of them, as to scourge, and Wound, and mangle their own Persons? These are observ'd to be more numerous, and differently Instituted in False Religions, than the True: And All this, from a strong persuasion, that they merit by this Discipline and voluntary Cruelty; and are in proportion so much better Men than Others, as they afflict and torment themselves more than They. An Imagination which still prevails, and such as human Nature is never like to get quit of; for we see every day fresh Instances, and new Inventions of this kind, and what Industry Men use to be more ingenious and exquisite, in contriving new sorts of mortification and punishment. Now all this, I say, can be accounted for no other way, than by assigning it to an Opinion, that God takes delight, and is wonderfully pleas'd with the Sufferings and Calamities of his Creatures: * An Imagination, which to those who think Sacrifices to have been of human Invention, seems to have been the Ground of all that way of Worship, which, before the Christian Religion made its Appearance in the World, was universally practis'd. Thus harmless Beasts were butcher'd every where, and their Blood spilt, and poured out upon Altars, as a valuable Present to the Divinity; and thus too in some Places (so prodigious was the Infatuation of Mankind) poor little innocent Children were barbarously tortur'd and murder'd; and Grown Persons, sometimes Malefactors, and sometimes Men of emi-

* An Imagination which, *To those who think Sacrifices to have been of Human Invention*, seems to have been the Ground of all that way of Worship. I have, in the rendring of this Passage, added those Words, *To those who think Sacrifices to have been of Human Invention*, not supposing it at all proper, to let the Sentence run in general Terms, when the Matter affirm'd here by our Author is, (to say the least of it) so very disputable. And accordingly I beg the Reader's leave to detain him a little upon this occasion, while I lay before him the Mistake of our Author, in these Two particulars, with Relation to Sacrifices: The First whereof is designed to shew; That Sacrifices were not at all of Human Invention Originally. The Second, That supposing them to have been so, yet this Superstiti-

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ous and False Imagination of a God taking delight in the Sufferings and Calamities of his Creatures, does not seem to have been the Foundation of them, but rather other Notions of the Deity, of a very different kind from This.

First then, I desire it may be consider'd, Whether Sacrifices were Originally of Human Invention at all; which they must needs have been, to justify Monsieur Charron's Opinion of their proceeding from an Erroneous and most Unbecoming Idea of God, entertained in the Minds of Ignorant Men. This indeed hath been a Point upon which Learned Men have differed in all Ages, and very great Authorities it is to be confessed there are on both Sides. The Learned Reader, who hath the Leisure and Curiosity to inform himself how this matter stands, may see the Variety of Judgments, and the Ground of them, in the several Commentators upon the Fourth and Eighth Chapters of *Genesis*, where the Sacrifices of *Abel* and *Noah* are mentioned; or if that be too Laborious to compare Expositors, Two of our Learned Countrymen will help him to a short and full Collection of what can be said for that side which asserts the Human Invention of Sacrifices: Dr. *Outram*, I mean, in his Book *De Sacrificiis*, Lib. 1. Cap. 1. *De Sacrificiorum Origine*: and Dr. *Spencer*, in his Treatise *De Legibus Hebræorum*, Lib. 3. Dissert. 2. Cap. 4. *De Ratione & Origine Sacrificiorum Patriarchalium*.

It would be too great an Expence both of the Reader's time and my own, as well as improper for the nature of an Advertisement, to lay down at large all that is usually argued on both sides of the Question. The sum of it may be reduc'd within a narrow Compass; and therefore I shall with all possible Brevity, mention the Arguments of Those who maintain the Human Invention of Sacrifices, together with the Reasons which I conceive may persuade the Contrary rather, and that in regard they either seem to take off the Force of their Arguments; or otherwise recommend the Divine Institution of Sacrifices, as an Opinion more probable, and liable to less Difficulties.

I. First then, it is urged, That God himself denies, that he ever Instituted Sacrifices, till after the *Israe'ites* Deliverance out of their *Egyptian* Bondage; from whence the Conclusion is this; That whatsoever Sacrifices were offered before that time, they must necessarily be of Man's own Devising, since we have the Testimony of God, declaring in very solemn manner, that they were not of his Appointment. The Texts insisted upon to this purpose are those two, *Isaiah* i. 11, 12. *To what purpose is the Multitude of your Sacrifices unto me, saith the Lord? I am full of the Burnt-offerings of Rams, and the Fat of fed Beasts, and I delight not in the Blood of Bullocks, or of Lambs, or of He-goats; when ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hands, to tread my Courts?* The Other, *Jerom* vii. 21, 22. *Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, Put your Burnt-offerings unto your Sacrifices, and eat Flesh. For I spake not unto your Fathers, nor commanded them in the day, that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning Burnt-offerings or Sacrifices.* Now

Now any one, who considers the Occasion of these Passages, will find that both of them are intended for a Reproof to the Hypocrisy of the *Jews*, and a Check to that Confidence, they reposed in those Ritual Performances, though void of that real Devotion, and inward Purity, which alone was acceptable to God. The Context in each place manifestly proves this to have been their design, and the want of Comparative degrees in the *Hebrew* Language, will suffer no great stress to be laid upon the Negative Form of Speech. That known Instance quoted by our Blessed Lord, *I will have Mercy and not Sacrifice*, is Key sufficient to these before us, and can warrant our concluding only thus much from them; "That God prefers substantial Holiness infinitely before these things; that Obedience was That Thing he always required, and Sacrifices being in reality but so many professions of That, were not properly to be look'd upon as Essential Duties, wherein the *Israelites* part of the Covenant consisted; that These were by no means what he aimed at in admitting them to Covenant with himself; and consequently, when destitute of their Substance and End, were empty and insignificant, of no account with God, and not a Worshipping him, but, to speak plainly and truly, what he very emphatically, and contemptuously calls, a *Treading his Courts*". I add too, that this Text of *Jeremiah* cannot possibly be taken in a strict and literal Sense, since it is manifest God did speak to their Fathers in the very day that he brought them out of *Egypt*, concerning one Sacrifice, the Passover, I mean, which though a Feast, yet is it frequently termed a Sacrifice too; and therefore some Interpreters here have taken refuge in restraining that Text to Sin-Offerings and Peace-Offerings, and not extending it to Sacrifices at large; which yet will not answer their purpose, since the very same *Hebrew* word, which *Jeremy* makes use of, is twice together apply'd to the Passover by *Moses*, *Deut. xvi. 5, 6.*

Matt. ix. 13.
xii. 7. from
Hosea vi. 6.

Deut. xvi. 1,
5, 6.
1 Cor. v. 8.
זֶבַח
Zabach Lo
Tizbach.

II. A Second Argument is drawn from *Cain* and *Abel* Offering, each the product of his own Labours respectively, which makes it probable, that such Oblations were the product of a grateful Mind, dictating to them that God ought to have some acknowledgment, and return made him for his Benefits. Now that Nature might inform Men, of a Duty incumbent upon them to Worship God, and the Common Notions of Gratitude put them upon applying part of their Substance to the Honour and Service of Him, who gave the whole, Men find easie to apprehend. But the difficulty is, How Nature should inspire Men with a Thought, that Burning this by Fire, or otherwise ordering it, as the Custom of Sacrifices was, is a proper Method of expressing their Honour for, and Gratitude to God. Again, Had Sacrifices been a Dictate of Nature, How came they ever to be Abolished, since the Natural is part of that Law, which our Saviour came *not to destroy, but to perfect and fulfil*? This Inconvenience *Dr. Outram* was sensible of, and therefore he makes a distinction between the First and Eternal Dictates and Laws of

Matt. v. 17.

of Nature, and other Institutions and Ordinances in pursuance of, and agreement with those. Whether this be sufficient to clear the Difficulty, I leave the Reader to judge, and for that purpose I have presented him with the whole Passage in the * Margin. One thing only I desire may be observed, which is, That this Argument, of what force soever it may prove, for Sacrifices of Thanks, yet can give no Countenance at all to Those of any Other Sort; and particularly not to the Expiatory, which Mons. Charron hath chiefly regard to, if not to them alone, in this place.

III. A Third Reason is taken from the great Design God seems to have had in the Legal Sacrifices, That of containing the *Israelites* within the Worship of One God, and in order to it, condescending so far to their Infirmitities, and the Infection they had taken from the Idolatry of *Egypt*, as to conform their Worship and Rites to those of the Heathen World. Now it is not to be deny'd, but this seems to have been the Case, and probably the best account why such particular Rites were instituted; but to make the Argument effectual, we must enquire, how those Heathen came by Their Sacrifices and Ceremonies. For That may be a very good and rational Explanation of the *Mosaic* Institution, which is not a sufficient account of the Patriarchal Religion. And in the Sequel of this Discourse my Reader will find occasion to consider, whether there were not another End to be served by the Sacrifices both Patriarchal and Levitical, which mere Nature could not attain to, and therefore a Positive Institution was necessary for the promoting it.

IV. It may be said Fourthly, That as God left the first Ages of the World, to the Dictates of Nature and right Reason in the Discovery and Practice of Moral Duties, so it is most likely they were left to the same Guidance for the exercise of Religion too; and if any Notions and Ceremonies grew common upon this occasion, not so agreeable to the Nature of true Religion, and the Dignity of an Almighty Majesty; these are capable of great Allowances, and suit well enough with the Simplicity of the First Ages of the World.

To This I presume it may suffice to answer, That the Case of Moral Duties, and Religious Rites is very different: The One are purely the result of a reasonable and thinking Mind; The Other of a Nature which we must needs be much in the dark about. For though Reason would convince me, that God is to be worshipped, yet He alone can tell me, what Worship will be acceptable to him.

* *Id unum hoc in loco monere visum est, hos qui suâ cujusque sponte primo Sacrificium judicant, etiamsi fortè, quibusdam in locis incautius loqui videantur; hunc tamen Sacrificandi ritum ad Naturæ Leges propriè dictas, æternas utique & immutabiles non referre; sed ad ejusmodi Instituta, quæ Ratio Naturalis excogitaverit tanquam ad conspicuum Dei cultum, apta satis & idonea. Prius illud si qui fecerint, ex eo falsi arguentur, quod Christus Sacrificandi ritus apud Veteres olim usitatos penitus apud Suos delevit; qui idem tamen tantum absuit, ut nullas aboleret Naturæ Leges, ut hæc omnis Auctoritate suâ ratas, certas, ac firmas fecerit. Outram, de Sacrif. Lib. I. Cap. I. Sect. IV.*

At least, if I must beat out my own Track, the Notions I entertain of God must direct me. Now These might convince a Man, that Purity and Sincerity, Justice and Goodness, and the like, must needs please an Infinitely perfect Being. But which way could an Imagination so foreign enter into Mens heads, as that God should be pleas'd with the Blood and Fat of Beasts? Admit These to have been the Chief of their Substance, and devoted, because as such fittest for them to express their Acknowledgments by; that as devoted and entirely set apart to Holy Uses, it could not without Sacrilege be partaken of by Men, and that from hence the Custom of Burning the Sacrifice took its Original: Yet what shall we say to the Expiatory Oblations? And how could Men by any Strength of Reason comprehend the Possibility of a Vicarious Punishment; or hope that the Divine Justice should be appeas'd by Offerings of this kind, and accept the Life of the Offender's Beast, instead of the forfeit Life of the Offender himself? These things seem to be far out of the Way and Reach of Human Discourse; it is scarce, if at all, possible to conceive what should lead the Generality of Mankind to such Consequences, such Ideas of God as These: And I think little needs be said to convince Men, that the Difference is vastly great between such Religious Rites, and those Moral Duties which have their foundation in the best Reason, and are all of them so coherent, so agreeable to sober and uncorrupted Nature, that the more we attend, and the closer we pursue them, the greater Discoveries we shall be sure to make, and the more consistent will be all our Actions with the first, and most obvious Principles of the Mind. So that no Parity of Argument can lie between these Two.

*Spencer,
Lib. III.
Cap. IV.
Diff. II.
Sect. II.*

The Force of this Reason is sufficiently confess'd by the very Learned Asserter of that Other Opinion; nor can he deny (as some, I think, with a design to make short work of it, have done) that Expiatory Sacrifices were offered before the Law: But then These are supposed to proceed not from any positive persuasion, or good assurance of obtaining Pardon by that means; but some Hope, that God would have regard to the Pious Intention of the Person, and consider and restore him upon that account. Which Opinion *Arnobius* exposes in such a manner, as plainly to shew, that it generally prevail'd; and many Testimonies of Heathen Writers themselves confess, that they looked upon God to be capable of being mollified and won over, as Angry Men are, by Submissions, and Presents, and other sweetning Methods. All which Misapprehensions are conceiv'd agreeable to the Darkness of Pagans, and the Simplicity of Earlier Ages.

Now with all due Reverence to the Authority of those Great Men who urge it, I can by no means satisfy my self with the Colour they give to these Arguments, from the rude unpolished State of Men in the first Ages of the World. This, I know, is a Notion very agreeable to the Heathen Philosophers and Poets, and Their Accounts of the Original of this World, the Progress of Knowledge, and

and Improvement of Mankind. And This might probably agree well enough with that Age when *Abraham* and his Seed were chosen out from the midst of a dark and degenerate Race. But whether it agree with the Times of *Abel* and *Noah*, and the *Antediluvian* Fathers, will bear a great Dispute. We fancy perhaps, that before there was any Written Word, all was dark; but there is no Consequence in That; nor will it follow, because Arts and Profitable Inventions for the Affairs of this Life, grew up with the World; that Religion too was in its Infant Weakness and Ignorance in those early Days. *St. Chrysostom*, I am sure, gives a very different account of the Matter; He says, the Communications of God's Will were more liberal and frequent then; that Men lived in a sort of familiar Acquaintance with him, and were personally instructed in Matters necessary and convenient; much better enabled to worship and serve him acceptably; and because they did not discharge their Duty, and answer their Advantages, that he withdrew from this Friendly way of conversing with Mankind; and then to prevent the utter Loss of Truth, by the Wickedness and Weakness of Men, a Written Word was judged necessary; and That put into Books, which the Corruption of Manners had made unsafe, and would not permit to continue clear and legible, in Men's Hearts. In the mean while the Preference he manifestly gives both for Knowledge and Purity, to the First Ages; and compares the Patriarchs at the beginning of the World in this Point, to the Apostles at the beginning of Christianity; as Parallels in the Advantages of Revelation, and Spiritual Wisdom, infinitely superior to the succeeding Times of the Church. And it is plain, from Scripture it self, that *Enoch*, *Noah*, and other Persons eminently pious, signally rewarded for it, and inspired with God's own Spirit, were some of those early Sacrificers. Persons to whose Character the pretended Simplicity and Ignorance of the first Ages of the World, will very ill agree.

*Hom. 1. in
Matth.*

V. There is, I must own, a great Prejudice against this Divine Institution of Sacrifices, from the Book of *Genesis* being silent in the thing; it being urged, as a mighty Improbability, that so considerable an Ordinance, and One which grew so general, should have no mention made of its first Command, and Establishment; especially, when so many things of seemingly less moment, are expressly taken notice of; and by that means strengthen the Opinion, which attributes a matter acknowledged on all hands to be of Consequence, to some Original, other than Immediately Divine.

Now if we consider the Design and Manner of the Book of *Genesis*, it will by no means appear strange to us, that many things should be omitted; This being, I conceive, intended chiefly to give a short Account of the Creation and Fall of Man, the Promise of a Redeemer, and to draw down the Line of Descent to the Chosen Seed, from whence our Saviour sprung, and the People of the *Jews*, the Figure of the Christian Church, derived themselves. So that Their History and Religion being the principal Subject of the

Five

Five Books of *Moses*, we find very little Enlargement upon Particulars till after the Call of *Abraham*. For if we consider the Three first Chapters containing the Creation and Fall of our first Parents, the VIth, VIIth, VIIIth, and IXth giving an Account of the Deluge, and Preservation of *Noah's* Family; there remain but four more, before the Call of *Abraham*; and in those the Succession from *Adam* to *Noah*, the Dispersion of *Noah's* Posterity for peopling the World, and the Occasion of that Dispersion, are contained. 'Tis true, some things are inserted which to Us seem of less moment; but, besides that, some account may in reason be given, why they should be mentioned, the Holy Spirit, who indited these Books, was the best Judge of That. But it is also true, that several other things as considerable as This are omitted likewise, which we do not upon that score disbelieve; such particularly, as Those of Times stated, and Assemblies convened for the Publick Worship of God; and certainly it is as necessary and as important at least to expect a Revelation for the Solemn Service of God, as for any particular Mode of Serving or Addressing to him.

I have now laid before my Reader the State of the Case, as They who alledge Human Invention for Sacrifices have put it; and in the Answer to those Arguments, have given some for the Contrary Opinion. That the Authorities on that Side are considerable, is acknowledged; but the General Sense of the Christian Church seems to incline to Divine Institution. And the most reasonable account of this Matter, if I apprehend it rightly, stands thus.

That Almighty God instructed *Adam*, how he would please to be Worshipped, and *Adam* trained his Family and Posterity, both by Example and Instruction, in the same Solemn Methods of Serving and Addressing to God.

That from the Time of a Redeemer's being promised, Expiatory Sacrifices were both instituted, and practised; partly as an Intimation to Men of their own Guilt, and the final Destruction they deserved; and partly as a Shadow and Prefiguration of that Vicarious Punishment, which God had promised to admit for the Sins of Men; in the Redemption of the World by the perfect Sacrifice of his Son.

That as no Age of the World can be instanc'd in, when God did not afford Men some visible Signs, and Sacraments, of his Favour, and the Covenant between Him and Them; so the Ages before the Institution of the *Jewish* Law, (which abounded with very expressive and particular Significations of this kind) had Sacrifices for that purpose.

That the Heathen Sacrifices were not pure Inventions of Men, but Corruptions of a Divine Institution. Which being propagated to all the Off-spring of *Adam*, was differently received, and depraved by the Uncertainty of Tradition, long Tract of Time, the Artifice of the Devil, and Mens own Vicious Affections. Of which whoever reads the Apologies for Christianity, will find Proofs in abundance:

and be convinced that the Pagan Idolatry was built originally upon the Worship of the True God, vitiated, and perverted, and misapplied. For we must in Reason be sensible, that the likeliest, and most usual way, by which the Devil prevails upon Men, is not by empty and groundless Imaginations, or Inventions perfectly new; but by disguising and mimicking the Truth, and raising erroneous and wicked Superstructures upon a good and sound Bottom.

It is therefore, it seems at least in my poor Opinion, most probable, that the *Jewish* Ceremonies were indeed adapted to the *Egyptian* and other Pagan Rites, which the *Israelites* had been acquainted with, and were not then in a Condition to be entirely weaned from. But withal, that those Pagan Sacrifices were Corruptions of the old Patriarchal; not entirely mere Inventions of their own, but Additions only, and Extravagant Excrescencies of Error, to which the Truth and Positive Institution of God first gave the hints and occasions. For though it can very hardly be conceived how Sacrifices should be of mere Humane Motion; yet there is no difficulty in supposing, that the Thing once Instituted, and once Established, might be abused, and depraved to very prodigious and abominable purposes. As it was, no doubt, very early in that universal degeneracy to Idolatry, from which it pleased God to rescue *Abraham* and his Posterity.

One very Remarkable Circumstance contributing to the strength of this Opinion is, that almost every where the Ceremonies in the Act of Oblation, seem to be very much alike; which is very natural to an Exercise and Institution derived down from One common Head; and originally fixed by a Positive Command; but scarce conceivable of an Invention merely Humane; where Men in all likelihood would have run into as great Diversity, and thought themselves as much at Liberty as they do in the Affairs of Common Life. But especially, the Sacrificing Beasts by way of Atonement obtained universally, and the Imagination of Their Blood being necessary and effectual for Pardon. Which, I confess, if a Dictate of Reason and Nature only, is certainly the strangest, and most remote from any present Conceptions we are able to form of the Dictates of Nature, of Any that ever yet prevailed in the World. And therefore This is scarce accountable for any other way, than from the Promise of a Redeemer and Sacrifice to come, which the Sacrifices of Beasts were in the mean while appointed to represent.

That such an Institution agrees very well with all the Ends of Sacrifice, is not to be denied. For the Death of the Beast, though not personally felt by the Offender, would yet give him a full and very expressive Idea, of the fatal Consequences of Sin; and the Acceptance of that Life, instead of his own which was forfeited, and by that Act of Sacrificing acknowledged obnoxious to Divine Justice, was a lively representation of the Mercy of God. But still the Apostles Argument is founded in Reason, and may be an Ap-

Taylor's
Ductor Du-
bit. B. II.
Chap. 3.
N. 30.

peal to all Mankind, *It is not possible, that the Blood of Bulls and of Goats should take away Sin.* And therefore not only *Eusebius* in his Xth Chapter of *Demonstrat Evang Lib I.* ascribes this Worship to Divine Inspiration, but *Aquinas* says, That before the Law Just Men were instructed by an Inward Instinct after what particular manner God would be Worshipped; as they were afterwards under the Law by External Precepts. So *Plato* says, That no Mortal Capacity can Know or Determine what is fit to be done in Holy Matters, and therefore forbids the Alteration of the Established Rites and Sacrifices as Impious. And the Testimonies of *St. Chrysostome* and *Justin Martyr*, have been thought to mean, not so much, that all Sacrifice was a Dictate of Nature, as that some Circumstances relating to it were left to the Dictates of Man's Reason. So that when God had taught *Adam* and his Posterity, that they should worship in their several Manners; and what he would please to accept; The Manner and Measure, and such like Considerations were left to Choice, and Reason, and Positive Laws. In short, the Religion of our Hearts and Wills, our Prayers and Praises might be natural, and the result of meer Reason: but for other external Significations of this, especially any so forein, as that of Sacrificing; Men were not likely, nor was it fit they should venture, to do any thing of their own Heads. Nor was it probable they would attempt it, for fear of mistakes, and such indecent Expressions, as might be very dishonourable to the God they Worshipped; and rather provoke his Justice by rash and superstitious Affronts, than incline his Mercy by their indiscreet Intentions to please him. And therefore, considering the Confusion *Adam* was in after the Fall, and the Circumstances of that time, it seems most agreeable to believe, that he waited God's Directions, and was fully informed by Him in such a Service, as might at once excite both the Fear and the Love of God; enforce the Offerer's Sorrow and Repentance, and increase his Faith and Hope.

While my Thoughts were upon this Subject, it came into my mind, that possibly the Tradition of a Redeemer to come, and that God would one day reconcile himself to the World by the Sacrifice of a Man, and his own Son: That this Tradition I say, darkned, confounded, and perverted by the Increase of Idolatry, and the Cunning of the Devil, might be abused to the putting Men upon Humane Sacrifices, and particularly those of their own Children. I know there are other Accounts to be given of this matter; and I propose this as a mere Conjecture, not otherwise fit to trouble the Reader withal; but that, I believe, if strict Inquiry were made, it would be found, that most of the Heathen Abominations in Divine Worship were some way or other at a distance, by Mistake, Imperfect Report, Perverse Interpretations, or by some Cunning Stratagem of the Devil or other, fetched originally from the Revelations and Institutions of the true Religion. And I cannot but think, that it would be great Service to the Truth, if the Falshoods that

that have corrupted, and were set up in Opposition to it, could be well traced, and set in the best Light, which this distance will permit. But that must needs be a very laborious Undertaking, and, where a great deal will depend upon Probable Conjecture, will require a very Judicious hand.

I have thus given the Reader my rough Thoughts upon the Point of Sacrifices, omitting such Proofs for the Opinion I incline to, as seem to me not conclusive, but not any that I am conscious of, on the Other side. There is no danger in either Opinion, consider'd in it self, but ill Insinuations may be rais'd from that of Human Invention; if Men from thence shall pretend to draw Consequences to the Prejudice of Natural Religion; and argue either against the Certainty of, or the Regard due to it; from an Imagination, that Extravagancies so wicked, so odd, or so barbarous as the Heathen Rites of Worship, and the Wild Superstitions and unbecoming Notions of God, upon which they were grounded, resulted from Human Nature, and were the Product of Reason, rather than the Horrible Depravations of a Supernatural Institution, highly proper and significant, serviceable to excellent purposes, and adapted to those Ages of the World. And in hope of preventing any Consequences of this kind it is, that I thought these Remarks might not be unreasonable. And for the Usefulness, and Light which this Account of Sacrifices brings with it, provided we will follow it in its Natural Consequences; how wise an Institution, how reasonable to be incorporated into the *Jewish* Law, how providentially dispers'd over the whole World; and how preparatory of the Doctrine of the Redemption of Mankind, by predisposing the *Gentiles* also to believe the Sacrifice of Christ, my Reader may, if he please, be inform'd to his great Satisfaction, by that Short but Excellent Account of this Matter, given by Dr. *Williams*, the now Reverend Bishop of *Chichester*, in his Second Sermon at Mr. *Boyle's* Lecture for the Year 1695.

II. After so long and particular Enlargement upon the First of those Things, wherein I endeavour to prevent any Mistakes that may arise from this Passage; there will need but very little Addition to clear the Other. For if the Arguments for a Divine Institution of Sacrifices cast the Scale, the Business is already done to our hands: and if they be admitted of human Invention, yet according to all the Schemes of this Matter laid down by the Asserters of it, Sacrificers at first were mov'd by Apprehensions of God very different from that of his taking Delight in the Sufferings of his Creatures. For they represent Sacrifices as the effects of Gratitude, a Mind impatient to make some sort of Return, and pay back such Acknowledgments at least of His Goodness who gave All, as the dedicating the best of his Gifts to him could amount to. And accordingly, This Circumstance of chusing the Best for Sacrifice seems to have been as universally observed, as the Duty of Sacrificing it self.

This is the Reason alledg'd by some for slaying Beasts, as being the Best of all their Substance; and upon the same account too those kinds which were esteem'd best for Food. This perhaps was one Motive abused afterwards even to the introducing that Abomination of sacrificing Men and Children, Virgins and First-born. And even in Expiatory Sacrifices, could these possibly have been invented by Men, yet 'tis plain the Persuasion of a Beast being accepted as a Ransom for the Owner, must include an Idea of Mercy and Condescension at least in the Deity, which was content with such a Compensation.

It argu'd, I confess, very gross Notions of God to suppose, that such things could be Presents fit for a Pure Spirit, and the Majesty of Heaven and Earth, which every Superior among Men would disdain and detest. But This grew by degrees, and the Other, of his being a Sanguinary Being delighted with the Fumes of Reeking Altars, and drinking the Blood of Goats, was owing to the Superstition and Idolatry of later and degenerate Times; and is a Thought, which Those who first practis'd this way of Worship, whether by Instruction, or their own mere Motion, were never suppos'd guilty of by any that have undertook to consider the Nature and Original of the Patriarchal Sacrifices.

Nay, I add too upon this occasion, That the Notions mention'd in this Chapter, which it is to be feared are but too commonly entertain'd of Severities, and Satisfactions (as they are called) owe themselves to the same Causes, and are the Genuine Extract of Hypocrisy, Superstition, and formal Devotion. That Fastings, and voluntary Mortifications are of excellent Use in Religion, no sober Man ever doubted. They are Profitable in many Cases, and in some Necessary. They assist us in conquering our Appetites and Passions; and subdue the Man, by beating down the Outworks: They express a very becoming Indignation against our selves, in the Exercise of Repentance; and are oftentimes instrumental in heightning and inflaming our Devotion: But that they are Good and Meritorious in themselves, or any farther valuable than as they serve to promote our Improvement in some Virtues or Graces that are Substantially Good; especially that God likes us the better merely because we use our selves the worse, is a very Fantastical and Erroneous Imagination: And such as any Communion or Party of Men by Encouraging, do great Injury to the Honour of God, deceive the Souls of Penitents, and hinder the Essentials of Religion, which are Faith and Newness of Life. In short, They expose Religion in general to the scorn of all those, who see the Foppery and unreasonableness of those mistaken Methods; and call the very foundations of it into Question, by tempting such to think, that it is all Invention and Trick, and Empty Senseless Formality.

nent Virtue and clear Reputation, were offered in Sacrifice ; and this was the usual Worship of almost all Nations, and looked upon, as one of the most solemn, and most acceptable Acts of Devotion. Thus the Old *Getae* in *Scythia* are said, among other Instances of Adoration and Honour paid to their God *Zamolxis*, to dispatch a Man to him once in five Years, to consult and supplicate him in all things necessary for them. And, because the Ceremony requires, that this Advocate of theirs should die in an instant, and the manner of exposing him to Death (which is the being pierced through with three Javelins) is somewhat doubtful in the Execution ; therefore it often happens, that several are thus dispatched, before any one wounds himself in a part so mortal, as to expire immediately ; and only He that does so, is esteemed a Favourite of their God, and proper for that purpose ; but all the rest, who die slowly, are to be rejected, as unfit for this Sacrifice. Thus did the *Persians* worship their Gods ; as that single Fact of *Ame-stris*, the Mother of *Xerxes*, testifies, who, in agreement to the Principles of Religion then prevailing in that Country, did, as an Offering of Thanks for her own long and prosperous Life, bury fourteen young Persons of Quality alive, Branches of the Noblest Families in the whole Kingdom. So likewise did the ancient *Gauls*, and *Carthaginians*, among whom young Children were Sacrificed to *Saturn*, and that with so remorseless a Zeal, that even the Fathers and Mothers used to be present, and assisting at the Ceremony. Thus the *Lacedemonians* sought to ingratiate themselves with their Goddess *Diana*, by Scourging their young Men in Complaisance to her ; nay, doing it with such Rigor, that they expired under it : For the Sacrifice of *Iphigenia* shews, that she was Worshipped with Human Blood. The Instance of the two *Decij* proves, that the *Romans* were possessed with the same Imagination too ; which gave occasion for this Reflection in one of their Writers ; * *What strange Provocation could make the Gods so extremely hard and severe, that there was no way of reconciling them to the People of Rome, unless the Atonement were made by the Blood of such gallant Men ?* Thus the *Mahometans*, who slash and cut their Faces, their Breasts, and other Members, to re-

* Quæ fuit tanta iniquitas Deorum, ut placari Pop. Rom. non possint, nisi tales viri occidissent ?

commend themselves to their Prophet ; and the People in our new Discoveries of the *East* and *West Indies*, and at *Themistitan*, where they cement the Images of their Gods with Childrens Blood. Now what Madness, what Stupidity is this, to suppose, that Inhuman Actions can ever gain upon the Divine Nature ; that the Goodness of God is requited, or decently acknowledged by our own Sufferings ; or that Barbarity can be a proper Method of satisfying his angry Justice ? As if Justice could thirst after Human Blood, or feast it self upon the Innocent Lives, that are spilt with infinite Torture, and the most exquisite Pain.

* *At this rate the Gods are fond of Expiations which even Men abominate ; and the Mercy of Heaven is purchased with such Barbarities, as all Nature starts at.* Whence could so wild a fancy as this, a fancy so distant from all the Just Ideas and Perfections of God spring up, that he takes pleasure in the Misery of Human Nature, and the Ruin, or at least the Torment and Damage of his own Workmanship ? What can be more impious or extravagant, and how monstrous a Being does such a Belief as This, make of God ? And how justly does the Doctrine of Christ command our Reverence and Esteem, which hath abolished all such Worship, and rectified Mens Notions in this matter ?

3. *And others wherein they differ.* Now as All, or Most Religions have been shewed to have some Principles in common, wherein they are agreed, so have they likewise Others, peculiar to themselves ; Certain Articles, which are the Characters, and, as it were, the Boundaries of their respective Communions ; and serve to separate and distinguish the many Sects and Professions from one another. With regard to These it is, that the Men of every Religion prefer themselves above all the World besides ; that they affirm, with great assurance, their own Persuasion to be the best, the purest, the most Orthodox of any ; and, as another means of magnifying themselves, are eternally reproaching those that differ from them, with Errors and Corruptions ; and by this means they are eternally employ'd too in creating Breaches, or in widening and keeping open such as are already made ; by the mutual Disallowance and Condemnation, which every Party is perpetually declaring against the Notions of every other

* Ut sic Dii placentur, quemadmodum ne homines quidem saviunt.

Party

Party, and representing all Systems, but their own, to be false and dangerous, and by no means to be admitted.

But, Blessed be God, We Christians need be in no pain in the midst of this Variety and Contest. Our Religion having the Advantages of all others, both in point of Authentick and Unquestionable Testimony, and in other Excellencies peculiar to it self. This I have demonstrated at large in the Second of my *Three Truths*, and shew'd the manifest Preeminence due to it.

Now One thing is very worthy our Observation in this general Strife; and That is the Advantage, which Time and Succession have given in this matter. For we shall find, that in proportion as One Religion hath been of a later date than another, so it hath gain'd somewhat from that which came into the World before it, and the Younger hath always built and raised it self upon the Elder; more particularly upon that, which was next of all before it in Order and Time. And the method of effecting this hath been, not by disproving or exploding all that went before in the gross and at once; for upon these terms it could never have found Entertainment, or got any manner of Footing with People so prepossessed; but the Course hath been, to accuse what was formerly received, of some defect or Insufficiency; alledging that the Institution was imperfect in it self; or that it was only Temporary; and the Term, for which it was calculated, then expired; and therefore this New Additional one was necessary to succeed in the place of an abolish'd, and to compleat an unfinished Religion. And thus by degrees the New one rises upon the Ruins of the Old, and is enrich'd by the Spoils of its vanquish'd Predecessor: As we know the case hath plainly stood with the *Jewish* Religion, when it prevailed over the *Pagan* and *Egyptian* way of Worship; the *Jewish* People not being to be brought off from the Customs of that Country all at once: And afterwards the Christian Faith and Promises, when they triumphed over the *Jewish* Privileges and *Mosaical* Dispensation; and since that, the same Pretence hath been made use of to advance *Mahometanism* upon the *Jewish* and *Christian* Religion taken together. Each of these hath retained something of the Religion it pretended to dispossess, and built upon Old Foundations: But none so much as the *Mahometan*; which professes to persist, and be fully persuaded in All the *Doctrines* of *Jesus Christ*, save only that Great and most Im-

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The later are built upon the former and more anti-
ent.

portant one, which asserts his Divinity. So that he who would pass from *Judaism* to *Mahometanism*, must take Christianity in his way. And we are told, there have been some *Mahometans*, who have exposed themselves to Sufferings and Torture, in defence of the Christian Truths; as a Christian likewise upon his own Principles would be bound to do, in Vindication of the Authority, and Doctrines of the Old Testament. But now, if we cast our Eyes upon the more Ancient sort of Institutions, we shall find them dealing after a very different manner with the New, which (as I said) in part allow, and only profess to improve and refine upon Them. For They reject and condemn Them intirely, give them no quarter, but cry out upon them for Innovations, and look upon every thing of later date than themselves, as a mortal and irreconcilable Enemy to the Truth; as if after the Period of their own Establishment, Time could from thenceforth produce none but monstrous Births; and all, who did not sit down and stick there, must be inevitably abandoned to Falshood and Corruption.

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All of them uncouth to Nature. This, I think, may be farther affirm'd to be a Qualification common to all Religions whatsoever; that they are, every one, in some Points uncouth and forein from the Common Sense and Apprehensions of Mankind. And the Reason seems to be, that They all of them propound to our Consideration and Belief, and are Systems consisting of, and built upon, Points of a very distant kind from Common Sense. For some of them, when weighed in the Balance of Human Judgment, appear to be exceeding mean, and low, and contemptible; such as a Man of Wit, and Vigorous Thought, finds himself rather tempted to ridicule and expose, than to pay any Reverence to them: And Others again are so exceeding sublime, the Lustre of them so strong, the Nature of them so full of Miracle and Mystery, that, as Finite Causes could never effect, so Finite Understandings can never comprehend them fully; and at These the Men of Discourse and Demonstration take Offence, and will allow nothing to be credible, which is not intelligible. Whereas, in Truth, the Sphere in which the Human Intellect moves and acts, is placed between these two Extremes. For we are capable but of such Things as lie in a middle State, and are of a moderate proportion. These only are of a size with our Souls, They fit us, and therefore They Only please and are easie to us. Those of a lower

lower Rank we look down upon with Indignation and Scorn; and those of a higher Condition are too weighty and bulky for us; they create Wonder and Amazement only; and therefore the Wonder ought not to be great, if the Mind of Man recoil again, and shew a disrelish against all Religion; since in All there is so very little of such Doctrine as is agreeable to the common Temper and Capacity of Mankind; but the principal Points of Faith and Worship are in one of the forementioned Extremes, and those of Practice distant, either from common Use, or from general Inclination. Hence it comes to pass, that the Men of strong Parts have so often despised Religion, and exposed it to the Derision of the World; and those of Weak and Superstitious Minds are Confounded and Scandalized at it. This was St. Paul's Complaint in the first Planting of the Christian Faith; *We preach Jesus Christ crucified, to the Jews a Stumbling-block, and to the Greeks Foolishness.* ^{1 Cor. i. 23.} And this indeed is the very Reason, why we find so much Profaneness and Irreligion, so much Error and Heresie, in the World. Some believe not at all, and others believe amiss, because they consult their own Judgment only, and hearken to no other Guide, but the Dictates of Human Reason. They bring matters of Religion to the same Trial with other common Matters, and will needs undertake to examine, and measure, and judge of them, by the Standard of their own Capacity; They treat this Divine, like other Common and merely Human Sciences and Professions; expecting to master, and penetrate to the bottom of it, by the strength of Natural Parts. But This is not the way of dealing with Divine Truths; A Man's Affections must be qualified and disposed for these Doctrines. They require Simplicity and Honesty, meekness of Temper, an humble and obedient Mind. These only can fit a Man for receiving Religion; For he that does so in good earnest, must believe its Declarations, submit to its Laws, and govern himself by them, with Reverence and Resignation of Soul. In short, he must be content that his own Judgment should be over-ruled by the Word of God; and to live and be led by universal Consent and Authority; which seems to be the Subjection intended by the Apostle, when he speaks of * *Casting down Imaginations (or Reasonings)* ^{2 Cor. x. 5.}

* *Captrivantes intellectum ad obsequium Fidei.*

and every high thing that exalteth it self against the knowledge of God, and bringing into Captivity every Thought to the Obedience of Faith.

7. *Reason good they should be so.* And, however the Conceited or Unthinking part of the World may quarrel at this method, yet it was certainly a great Instance of the Divine Wisdom, to order the matter thus. For such a Proceeding seems highly necessary, in order to preserve that Admiration and Respect, which is due to Religion; and which, upon any other Terms, would very hardly have been paid to it. For Religion ought to be entertained and embraced with Holy Reverence, and great Authority; and therefore with some degree of Difficulty too. For Reason and Experience may soon convince us, that if it were in every Circumstance suited to the Palat, and of a size with the natural Apprehensions of Mankind; if it carried nothing at all of Miracle or Mystery in it; as it would be more easily, so likewise it would be less respectfully, received. And so much as you bring it nearer to the Level of common Matters, so much you certainly abate of that Regard it ought to have, above all other matters whatsoever.

8. *Why they are not to be received by Human Means,* Now, since all Religions and Schemes of Belief are, or pretend to be what I have here described; forein from, and far above the Common Sense and Capacity of Mankind; they must not, they cannot be received, or take possession of us by any Human and Natural Means. (For had the Case been thus, the most exalted Minds would have been in proportion eminent for Religion, and so many Men of Wit and Judgment in Other things, could never have been defective here) but these Notions must needs have been conveyed into Mens Minds, by supernatural and extraordinary Methods, by Revelation from Heaven; and the Persons that receive and imbibe them, must needs have them by the secret Teachings and Inspiration of God. And thus you find, that All who believe, and profess Religion, say; for all of them do in effect assume to themselves that Declaration of the Apostle; *Not of Men, neither by Man, nor of any other Creature, but of God.*

Gal. i. 1,
12.

9. *But yet so they are.* But, if we lay aside all Flattery and Disguise, and speak freely to the Point, there will be found very little, or nothing at the bottom of all these mighty Boastings. For, whatever Men may say or think to the contrary, it is manifest, that all sorts of Religion are handed down and received by Human Methods. This Observation is true in its very

very utmost Sense and Extent, of all False and Counterfeit Persuasions; for These when search'd to the bottom, are no better than Diabolical Delusions, or Human Inventions: But True Religion, as it is derived down to us from a Higher Original, so it moves us by other Springs, and is received after a very different manner. And here, to get a right Understanding of this matter, we must distinguish between the First Publication of the Truth, that Reception, which made it general, and gave it a Settlement in the World; and that Particular One, by which private Persons embrace and come into it, when already establish'd. The Former of These which first fix'd this Heavenly Plant, was altogether Miraculous and Divine; and agrees punctually with the Evangelists account, *The Lord working with the Apostles and Preachers, and confirming the Word with Signs following.* But the latter must be acknowledged in great measure Human, and private Mens Faith and Piety to be wrought by Common and Ordinary Means. This seems to be sufficiently plain, first, from the Manner of Religion's getting ground in the World, and that, whether we regard the first general planting of any Persuasion, or the method of its gaining now upon private Persons. For, whence is the daily Increase of any Sect? Does not the Nation to which we belong, the Country where we dwell, nay the Town, or the Family in which we were born, commonly give us our Religion? We take that which is the growth of the Soil; and whatever we were born in the midst of, and bred up to, that Profession we still keep. We are Circumcised, or Baptized, *Jews*, or *Christians*, or *Mahometans*, before we can be sensible that we are Men; So that Religion is not the Generality of Peoples Choice, but their Fate; not so much their own Act and Deed, as the Act of Others for and upon them. * The Man is made a Member of the *Jewish* or *Christian* Communion without his Knowledge, because he is descended of *Jewish* or *Christian* Parents, and in a Country where this or that Persuasion obtains most. And would not this, do you think, have been his Case, if born in any other part of the World? Would not the same person have been a *Pagan*, or *Mahometan*, if born where Heathen Idolatry, or *Mahometanism* prevailed? But now as to the Observance, and living up to the Precepts of Religion; Those who are true and Pious Professors, besides the external Profession of the Truth, they have the Advantage of the Gifts and Graces of God, the Assistance and

Testimony

See the
Notes,
page 110.

Testimony of the Holy Ghost, common to all, and from which, even the mistaken are not utterly excluded. This indeed is a Privilege, which (blessed be God) is capable of being very usual and frequent, and many great Pretensions and pompous Boasts are made of it. But yet I vehemently suspect, notwithstanding all the fair shew, and plausible pretences Men make of this kind, This Grace and Spirit is not so largely and so commonly enjoyed, nor so strong in its Influences and Effects, as Some would have us believe. For surely were This so powerful in us, and were Religion our own free Choice, and the Result of our own Judgment, the Life and Manners of Men could not be at so vast a distance and manifest disagreement from their Principles; nor could they, upon every slight and common occasion, act so directly contrary to the whole Tenor and Design of their Religion. And this Inconsistence of Faith and Manners is also a Proof, that our Faith is not from God; for were this planted and fasten'd in our Minds by so powerful a hand as His, it could not be in the power of any Accident or Temptation to shake, or unsettle us; so firm and strong a Band could not so easily be broken or burst through. Were there the least Touch, the smallest Ray of Divine Illumination, This Light would shine in every Action of our Lives, and dart it self into every corner of our Souls; The Effects of it would appear in all our Behaviour, and not only be sensible, but wonderful and amazing too, according to what Truth himself said upon occasion to his Disciples; *If ye had Faith but as a grain of Mustard-seed, ye shall say to this Mountain, Remove hence, and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible to you.* But alas! if we look abroad, and consider the Behaviour of the World; what proportion, what correspondence can we find, between the Belief of the Soul's Immortality and a future Judgment, and the Practices of Mankind? Would Men, Could Men indeed lead the lives they do, and at the same time be persuaded in good earnest, that a Recompence awaits them hereafter; so glorious and happy on the one hand, or so full of misery, and shame on the other? One single thought, and the bare Idea of those things, which Men profess so firmly to believe, would perfectly confound, and scare wicked Men out of their Wits. There have been instances of very strange Effects wrought upon Persons, only by the apprehension of publick Justice; the Fear of dying by the hands of a Common Executioner, or some other

Matth.
xvii. 20.

other Accident full of Misfortune and Reproach ; and yet, What are all these Calamities, in Comparison of those Horrors, which, Religion tells us, will be the Sinners portion hereafter ? And is it possible, that these things should be entertained and believed indeed, and Men continue what they are ? Can a Man seriously hope for a Blessed Immortality, make This the Object of his Expectations and Desires, and yet at the same time live in a slavish dread of Death, which he knows is the Necessary, the Only Passage that can lead him to it ? Can a Christian fear and live under the apprehensions of Eternal Death and Punishment, and yet indulge himself in those very Vices, which that very Hell he believes, is ordained to avenge ? These are most unaccountable Stories, and things as incompatible as Fire and Water. Men tell the World that they believe these Doctrines, nay they persuade themselves that they do really believe them ; and then they endeavour to proselyte others, and make them believe so too ; but alas ! there is nothing in all this ; nor do they, who talk and act thus inconsistently, know what it is to Believe. Such Professors as these, are what an Antient Writer called them, Liars and Cheats ; or, as another express'd himself very well upon the like occasion, who reproach'd the Christians with being the gallantest Men in the World in some respects, but the pitifullest, and most contemptible Wretches in others. For, says he, if you consider the Articles of their Belief, you will think them more than Men ; but if you examine their Lives and Conversations, you will find them worse than Brutes, more filthy than the very Swine. Now certainly, if we were wrought upon by such becoming Impressions of God and Religion, as are the Effects of Grace, and an Engagement so forcible, as these of a Divine Power ; nay, were we but persuaded of those Matters by a bare, simple, and common Assent, such an historical Faith, as we credit every Vulgar Relation of Matters of Fact with ; did we but allow the same Deference to what we call the Word of God, which we pay to the Advice, and Exhortations, and common Discourse of our Friends and Acquaintance ; the Doctrines of the Gospel could not but be preferred by us, infinitely above any other Advantages whatsoever, for the sake of that incomparable Goodness and Excellence, so illustriously visible in every part of them. But sure the least we can be imagined capable of in this case,

case, would be to admit them into an equal share of our Affection and Esteem, with Honours, or Riches, or Friends, or any kind of Allurements this World can pretend to seduce us by. And yet, all this notwithstanding, there are but very few, who are not more afraid to offend a Parent, or a Master, or a Friend, than they are of incurring the displeasure of an Almighty God: And who would not rather chuse to act in contradiction to an Article of Religion, and so forfeit Heaven hereafter, than to break the measures of worldly Interest and Prudence, at the Expence of what they stand possessed of in present? This is indeed a Great Wickedness and Misfortune; but for Persons who consider Things impartially, Christianity will not suffer in Their Esteem. The Honour and Excellence, the Purity and Sublime Powers of Religion are no more Impaired or Polluted by it, than the Rays of the Sun contract Defilement from the Dunghills they shine upon. For Principles are not to be tried by their Professors, but the Professors by their Principles. But we can never exclaim sufficiently against those vile Men, who prophane the Truth by their Vicious Lives; and against whom that very Truth it self hath denounced so many Woes, and such dreadful Vengeance.

* Monsieur *Charron* hath in this Section put together Two Objections against the Divine Origine of Religion, and such as, no doubt, do it prejudice in the Minds of Men, who do not attend to the Reasons of Things, and judge impartially. The First concerns the Manner of Propagating Religion, and Man's first entrance into it. The Second, That want of Efficacy, which one would expect an Institution coming immediately from God, must needs have upon the Lives and Actions of Those who have Embraced, and profess to be Governed by it.

Page 107.

I. The former of These, is urged to be only a matter of Custom and Necessity, the Fate of a Man, rather than his Choice; who if Adult, is brought over by Custom and Multitudes; and if an Infant, is presently initiated into the prevailing Persuasion of his Country, or his Family, and so continues all his Life long.

Now for Custom, and Multitudes, and Example, it is very evident, This was much otherwise in the first Plantation of Religion; that of the Christian in particular. A Persuasion, which, it is manifest, came into the World with all possible Disadvantages; and the Establishment whereof was one of the most amazing Miracles, that ever was wrought since the Beginning of the World. For People had common Sense then as well as now; and all the Cor-

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ruptions of Human Nature were equally powerful. There was the same Arrogance and Vain Opinion of their own Wisdom, to render the Mysteries which are acknowledged above the Comprehension of a Human Mind, offensive to the Men of some Learning and more Vanity: The same sensual Appetites and Vicious Practices to hold out and stand at defiance, against the Precepts of Chastity and Sobriety, Self-denial and Mortification: The same Pride and Opinion of Worldly Grandeur to raise their Indignation and Disdain of a Crucified Saviour; The same Love of the World and Tenderness for their Persons to prevent any rash Sacrificing of their Lives and Estates for a persecuted Faith, when nothing was promised in Reward but a very distant Happiness after Death. And yet notwithstanding prevail that Faith did; in despite of Human Opposition, and Interest; and prevail it could not have done, by any other means, than the Almighty Power of its Author and Protector, and the Astonishing Effects which the Conviction of its Truth produced upon Men's Consciences. This certainly was Argument sufficient, even to Demonstration, that those Words were not in any degree misapplied, when put into the Mouth of *Christianity*, and its Preachers; *Not of Man, neither by Man, nor of any other Creature, but of God.*

And shall it be esteemed any Prejudice to this Religion, that Men do not still lie under the same Difficulties in the Choice of it? When it hath made its own way triumphantly, and wearied out, or won over its Persecutors, shall the Multitude of its Professors, and the Peaceable and Easie Exercise of it be thought to derogate from its Authority? Sure it is very unreasonable, that Faith should be thought of Divine Extract, no longer than while it bids Men embrace it at their Peril. The being handed down in Families is a plain and natural Effect of an Establish'd Principle. Parents could not have the Affection which becomes their Character, did they not take all lawful and commendable Methods of putting their Children into the same way to Heaven, which they trust they are in themselves. Especially, if the Case lie between any other Persuasion, and *Christianity*; which we have reason to believe is the only possible Ordinary way thither. The entring Children early into Covenant with God is a very Profitable, and Charitable Custom; what He himself not only admitted, but enjoined formerly; and since He is much more eminently the Father of the Christians, than of the *Jews*, we have no reason to suspect they shall be less favourably received, when as early dedicated to him. This gives Security, that they shall be taught, when their Years enable them to learn, how they ought to believe and act; so that if their Religion afterwards be merely the effect of Custom and Example, This is utterly beside the Design of Those early Initiations, where the Express Contrary is positively indented for. If Men happen to be bred up in a wrong Persuasion, there is little Question to be made, but

1 Pet. iii.
15.

but great and gracious Allowances will be made for that fast hold, which the Prepossessions of Education have taken. But be they in the right, or in the wrong, it is every One's duty, so far as his Opportunities and Capacity will give him leave, to examine and see, that he may have comfort, and be better established in the Truth; or else retract his Error: Where this is not done, it is a neglect, and far from the intent of Truth; for Truth will bear Enquiry, and the more nicely she is look'd into, the better she is lik'd, the more admired, and triumphs, and reigns more absolute. St. Peter positively commands, *that we should be ready to give a Reason of the Hope that is in us*; and though Men are more disposed to consider, when their Opinions are like to cost them dear, yet the Reason of the Command is Universal, and by no means restrained to Times of Persecution only. Every Man should do his best to obey it, and every Persuasion ought to encourage it; and if any do not, but hide the Key of Knowledge, either by detaining the Scriptures, or not leaving Men to the Free Use of Modest and Impartial Reason, These are the Men, who are most contrary to St. Peter, and best deserve the Censure of Monsieur Charron, in this Passage.

II. The Second Insinuation against the Divine Authority of Religion, is taken from the Visible Inefficacy of it upon Mens Lives; as if all that came from God must needs be effectual for reforming the World. Now This, how popular and plausible soever at first appearance, yet is an Argument of no Foundation or Strength at all. For the Short of the Matter lies here. Religion was never intended to destroy Mens Nature, but only to mend it: to change Men indeed in their Affections and Inclinations, but so as that this Change should be wrought by themselves. Hence it is, that though the Grace of God be Almighty, yet Man is not a proper Object for its Omnipotence to exert it self upon. For should he be forced even to his own Good, that Compulsion would not only take away the Merit of the Act, but the very Nature of the Person, whose very distinguishing Character, is Choice and Freedom of Consent. And therefore God deals with us as he made us; he lets us want nothing, that we can enjoy the Benefit of, and continue Men; he instructs, suggests, persuades, counsels, encourages, promises, threatens, puts opportunities into our Hands, and gives us a power of using them; but it will depend upon our selves at last, whether these shall have a good effect or not. We can do no good without Him; but neither will He do it without Us, nor indeed, according to the present Scheme and Constitution of Things, is it at all conceivable how he can. So that the Actions of Men not answering the Efficacy which might be expected from the Revelation of an Almighty God, is no Argument against those Principles coming from Him, which are not better obeyed; because this is not a Case for him to exert his Almighty Power in: And though he wrought many Miracles formerly for the Confirmation of the Truth by virtue of that power; yet

yet we never find, that he ever us'd that power for the forcing a belief of those Miracles; but Men were left to their own Consideration and Liberty, what Interpretation they would make of them; and as they determin'd themselves, Belief or more Obstinate Infidelity was the Effect of it.

Nor is it true, that Wicked Men do not believe Religion; It is but too sure, that they endeavour as much as they can not to believe it, when Matters are come to that pass, that the Belief of it grows uneasy to them. It is indeed confess'd, that our Persuasion is the very Spring upon which all our Actions move. But then there must a distinction be made between the Habit and the Act of Faith. For a Man may entertain an Opinion, and yet do some things contrary to it, because that Opinion may not in the instant of Action occur to him; and then, as to all effect indeed, it is the same, as if he thought it not. Thus a Man may believe Christianity, but through the Strength of Passion, through the Surprize or Violence of a Temptation, through Rashness or Incogitancy, Multitude and Intricacy of Business, Inordinate Affection of the World, or the like, he may not attend to what he believes, or he may not consider it sufficiently, or not allow the Future its due weight, when set against the Present. Now though such a Person, as to all the purposes of doing well, be *pro hic & nunc*, as an Infidel; yet there is a great difference between Him in the general, and One who does not believe at all. This Man, though he does not act in consistence with himself, hath yet a dormant Habit, which when the Paroxysm is off, the Temptation remov'd, the Passion abated, or the like, may by Recollection, and Sober Sense be awaken'd; and then it will at least check him for what is past, and may (till he hath sinn'd himself past feeling) be a considerable Restraint upon him. But the Other hath nothing to inform, nothing to controul him: And though a Man in sleep may appear to the Standers by to be dead, yet we know what difference there is in the thing it self. This I take to be a sufficient Account of even good Mens sinning often, and some Bad Men doing it very scandalously, and yet retaining the Faith; which if pursu'd through all its Consequences, and apply'd closely and warmly to their Consciences, would shew them the abominable Contradiction they live in to their own Minds, and make them quite another sort of Persons.

From hence I suppose the Reader will naturally draw to himself these following Reflections.

1. That Men are not wrought upon by Things as they are in themselves, but by their own Apprehensions of them. They act by the dictates of their own Minds, and as they are persuaded. It is not the Happiness of Heaven, or the Misery of Hell, that excites to any one Good, or affrights from any one Evil Action, in their own Nature; but the Idea, and as I conceive

ceive of them. And consequently, in proportion as I desire the One, and dread the Other, such will my Care be to practise, or to decline those things, to which the Promises and Threatnings of God are annexed.

2. That to make this Persuasion effectual, it is necessary it should be present to the Mind. For that which is not present at the time of Action, is to all effect for that time as if it were not. This shews the Necessity of Meditation, and much Thought upon the Principles of, and Motives to Religion; since Faith will not, cannot work, by barely being assented to; but by being vigorously and lively impress'd upon the Conscience, warm, and ready upon every new Assault. And this gives us a very rational Account, how it is possible, and why it should be common, for a Man to entertain all the Principles of a true Faith, and upon Premeditation be able to say as much for it as is possible; nay, to persuade himself as well as others, that he is a very sincere Believer; and yet lead a Life very contrary to that Belief. For this proceeds from his thinking a hearty Assent to the Truth of a Doctrine sufficient; and it is so indeed, to denominate him a Professor; whereas to make him a Good Man, that Assent signifies little, unless it be follow'd, and frequently inculcated, so as to season his Mind thoroughly, and upon all occasions to be at hand, and vigorous and fresh; for without These qualities it can never be a Principle of Action.

3. That consequently the Inconsistence of Mens Lives with their Profession, can be no just Objection against Religion; because the Fault plainly lies not in the Principles, but in Men's neglect to improve them. And when we would be convinc'd of the Goodness of any Persuasion, we are to judge the *Tree by its Fruits*; (not the Faith by the Practices it produces actually in Mens Lives, as that Expression is frequently misapply'd, but) by the Good Actions it would produce, if Men would let it have a due influence upon them, follow it as far as it will carry them, and live up to what they profess. The Men who do otherwise, are very blameable, and lay a stumbling-block before the weak, by bringing dishonour upon Religion, and tempting them to suspect its Power and Excellence: But it is only the Weak who stumble at it; for there is not, nor ever was in the Affairs of Religion, or of any other kind, any Scheme of Rules or Opinions, where all the Persons who made Profession of them, acted in all points accordingly. And at this rate all manner of Goodness and Virtue, Natural, as well as Acquired, and Revealed, must be question'd and exploded; and the very first Dictates of Humane Nature will not escape the same Fate. Of such Eternal Equity and Truth is that old Axiom, *Fides non è Personis, sed contrâ*. And the Christian Faith will sufficiently clear its own Divine Original, if we will but give it free Course, and suffer it to draw us to a Resemblance of that Excellence, which first Inspired and taught it.

Now

Now the first step towards informing our selves, What the nature of True Piety is, will be to distinguish it from That, which is False and Counterfeit, and only the Mask and Disguise of Religion. Till this be done, we shall but confound our selves with equivocal and ambiguous Terms; and prevaricate, both in Expression and in Practice, as indeed the greatest part of Mankind (it is to be feared) do upon this occasion. Now there is nothing, that pretends more to a graceful Air, nor takes more true pains to appear like true Piety and Religion, than Superstition does; and yet, at the same time, nothing is more distant from, or a greater Enemy to it. Just as the Wolf, which carries some tolerable Resemblance to a Dog, but is of a quite different Disposition; and comes to devour that Flock, which it is the other's Business to defend; as Counterfeit Money is more nicely wrought, than true Coin; or as a Flatterer, who makes shew of extraordinary Zeal and Affection, but is in reality nothing less than that true Friend he desires to be thought. It is no injudicious Character given by *Tacitus*, when he describes a sort of Men, * *extremely liable to Superstition, and at the same time violently averse to Religion*. Superstition is likewise envious and jealous to the last degree, affectedly officious and troublesome; like a fond Courtesan, who, by her amorous jilting Tricks, puts on more Tenderness, and pretends to infinitely more concern and love for the Husband, than his true Wife, whom she endeavours to lessen in his Esteem. Now some of the most remarkable Circumstances, wherein these two differ, are; That Religion sincerely Loves and Honours God; settles the Mind in perfect Ease and Tranquility, and dwells in a noble and generous, a free and gallant Spirit; whereas Superstition fears and dreads God; gives Men unworthy and injurious Apprehensions of his Majesty; perplexes and scares the Man, and is indeed the Disease of a weak and mean, a timorous and narrow Soul. † *It is (according to St. Augustin's account of it) all over Error and Phrensy; it lives in terror of those whom it ought to love;*

10.
The Difference between true and false Religion.

* Gens Superstitioni obnoxia, Religionibus adversa.

† Superstitio Error insanus. Amandos timet; quos colit violat: Morbus pusilli animi. Qui Superstitione imbutus est, quietus esse nusquam potest. Varro ait, Deum à Religioso vereri, à Superstitioso timeri.

dishonours and affronts those whom it pretends to respect and adore; it is the Sickness of a little and feeble Mind; He that is once tainted with Superstition, can never more enjoy peace and rest. Varro's Observation is, That Religious Men serve God out of Reverence; but the Superstitious out of Horror and perpetual Dread of him. But we will be a little more particular upon each of these Qualities.

II.
*Superstiti-
on descri-
bed.*

The Superstitious Person is one, who neither lets himself, nor any thing else be quiet, but is eternally teasing and troublesome, both to God and Man. The Ideas he entertains of God represent him, as an Ill-natur'd and Morose, an Envious and a Spiteful Being; Unreasonable, Rigorous, and hard to be pleased; quickly provoked, but long before he is reconciled again; One that takes notice of our Actions, after the same manner that we commonly observe those of one another; with a sort of malicious Curiosity, watchful to find Faults, and glad to take the advantage of any Failings. All this, it is true, he does not own, nor speak it out; but the manner of his serving God sufficiently declares, and speaks it for him; for that is agreeable, and exactly of a piece with these Notions. He trembles and quakes for fear; hath no Enjoyment of himself, nor any degree of Comfort or inward Security; full of Fears and Melancholy Distrusts; always fancying, that he hath done too little; and left somewhat undone, for want of which, all the rest will signify nothing. He very much questions whether God be satisfied with his best Endeavours; and in this disquiet he applies himself to methods of Courtship and Flattery; Tries to Appease and Gain upon him by the length and importunity of his Prayers; to Bribe him with Vows and Offerings; Fancies Miracles to himself; easily believes, and takes upon trust the Counterfeit Pretensions of this kind from others; Applies every Event to his own Case, and interprets those that are most ordinary and natural, as expressly meant, and directed to him, by the particular and immediate Hand of God; he catches greedily at every Novelty; and runs after every new Pretender to Light and Revelation. * *Two inseparable Qualities of Superstitious People (says one) are, Excess of Fear, and Excess of Devotion.* Now what in truth is all this, but to Torment one's self most immoderately, and at the expence of infinite

* Duo Superstitiosis propria, nimius Timor, nimius Cultus.

trouble and disquiet, to injure and affront God; to deal with him after a most base, sordid, and unworthy manner; to use him, as if he were a mercenary Being, and to treat the Majesty of Heaven and Earth, as we durst not presume to use a Man of Quality or Honour? And indeed, generally speaking, not only Superstition, but most other Errors and Defects in Religion, are owing chiefly to want of right and becoming apprehensions of God. We debase and bring him down to Us; compare and judge of him by our Selves; cloath him with our own Infirmities, and unaccountable Humours; and then proportion and suit our Worship and Services accordingly. What horrid Prophanation and Blasphemy is This?

And yet, as detestable a Vice, as dangerous a Disease as This is, it is in some measure Natural, and all Mankind have more or less Inclination to it. *Plutarch* laments the Weakness of Human Nature, in that it never keeps a due Medium, nor stands firm upon its feet; but is eternally leaning and tottering to one or other Extreme. For in truth, either it declines and degenerates into Superstition and Vanity, and mistaken Religion; or else it hardens it self in a Neglect of God, and a Contempt of all Religion. We are all of us like a Silly-Jilted Husband, that is Put upon by some gross Cheat of an Infamous Woman; and takes more delight in her little studied Arts to cajole and bubble him, than he finds satisfaction with his own Virtuous Wife, who serves and honours him with all the genuine Modesty, and affected Tenderness becoming her Character. Just thus are we abused by the large Pretences of Superstition, and prefer it before the less showy and pompous Charms of true Religion.

It is also exceeding frequent and common; we cannot wonder the Vulgar should be infected with it, after what hath been said of its proceeding from Weakness of Mind, from Ignorance, or very mistaken Notions of the Divine Nature. Upon all which accounts we may well suppose it is, that Women, and Children, Old Men, and Sick Persons, or People stunn'd with any violent Misfortune, or under the Surprize and Oppression of some uncommon Accident, are observed to labour most under this Evil. The same hath been likewise observ'd by *Plutarch*, of rude and unciviliz'd Countries. * *The Barbarians*, says he, are naturally

* Inclinant naturâ ad Superstitionem Barbari. *Plutarch in Sertorio.*

disposed to be Superstitious. Of Superstition then it is, and not of Religion and true Piety, that what we commonly repeat after *Plato*, must be understood; where he says, that the Weakness and Cowardice of Mankind first brought Religion into Practice and Esteem; and that upon this account, Children, and Women, and Old People, were most apt to receive Religious Impressions, more Nice, and Scrupulous, and more addicted to Devotion than others. This, I say, is true of Superstition, and mistaken Devotion; but we must not entertain any such dishonourable Thoughts of true and perfect Religion. This is of a nobler Descent, its Original is truly Divine; it is the Glory and the Excellence, not the Imperfection of Reason, and Nature; and we cannot be guilty of greater Injustice to it, than by assigning such wretched Causes, for its beginning and increase, and drawing so scandalous a Pedigree for its Extract.

14.
*Cherished
by Reason
and Policy.*

Now, besides those first Seeds, and general Tendencies to Superstition, which are derived from Nature, and Common to Mankind, there are large Improvements and Additions of this Vice, owing to Industry and Cunning. For many people support and cherish it in themselves; they give it countenance and nurse it up in others, for the sake of some Convenience and Advantage to be reaped from it. It is thus, that great Persons and Governors, though they know very well the Folly and Baseness of it, yet never concern themselves with putting a stop, or giving any disturbance to it; because they are satisfied, This is a proper State-Tool, to subdue Mens Minds, and lead them tamely by the Nose. For this reason it is, that they do not only take good care to nourish and blow up that Spark, which Nature hath already kindled; but when they find occasion, and upon some pressing Emergencies, they set their Brains on work to forge and invent new and unheard of Follies of this kind. This we are told was a Stratagem made use of by *Scipio*, *Sertorius*, *Sylla*, and some other eminent Politicians.

* *Who by false Terrors Freeborn Souls debase;
And paint Religion with so grim a Face,
That it becomes the Scourge and Plague of Human Race.* }

* *Qui faciunt animos humiles formidine Divum.
Depressoſque premunt ad terram.*

* *Nothing*

* *Nothing keeps the Multitude under so effectually, as Superstition.*

But enough of this wretched People, and that base Superstition, which, like a common Nuisance, ought to be detested by that Scholar of mine, whom I am now instructing, and attempting to accomplish in the Study of Wisdom. Let us leave them grovelling in their Filth, and betake our selves now to the Search of true Religion and Piety; of which I will here endeavour to give some strokes, and rude lines; which, like so many little Rays of Light, may be of some use at least, and help to guide us in the pursuit of it. Now from the former Considerations it does, I hope, sufficiently appear, that of the great Variety of Persuasions at present, or any possible to be Instituted, Those seem to Challenge the Pre-eminence, and best deserve the Character of Truth and Religion indeed, which, without imposing any very laborious, or much external Service upon the Body, make it their business to contract, and call the Soul home; that employ and exalt it by pure and heavenly Contemplations, in admiring and adoring the Excellent Greatness, and Majesty incomprehensible of Him, who is the First Cause of All Things; the Necessary, the Best, the Original Being; and All this, without any nice or presumptuous Declaration what this Being is, or undertaking positively to determine and define any thing concerning that Nature, which we cannot understand; or prescribing too peremptorily, how he ought to be worshipped: But contenting our selves with such large and indefinite acknowledgements as These, That God is Goodness, and Perfection it self; infinite in all Respects, and altogether incomprehensible; too vast for Human Knowledge to understand, or conceive distinctly. And thus much the *Pythagoreans*, and other most celebrated Sects of Philosophers taught long ago. This is the Religion of Angels, and that best sort of Worshipers in Spirit and Truth, whom God seeks and loves. But among all those less spiritualized Pagans, who could not satisfy themselves with so refined a Principle, as Inward Belief, and the Exercise of the Soul only; but would needs gratify their Senses and Imagination with a visible Object of Worship; (which was an Error all the World almost was tinctured

15.
An Introduction to the description of true Religion.

* *Nulla res multitudinem efficacius regit, quam Superstitio.*

with.) The *Israelites* chose a Calf ; but None seem to have made so good a Choice, as those who pitch'd upon the Sun for their God : This indeed excelling all other Creatures so vastly, with regard to its Magnitude and Motion, its Beauty and Lustre, its wonderful Use and Activity, and the many unknown Virtues and Efficacies of its Influences ; that it does certainly deserve, nay, command the admiration of all the World ; we cannot think too highly of it, while we remember it is still but a Creature ; for, look round this whole Fabrick, and (Man excepted) your Eye shall discover nothing so glorious, nothing equal, nay, nothing near, or comparable to it.

The Christian Religion preserves a due Temper between these Extremes, and by devoting both Body and Soul to God, and accommodating it self to all Conditions and Capacities of Men, hath mixed the Insensible and Internal Worship, with that which is Sensible and External. Yet so, that the most perfect and Spiritual Persons employ themselves chiefly in the former, and the weak and less exalted are taken up with that which is invisible and popular.

16.
Some descriptions
of Religion.

Religion consists in the Knowledge of God, and of our Selves. For This is a Relative Duty, and these are the two Terms of that Relation. Its business is to magnifie God, and set him as High ; and to humble Man, and lay Him as low, as possibly we can. To subdue and beat him down, as a lost worthless Wretch ; and when this is once done, then to furnish him with helps and means of raising himself up again ; to make him duly sensible of his own Impotence and Misery, how Little, how meer a Nothing he is ; that so he may cast away all Confidence in himself, and place and seek his Hope, his Comfort, his Happiness, his All, in God alone.

17.

That which Religion is chiefly concerned in, is the binding us fast to the Author and Source of all Good ; the grating us afresh, and consolidating Man to his first Cause, like Branches or Suckers into their proper Root. For so long as Man continues firm and fixt in this Union, so long he preserves the Perfection of his Nature ; but on the contrary, when once he falls off, and is separated from it, all his Vigor and Powers are dried up and gone, and he immediately withers and dies away.

The

The End and Effect of Religion is faithfully and truly to render their Dues, both to God and Man; that is to say, All the Honour and Glory to God; and all the Gain and Advantage to Man. For these two comprehend under them all manner of Good whatsoever. The Profit or Gain, which is a real Amendment and bettering of our Persons and Conditions, is an essential and internal Benefit; and This belongs to Man, who is of himself, and without this, a Creature Impotent and Empty; Indigent and Necessitous; and Miserable in all respects: The Glory is not so much an Advantage as an Ornament, an Additional and External Grace; and This belongs to God only; for he is the Fullness and Perfection of all Good; so absolute and compleat, that nothing can be added to his Essential Happiness; and therefore Benefit is a thing he cannot receive. And thus, if you please, you may understand that Angelick Hymn; *Glory to God in the Highest, and on Earth Peace, and Favour towards Men.* Luke ii. 14.

Thus much being premised in general, the particular Steps or Directions in this matter, must be these that follow: First, It is necessary that we apply our selves to study, and in such a measure as we are capable, to know God. For our Knowledge of Things is the Foundation and the Standard of the Honour we have for them. The first thing then that we ought to be convinced and fully persuaded of upon this Occasion, is His Existence; then, That He created the World, and that all other Beings whatsoever are the Products of His Power, and Goodness, and Wisdom: That by these same Attributes He governs this Universe of His own making: That His careful Providence watches over all Things, and even the least and most inconsiderable Events do not escape His Observation: That whatsoever His Dispensations to Us are, they are all for our Good; and that all our Evil comes from our selves alone. For, if we should account those Accidents, which God appoints for us, to be Evils, this were to be guilty of great Prophanation, and to Blaspheme against his Government; this were to tear up the very Foundations of all Piety and Religion; because Nature teaches us to Honour and Love our Benefactors; but begets Hatred and Aversion to them that deal unkindly by us, and do us mischief. Our Duty therefore is to get a right Notion of God's dealings toward us; to resolve, that we will obey Him at any rate; 19. Piety explained. I. To know God. tq

to receive all that comes from his hand, with Meekness and Contentation; to commit our selves to his Protection and Care, and to submit all we are, and all we have, to his direction and wise disposal.

2.
To Honour
him.

The next Duty, which follows upon our Knowing God, and which indeed results most naturally from it, is the Honouring him. And the best, the most becoming, and most Religious Honour we can pay him, consists, First of all, In raising our Souls far above any Carnal, Earthly, or Corruptible Imagination; and then exercising our selves in the Contemplation of the Divine Nature, by all the purest, the noblest, the holiest and most reverent Conceptions that can be. When we have adorned and represented this most excellent Being to our selves, in all the most magnificent Ideas; when we have given him the most glorious Names, and sung forth his Praises in the most excellent manner that our Mind can possibly devise, or strain it self up to; we are still with all Humility to acknowledge, that in all this we have not done, or offered to his Majesty, any thing suitable to his own Excellency, or in it self worthy his Acceptance; and to possess our selves with yet more awful and respectful Ideas of him, by the profoundest Sense of our own Imperfections; That it is not in the power of Human Nature to conceive any thing better; though we plainly see, that our most exalted Thoughts serve not so much to shew us his Glory, as to reproach us with our own Weakness and Defects. For God is the last and highest Flight, which our Imagination is able to make, when it would soar up towards absolute Perfection; and in aspiring to this Idea, every Man lets loose his Mind, and enlarges his Notions according to his own Capacity; or rather indeed, God is infinitely greater and higher than all the boldest and bravest Flights of poor feeble Man; a Perfection more exquisite, more bright, than the Dim Eye of Mortals can receive the Lustre of, or the most trowing Imagination make any approach to.

20.
To Serve
him with
our Spirit.
Joh. iv. 24.

We must also serve this God Sincerely, in Spirit, and from the Heart; for this is a sort of Service, which is most agreeable to his Nature. *God himself is a Spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in Spirit and Truth,* says he, who best knew both what he was, and what he expects from us. This Argument the very Heathens could enforce for Inward Purity and a Sanctified Mind*. This he will

* Si Deus est animus, sit purâ mente colendus.

not only accept, but it is what he seems desirous of, and hath declared will be exceeding welcome and delightful: *The Father seeketh such to worship him.* The Offering of a V. 23. sweet-smelling Savour, and what he values indeed, is That of a clean, free, and humble Spirit, (*The Mind is a Sacrifice to God*, says *Seneca*;) an unspotted Soul, and an innocent Life. And thus others; * *He that brings the best Heart worships God best. The most Religious Adoration is to imitate the Perfections of Him we adore; The only way of serving God is not to be an ill Man.* The truly Wise Man is a True Priest of the most High God: His Mind is God's Temple, and the House where his Honour dwelleth: His Soul is God's Image, a Ray or Reflection of that Brightness and Glory above: His Affections and Appetites, like so many Oblations, are all consecrated, and entirely devoted to his use and service: And his great, his daily, his most solemn Sacrifice, is to imitate, and serve, and obey him. You see how different this is from that absurd Notion of those People, who make Religion consist in Giving to God. Alas! what can We give to Him? All is his own already; and the most we can possibly do, is but to restore and pay back what his Bounty hath bestowed upon us. But we are wretchedly mistaken, if we imagine it possible for God to receive any Addition, or be enriched from Men; No, he is above all That; Our business must be to ask of Him, to implore his Favour and Assistance for our Wants and Weaknesses: It is the Character of the Great to give, and of the Poor and Mean to ask; And therefore we may easily discern which of these two parts belongs to an Infinite Almighty God, and which to wretched indigent Mortals. *It is more blessed Acts xx. 35. to give than to receive:* And however he may graciously condescend to interpret those Works of Mercy done for his sake, yet in the way of Sacrifice and Worship of himself, it is a Prodigy of Vanity that many have been guilty of, to think themselves in a Condition of Giving to Him, from whose liberal Hand alone it is, that they receive their own Subsistence.

But though the Mind be that which we are principally oblig'd to offer, and God is best pleas'd to be served with; yet is not the External Worship and Service of the Body, 21. *With our Body.*

* *Optimus Animus pulcherrimus Dei Cultus. Religiosissimus Cultus imitari. Unicus Dei Cultus non esse malum. Lactant. Merc. Trism.*

by any means to be neglected or disdained by us. The demonstrations of Reverence express'd by This Part, and particularly in his Publick Worship, are by no means contemptible in his sight. He esteems and expects these from us; that we should appear in the Assemblies of his Servants; that we should assist and bear a part with our Brethren in what is done there; that we should observe and conform to those Ceremonies, which either the Laws have enjoin'd, or Custom hath made common; And that all this be done with Moderation and Temper; without Vanity or Affectation, without Hypocrisie or Ambition, without Luxury or Avarice; constantly possessing our selves with this Reflection; that God expects to be served with the Spirit, and all these outward Services are more upon our own account than His; that they are decent significations of our Reverence and Zeal, marks of Unity, and tend to the Edification of our Brethren, the enflaming their Devotion, and encouraging them by good Examples; and that they are very Reasonable and Decent upon these accounts, though they regard Comeliness and Customs only, and are not the Essentials of Worship; nor of the very Substance of Religion; but Ornaments and Convenient Helps to it.

22.
By Prayer.

The Vows and Prayers we make to God, must all of them be regulated by, and subject to his own good Pleasure. We should never desire, we must never ask any thing, but only with submission to his wiser Appointments; and every Request must be attended with that necessary Reservation, *Thy Will be done*. To ask any thing contrary to the order and Methods of his Providence, is as if we should attempt to bribe the Judge of all the Earth, and divert this universal Governor from his Rules of Justice and Judgment: To imagine that God is to be courted or flattered into Compliance, that Presents and Promises can win him over; is to Affront him: God cares not for our Riches, *for the whole World is His, and all that is therein*. He demands not any Gifts at Our Hands; for, strictly speaking, we have nothing to give. For All is His, and he only requires, that we should walk worthy of those which our selves have so largely received from Him; He does not expect we should Present him, but that we should make known our Wants with Faith and Humility, and receive our Supplies with Modesty and Thankfulness. And by such Requests he thinks himself honoured. But even in these we must be much resigned. For Us to prescribe to His Wisdom,

dom, to be too peremptory and particular in our Requests; to inform Him what is fit for us, or eager and importunate, for what we are fond of, is a breach of that Deference and Resignation we owe to God; and it is often of ill Consequence to our selves; it exposes Men to the Inconvenience of *Midas* in the Fable, and ruins them at their own instance. The wisest, as well as the most becoming Style, for all our Addresses to the Throne of Grace, is, That he would act with us according to his own Wisdom and Goodness; and always do and give those things, which are most pleasing to Him, and which He knows best and most expedient for Us.

In a word, All our Thoughts, our Words, our Behaviour, and whole Communion with God should be managed, even in our greatest Privacy, with the same Decency and Reverence, as if all the World were by and saw them; and all our Conversation with Men should be managed with that Sincerity, which becomes those, who remember that God sees, and is conscious to every thing we do, and cannot be imposed upon, though our Brethren may.

The making bold with God's most Holy Name, is a Great and Horrible violation of that profound Honour and Respect we owe to him; And those People are exceedingly to blame, who take it into their Mouths lightly, and promiscuously, and mingle it with every Sentence they speak, and every thing they do. Of this Nature are all those Exclamations of Passion, or Wonder, or Surprise; all those vain and customary Oaths, which we so frequently hear, and find habitual; all those mentionings of God, by Men who do not so much as think of Him, or know that they do it; and to be short, All those hasty and trifling forms of Speech wherein God is called upon irreverently and by the by; for No reason at all; or for Such as is not important enough to justify such an Invocation. For we should by all means take care of being familiar or saucy with so August a Majesty; we should name him but seldom; and when we do, with great Seriousness and Gravity; with Modesty and Humility, with Reverence and Fear. We should never speak of Him or His doings, but with all possible Submission and Caution; and especially, we should never take upon us to judge or pass sentence upon any of His Actions, but conclude, that whatever he does, is Just, and Good, and fittest to be done.

And

23.

A Reverent use of his Name.

24.
Conclusion.

And thus you have such a compendious Account of Piety, as I thought necessary for this place, I only add, that This Virtue ought to be had in the greatest Esteem and Veneration; and that Men should make it their Constant Care and Business, as well as Entertainment and Delight, thus to be continually exercised in the Contemplation of Almighty God; with Freedom and Chearfulness, and Filial Reverence and Affection; for This is Religion; And not with a Mind terrified and troubled, and haunted with ghastly and affrighting Idea's of him, which is the Vice and the Torment of the Superstitious. As to the particular Points both of Faith and Practice, the Christian Doctrine is to be our Rule: For this is the Truest, the Noblest, the most Refined and Spiritual, and best accommodated to the Glory of God, the Comfort and Safety of our own Souls, and the general Good of Mankind. And therefore here we must fix, and to this we must stick; And amidst the unhappy Differences of these several Contending Parties, who all profess to follow this Rule, the Constant Authority, and the concurring Sense and universal Agreement of the Church in all Ages and Parts of the Christian World, is to be our Measure. This is an Authority so venerable, that it requires our Submission with Meekness and much Deference. Here we must fix; and to This we must refer the Resolution of our Doubts. At least All that are of a modest and peaceable Spirit will forbear the being factious and troublesome, and not disturb the Quiet and Order of their Brethren, by starting any Novelty, or engaging in behalf of any Private and Singular Opinions. And this they are obliged in Duty and Conscience to do, upon the account of the Reasons laid down by me at large in the first and last Chapters of my *Third Truth*; which places alone are sufficient to satisfy those Readers, who either have not the opportunity, or will not give themselves the trouble of perusing the whole Book.

25.
Piety and
Probity
must go to-
gether.

One necessary Caution there is yet behind, and he who makes any pretensions to Wisdom, must by all means attend to it; which is, That he do not separate the Piety spoken of in this Chapter, from that Probity and Integrity treated of before; and so imagining, that One of these is sufficient for his purpose, be at no pains to qualify himself with the Other; and as careful must he be too, not to confound and jumble these two together, as if they were but two Names for one and the same thing. For in truth,

Piety

Piety and Probity, Devotion and Conscience, are distinct in their very Nature, are derived from different Causes, and proceed upon different Motives and Respects. I desire indeed, that they may go hand in hand, and be both united in the Person, whom at present I am forming into Wisdom; and most certain it is, that Either of them without the Other, is not, cannot be perfect. But still they must both meet, and both continue distinct; and though we would join, yet we must take care not to confound them. And These are two Precipices, which must be diligently avoided; and few indeed keep clear of them; for either they separate Religion and common Honesty, so as to satisfy themselves with one of them alone; or else they jumble Godliness and Morality together, so as to make them all one, or at least to represent them, as exactly of the same Species, and Effects of the same Common Principle.

The Persons under the former Error, which separate these Two, and content themselves with One of them singly, are of two sorts: For some devote themselves entirely to the Worship and Service of God, spend all their Time and Pains, in Praying, and Hearing, and other Holy Ordinances; and place all Religion in These; but as for Virtue, and strict Honesty in their Dealings, Sincerity, and Charity, and the like, and in a word, living in agreement to their Prayers, and practising what they hear and read, they have no relish or regard for These things, nor make any account of them at all. This is a Vice taken notice of, as Epidemical, and in a manner Natural to the People of the *Jews* (who were above all Mankind addicted to Superstition, and upon that account scandalous and detestable to all the World besides;) and among them the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* in a yet more infamous degree. The Prophets exclaim against it loudly, and afterwards their own Messiah reproaches them with it perpetually. He exposes that villanous Hypocrisie, which made their Temple a Den of Thieves; which exalted their Ceremonies and outward Observances, to the prejudice of inward and substantial Holiness; which made a Conscience of Traditions, that they might, under that pretence, get a convenient Cloak and Excuse for the most unnatural Barbarities; which Tithed Mint, and Anise, and Cummin, but over-look'd Judgment, and Righteousness, and Fidelity: In one word, They were so over-run, so extravagantly conceited in the matter of external

26.

Piety without Probity.

Matt. xxi.

xv.

xxiii.

external Devotion, and ceremonious Observances; that, provided they were punctual in These, they fancied themselves discharged of all Other Duties; nay, they took occasion from thence to harden their Hearts, and thought This would atone for other Faults, and give them a Privilege of being wicked. This is a sort of Female and Vulgar Piety, and vast numbers are tainted with it every where, at this very day; they lay out all their Diligence and Care upon those little Exercises of outward Devotion; for Little sure they are, as They use them, who never carry the Effects of them home to their Lives and Consciences; but Pray, and Read, and frequent the Church, and Ordinances, and are not one whit the better Men for doing so. This gave occasion to that Proverb, *A Saint at Church, and a Devil at Home*. They lend their hand, and their outside to God, pay Him all the demonstrations of Reverence and Respect; And a fair Outside it is; but all This, as our Lord told the *Pharisees*, is but a whited Wall, and a whited Sepulchre; *This people honoureth me with their Lips, but their Heart is far from me*. Nay, they do not only neglect the Practice of other Duties, and take no pains to be all of a piece; but their very Holiness it self is from a wicked Design; they make this Piety a Cover for greater Impieties; alledge, and depend upon their Devotions, first to give them Credit in the World, and greater Opportunities to deceive under the Mask of so much Sanctity; and then for the extenuating or making a compensation for their Vices, and sinful Liberties.

27.

Others there are, who run into a distant, and quite contrary Extreme: They lay so great Stress upon Virtue and Moral Honesty, as to value nothing else; and make Religion and Piety, strictly so called, no part of their Concern. This is a Fault observable in some of the Philosophers; and may be observed very commonly in People of Atheistical Principles. And surely, it is the proper Fruit of such a Corrupt Tree; for, that Men should believe God and his Revelations; that they should call Themselves Christians, and yet be of opinion, that we are excused from all the Acknowledgments, and Marks of Homage due, and paid to God, in our Faith and Worship, and That Branch of our Duty, which is properly distinguished by the Title of Godliness, is very inconsistent, and unaccountable.

These

These are the two Vicious Extremes; whether of the Two is the more or less so, I shall not at present take upon me to determine; nor will I dispute, whether Religion, or Morality, will stand a Man in greater stead. Thus much only give me leave to add, by way of Comparison, as to Three Considerations; which is, that the Former, as described in the last Paragraph, and practised by the *Jews*, is without dispute, by much the easier, the more pompous, and more incident to weak and vulgar Souls. The Latter must be allowed infinitely more difficult and laborious; it makes less Noise and Ostentation in the World, and is more proper to Brave, Resolute, and Generous Minds, for the former Reasons; as being more substantial, and of a larger compass, meeting with great opposition, and having less to feed Mens Vanity with.

My business is next with a Second Sort of Men, who confound and spoil all, for want of a just Distinction, but perplex these Two, and the Grace of God; and jumble all together. These in truth are defective in all Three. When you come to examine the matter strictly, they will be found to have neither true Religion, nor true Moral Honesty, nor true Grace at the bottom; but by the Figure and all the outward appearances they make, they very much resemble the Persons mention'd before, who are so immoderately zealous for Religion, that they have little or no concern for any thing besides; marvellously satisfied with Themselves, and merciless Censurers of all the World besides. And these are the Men, that make all manner of Probity and Good Actions to be a consequent and attendant upon Religion; wholly to depend upon, and entirely to be devoted to it; and so they acknowledge no such thing as Principles of Natural Justice, or Probity of Mind, any otherwise than they are derived from, and moved by the Springs of Considerations purely Religious. Now the Matter is far otherwise; for Religion is not only after it in Time, but more limited and particular in its Extent. This is a distinct Virtue, and not the Comprehension and Sum of all Virtues; and, as the Instances of *Pharisees* and *Hypocrites* here prove, may subsist without Them, or that general good Disposition of Mind, which we call Probity: And so again may They be independent of Religion, as the Examples of Philosophers, and good Moral Heathens (who we cannot say had ever any Religion properly so called) shew on the other hand. This is also, according to the

28.
Against
them that
confound
these two.

common Schemes of Theology, a Moral Virtue, a Branch of Justice, which we know is one of the Four Cardinal Virtues, and teaches us to give to All their Due; according to their Quality, and respective Claims. Now God being Supreme, the Maker and Master of the Universe, we are bound to pay him the most profound Honour, the most humble Obedience, the most punctual and diligent Service. This now is properly Religion, and consequently it is a Division under the General Topick of Justice. Again, These Persons, as they mistake the Nature, so do they likewise invert the Order of Things; for they make Religion antecedent to Probity: But how can this be, since, as the Apostle says, *Faith cometh by Hearing, and Hearing by the Word of God*; how, I say, can That which is the Effect of Revelation and Instruction, be the Cause of a Thing originally rooted in Nature, born with us, and inseparable from us? For such is that Law and Light of God, kindled in every Man's Breast, and interwoven with the Constitution of the whole Species. This therefore is plainly disturbing the true Order of these matters; and turning them out of all method. They would have a Man Virtuous and entirely Good, merely for the Prospect of Heaven to allure, or the Terrors of Hell to affright and awe him into his Duty. But methinks those Expressions carry a very ill sound, and speak a mean and vulgar Virtue: If the Fear of the Divine Vengeance and Everlasting Damnation did not restrain me, I would do thus or thus. O pitiful cowardly Wretch! what Sense, what Notion hast thou of thy Duty? what Inclinations dost thou cherish all this while? what Motives dost thou act upon? what Thanks dost thou deserve for all that is done upon such constraint and against thy own Will? Thou art not wicked, because thou darest not be so for fear of the Rod. Now I would have thee so perfect, as not to want the Courage but the Inclination to do amiss; I would have thee so resolutely good, as not to commit the least Evil, though thou wert sure never to be chidden, never to be called to an account for it. Thou playest the part of a Good Man, that thou may'st be thanked and rewarded for thy pains; I would have thee be really so, without any prospect of Hire or Gain, nay, though none but thy self should ever be conscious of thy Virtue. I would have thee so, because the Laws and Dictates of Nature and Reason direct and command thee to be so. (For Nature and Reason in this case are but another word for God; and

and These Principles, and That Light, and the Original Distinctions of Good and Evil are his Will and his Laws issued in a different manner.) Because the Order and Good Government of the World, whereof thou art a part, require this at thy hands; because thou canst not consent to be otherwise, without acting against thy self, in contradiction to thy Being, to thy Interest, to the end of thy Creation; And when thou hast thus satisfied thy Duty, and acted upon these Motives, never be solicitous for the Event; but persevere in Virtue, in despite of any Sufferings or Dangers that may threaten thee.

When I urge This as the best Principle of doing well, I do not wholly disallow all others, nor utterly condemn that Probity required and cherish'd by the external Motives of Recompence and Punishment, as if These were unlawful to be proceeded upon. Doubtless they have their Use and Efficacy; are very proper for the reducing of Ill Men, who must be treated in a more slavish and mercenary way; and the Foundations thus laid at first come frequently to noble Improvements. But still I call this a poorer and meaner Principle, and would have my Wise Man aspire to something Sublimier, and more worthy his Character. For This requires a brighter, stronger, and more generous Probity, than the Common Sort of Mankind may be allowed to take up with. And even Divines have generally represented such a Piety as Servile, Imperfect; accommodated to the weaker and more ignorant, and fitter for Babes and Beginners, than for Strong and Masterly Christians. This farther is very certain, that the Probity wholly depending upon a Spirit of Zeal and Religion; and having no regard to the Principles of Natural Light; besides that it must needs be accidental and unequal in its Operations, and want that Evenness and Constancy which was there largely shewn to be one of its Properties; I add, that This is a very dangerous Principle, and does frequently produce horrid and scandalous Effects; for it makes all the Rules of Common Honesty subservient to Zeal for Religion; and opens a Door for all those execrable Villanies, which the dear-bought experience of all Ages hath too sensibly convinced us, are capable of being committed under the fair Shew and Colour of Piety. And These are really so dreadful and detestable, that we have reason to question, whether any other occasion or pretence in the World have done more mischief, than those false but specious Professions of Religion.

gion. The Cause and Honour of God is indeed the greatest, the noblest, and most worthy our Zeal; and if it were not all this in its own nature, the abuse of it could never be so fatal as it is. For Brave and Valuable Things only are subjects for Hypocrisie; and what is little and despicable, as the right use of it does no great good, so the perverting it to wrong purposes can do no mighty harm. It is not therefore any Disparagement to Religion, but the confess'd Excellency of it above any other Subject whatsoever, that the Corruption and false Pretences of it are so pernicious; Were it less good, the abuse of it must have been less evil.

** Such Devilish Acts Religion could persuade—
If you shall start at these bold Truths, and fly
Such Lines as Maxims of Impiety,
Consider that Religion did, and will,
Contrive, promote, and act the greatest Ill.*

Creech.

To lay aside all manner of Affection and Common Humanity for all Sects and Parties but our own; To look with Scorn and Indignation upon them, as if every Man, of a different Persuasion from our selves were perfect Brutes and Monsters; To suppose our selves disparaged and defiled with their Company and Conversation; These are some of the mildest and most moderate Principles and Actions of such furious Zealots. He that professes himself a good and an honest Man merely for the Check and Restraints which Religious Fears have upon him; and hath no other motives of Virtue, no scruples of doing ill, but such as depend upon Revealed Promises and Threatnings, is a Man of less noble Principles, more hardly to be trusted, and less to be esteemed or admired. I will not call such a Man wicked; but sure there is more danger in him, than if he had no Virtue nor Religion neither. Such People would tempt one to think that Religion whets their Passions, and enflames

** Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum—
Illud in his rebus vereor ne forte rearis
Impia te Rationis inire elementa, viamque
Endogredi sceleris. Quod contra sapius olim
Religio perperit scelerosa atque impia facta.*

Lucret. Lib. I.

them

them with Pretences of Zeal, as it did the *Jews* of old; *Whoſoever killeth you, ſhall think that he doth God ſervice.* John Not that I mean, by all This to caſt the leaſt Aſperſion xvi. 2. upon Religion, as if It taught, or warranted, or countenanced any kind of Evil (as ſome who from hence take occaſion to argue and rail at Religion in general, would pretend; For this is not to ſhew their Reaſon, but to betray their extreme Folly, or extreme Malice) The falſeſt and moſt abſurd of all Perſuaſions that ever were, will not own any ſuch Intention. But the bottom of all this Miſchief ſeems to lie here; That ſuch Men have no taſte or ſenſe, no Idea or diſtinct Notion of Sincerity and Honeſty, but merely as it retains to Religion, and is entirely in its ſervice and devotion; and withal they know no other Definition of a Good Man, but One who is extremely diligent and warm in the propagating and promoting the Religion himſelf profeſſes; From which two Imaginations joined together, they eaſily and naturally ſlide into a Third; and preſently perſuade themſelves, that any the blackeſt and moſt barbarous Enormities, Treachery and Treason, Seditions and Murthers, are not only lawful and allowable, when ſheltered under the Colour of Sanctity, and the protection of a Zeal for the advancement of one's Religion; but they are even Sanctified by this pretence; ſo far from deſerving Punishment or Reproach, that they commence Commendable and Meritorious; and think nothing leſs than a Canonization their due, if their own Party and Perſuaſion reap any advantage, or their Adverſaries ſuffer any damage or defeat from them. Thus the *Jews*, we read, were moſt unnatural and barbarous to their Parents; unjuſt to their Neighbours; they neither Lent nor Gave to thoſe in want; and were ſo far from contributing towards ſupplying the Neceſſities of the Poor, that they reſuſed to pay their own juſt Debts; and all this becauſe they contributed to the Temple; *Corban* was thought an answer Matth. xv. ſufficient to ſtop the mouths of all the World, and He that St. Hier. could make this reply, look'd upon himſelf diſcharged from all Duties and Demands whatſoever. Let Parents ſtarve, or Creditors be cheated, yet all was well, ſo long as the Money that ſhould have paid the one, and fed the other, was devoted to pious Uſes.

And now, to conclude what I have to ſay upon this Subject, I will ſhew you very briefly, how I would have 29.
my wiſe Man qualified, with regard to Piety and Probity, Concluſion.
which

which is in one word by a strict union, and inseparable alliance of them both; and that in such a manner, that, like Persons in a conjugal State, each should subsist and be able to act upon its own natural and proper Strength, but yet neither of them should ever part, or be destitute of the other. And then to make the Union compleat, and the Virtue as Christian and Noble as it is capable of being, I desire that both the Former Qualifications may be crowned with the Grace of God, which, as I have observed before, he is not sparing in to Them who do their utmost, but will be sure to give his Holy Spirit sufficiently and liberally to all Them that sincerely and devoutly ask Him.

CHAP. VI.

Of a Due Regulation of a Mans Pleasures and Desires.

ONE very considerable effect of Wisdom, is the Teaching and Qualifying a Man, to be moderate in all his Pleasures, and attain a perfect Mastery over his Desires. For, as for renouncing all our Pleasures, and utterly extinguishing all Inclination, I am so far from expecting any such thing in that Pattern of Wisdom I am now endeavouring to form; that I look upon This, not only as a fantastical and extravagant, but, which is a great deal worse, I verily believe it to be a vicious and an unnatural Notion. The first thing therefore requisite to be done at present, is to confute that Opinion, which absolutely condemns and would fain exterminate all Pleasures; and then, after the vindication of the thing in general, to lay down some directions, how Men ought to govern themselves in the Use and Enjoyment of them.

T There is scarce any Opinion more specious and plausible, more admired by the generality of Mankind, and more affected by those who pretend to be, and would fain pass for the best and most knowing part of them, than the Contempt of the World. No Man sets up for extraordinary Wisdom and Sanctity, but One of his solemn and most pompous Professions, is the Neglecting and absolutely Despising all sorts of Pleasure; a perfect Disregard of the Body,

Of the Contempt of the World.

dy, an Abstraction of the Mind, and retiring within himself; so as to cut off all correspondence with the World and the Body; raising and refining his Mind by the Contemplation of noble and sublime Subjects; and thus contriving, that his life shall pass away in a State of Insensibility; without so much as ever descending to taste, or take notice of its Enjoyments. And indeed, the common expression of Mens passing away their Time is in a peculiar manner applicable to these Persons above any others: For they have a Notion, that the best Use Life can possibly be put to, is to let it slide over without Observation; to deceive the Time, and steal from the World, as if Living were a most miserable Hardship, full of unavoidable Mischiefs; and a Penance so burdensome and tedious, that He only is happy, who can make his escape from it. Thus these great Sages dodge, and run away from the World; they do not only bring the common methods of Living into Suspicion, and cast an Odium upon the Recreations and Entertainments, and innocent Liberties in common use; but they even proclaim War upon the Necessities of Nature; and profess an Aversion to those very things, which God in his Wisdom hath season'd with Pleasure, on purpose to recommend the Use of them to us. They never come in the way of these, but with Reluctance, and are rather dragged, than move willingly; they keep their Mind still in exercise and employment upon somewhat else, and are absent in thought all the while; In short, If you will believe the mighty boasts they make, and all the mortified account they give of themselves, Their whole Life is a Toil and a Burthen; Death is the only Ease and Solace they propose to themselves. And that unnatural Sentence is ever in their mouths, * That they do indeed bear and can be content to Live, but if they might follow their own Inclinations, the thing they wish, and would much rather chuse, is to Die.

But it will be no hard matter to take off all the seeming Virtue of this Opinion, and to blast the Glories and Commendations it pretends to. For when we come to a close and impartial Consideration of the matter, The Unreasonableness, the great Wickedness indeed, of such a Contempt discovers it self in several Instances. For, First of all, if we consult Nature, and attend to the Condition and Design of our Creation, Reason will teach us, that nothing is

2.

This Opinion disapproved.

* Vitam habere in Patientia, mortem in Desiderio.

more Graceful, no Duty more Obligatory, than the considering and maintaining the Character assign'd to us ; that is in plain *English*, the Learning to live here, in all respects, as becomes Men. It is in truth a very difficult Study, but withal a most divine Accomplishment, to know how to Enjoy and Use the Being God hath given us, as he intended we should do : To observe the Common Model of Nature, and then the particular Circumstances and Qualifications of our own State and Case : And so to adjust and proportion our behaviour to the first of these, as at the same time to be guilty of nothing forein to our private Condition, or any way disagreeable to the part we are to play upon this Common Theatre. We are to follow and to act what is given us, but not to invent and make a new part of our own Head. But now these Extravagant Singularities, These Studied and Artificial Essays and Overtures, These ways of living beside the common road, are all of them Sallies of Mens own Folly, and Passion, and impertinent Additions of such, as, because they do not understand their part, mistake and overdo it. They are the Diseases and Frenzies of the Soul, that put Men quite beside their Senses. They Spiritualize themselves, only to be more refined Fools ; and while they affect the Perfection of Angels, degenerate into the Stupidity of Brutes. It was wisely said by him in the Comedy, *Homo sum, humani à me nihil alienum puto* ; which with respect to our present Subject is, I my self am a Man ; and therefore must think nothing that is Human, unworthy my concern. For this is the very State of our Case. Man is a compounded Being ; a Creature consisting of Soul and Body both ; and it is by no means commendable to maim Nature and take the Building to pieces, by cutting off this Fleishy Tabernacle. God hath United, and as it were Married these Two together, by all the Ties of Nature, and the most tender intimate Affection ; and how impious an Undertaking is it for Us to create Jealousies and Dislikes, to drive things to Separation and Divorce, and thus to put asunder those whom God hath joined together ? Quite contrary, we should rather tye this Knot faster, by all the good Offices and mutual Assurances they are capable of to one another. For indeed, they are well contrived for such reciprocal Services. The Body of it self is heavy and stupid, and therefore the Soul should animate, and awaken, and render it Vigorous and Active. The Spirit of it self is light and airy, and often-

times

times very troublesomly brisk; and therefore the Body is of use to check and fix it. In a word, The Mind should govern, and cherish, and be helpful to the Body, (as a Husband should assist and direct his Wife) and by no means hate, or cast it off; or despise the Infirmities and Necessities of this weaker Vessel. It is an unbecoming Niceness and Pride, to refuse the partaking in its innocent Pleasures; such as Nature ordains, and the Laws of God and Man allow, for our Recreation and Entertainment. For the thing required upon this Occasion is not total Abstinence, but prudent Moderation. Man is really bound to make this Life a considerable part of his Care; to taste the Pleasures of it; nay, to chew the Cud, and reflect upon them with Satisfaction; for all this is necessary to give a right Relish and Value of them, and to make him duly thankful, and sensible of the Goodness of that Providence, which hath made so liberal a Provision for our Entertainment here below. Do not mistake; There is no part of that which God hath in bounty bestowed upon us, unworthy our regard: Were it below us to accept, it would have been much more below Him to give. We shall do well therefore to remember, not only that we may receive it, but that we are accountable for every the least Mite of it. And therefore the Use of Life is no jesting matter; but a Commission, and a Talent, which requires our most serious Care; that the living in agreement to Nature, and governing our selves by such Rules, as result from a due Consideration of it, is an express Duty, imposed upon us in very good earnest, and with an intent to be severely reckoned for.

And Thus much may serve to convince us, how unnatural, and how foolish a Delicacy that is, which teaches Men to condemn Actions as Vicious, because they are Natural; or to nauseate and disdain them, as mean and below their Character, because they are necessary. Whereas in reality, Necessity and Pleasure are the happiest Marriage that ever God made in all the Course of Nature. It is a most convincing Demonstration of his Infinite Wisdom, that in those Actions which are of greatest Use and indispensable Necessity to human Life, the matter should be so ordered, that some agreeable Satisfaction should always attend them; and that our Senses should be feasted, as often as our Wants are supplied. Thus are we doubly invited to our Refreshments; first by Reason and Necessity, and then by Appetite, and a certainty of being Gratified. Now your mortified and Philosophical

3.
See B. III.
Chap. 38.

Iosophical Contemners of the World take upon them to invert this Order, break the Rules of Nature, and utterly overthrow this beautiful Establishment. Whereas in truth, it is every whit as unreasonable and unjust to fall out with the World, and utterly renounce all Pleasures, as it is to doat, and be fond of all, and abandon one's self to all manner of Excess and Abuse of them. In short, We should neither run after them, nor run away from them. But when they make their Approaches, and put themselves in our way, we should receive them kindly, love them moderately, and enjoy them soberly and discreetly; in such manner as will be prescribed hereafter, when our Method brings us to the Rules proper for this Occasion.

4.

He who values himself upon this Abstraction of the Soul, and keeping it in a Separate and Independent State from the Body, let him give us a Trial of his Skill, when the Body is languishing under Sicknes, or tortured with Pain; and shew that he can at such a time preserve it free, and above the reach of this Contagion. Then Experience will shew such Attempts as much out of his Power, as Reason argues them to be against his Duty. For, if we will consider this matter as in all Equity and Common Humanity it stands, it is certain the Soul ought not to abandon the Body, nor cast off all Fellow-feeling of its Sufferings and Distresses. It is mere Apishness and Affectation for any Man to pretend to it. The Mind, if you please, ought to go thus far; It should look both Pleasure and Pain in the Face, without Commotion or Transport, with the same Composure of Countenance, and Evenness of Temper: Or rather let it meet the One with a Severe and Grave Mein, and the Other with an Air of Gaiety; But let the Circumstances of the Man be what they will, the Mind is obliged upon all occasions to stand by the Body; to lend it Assistance, to espouse its Cause, and keep it in a constant Discipline, and good Order.

Temperance, which is the Rule and Standard of Pleasure, consists in a Mediocrity, and is no less distant from a sullen Insensibility, which is the Extreme in point of Defect; than it is from Extravagance and Luxury, which is the other Extreme in Excess. For voluntary Rigor and Torment is unnatural; and 'tis as ridiculous to hate cheap and easie Conveniencies, as it is mad and foolish to purchase expensive and uncommon Delicacies.

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The Contempt of the World sounds big in the Mouth ; they are very solemn and pompous Words, and such as every Man proclaims his own Gallantry in, with great Triumph. But when we come to enquire into the true meaning of this Expression, and what there is really in it ; I cannot for my part think that the Persons who use the Phrase, know what they Intend by it ; and much less does it appear, that any of them practice what it denotes, if it have any Sense or Signification at all. For after all, What does this Despising of the World import ? What is this World, which they represent as so just an Object of Contempt ? Is it the Heavens, and the Earth, and in one word, what we call the Universe, or whole Frame of Created Beings ? No ; These they allow are no such despicable things. What are we to understand by it then ? The Use and Profit, the Service and Convenience, which these Things are capable of yielding us ? What monstrous Ingratitude would this be to the great Author and Maker of all these things, who in Kindness fitted them to our use, and provided for our Necessities by them ? What a Reproach and Accusation upon Human Nature in general, which leaves us liable to such Necessities ? For after all their blustering, I would fain know how they can dispense with the want of These things, or which way they can continue Men, and subsist without them ? If then you shall evade this Difficulty too, and say that you understand the World neither in the one, nor the other of these Senses ; but All that you make the Object of your Contempt, is the Abuse of things Good and Necessary ; that is, The Vanities and Follies, the Extravagances and Vicious Excesses, which you see daily practiced, and which are the Failings common to all that appear to be fond of living like the rest of the World ; I must tell you, That, however commendable your Virtue, or the Design of it may be in it self, yet you give it a wrong Name. For what can be more injurious than to call those Things *the World*, which are no part of it, nor hath the World any thing to do with them ? So far from it, that These are all of them directly against the Order and good Government of the World ; and in truth, have no Being, no Foundation in Nature, but are purely Additions of Mens making, born and brought up within their own Breasts. These are Artificial Debaucheries, the effect of wicked Industry and Skill, to corrupt and pervert Nature ; and therefore the preserving a Man's self from these, in such manner
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as the Study of Wisdom, and the Rules, which you will meet with presently, direct; This is not Despising the World, which is not one whit the less, but would be a great deal more perfect, if all these things were taken out of it; but it deserves much rather to be called, Making a good Use of the World, and behaving one's self prudently in it: And thus Divines make a very just Distinction, between Using the World, and Delighting in it. These Philosophical Gentlemen, I know very well, imagine Themselves great Masters, and that they have got quite above the World, and all its Temptations, and Enjoyments, because they practise some affected Singularities, and have put themselves in a way of living, quite beside the common Road of the rest of Mankind. But alas! This is all a Jest. The World hath nothing in it so Worldly, and so particular as these very Men are; There is a great deal more trifling, and playing the Fool, by those that pretend to shun and live out of it, than by them that are content to be thought in it; and if you would find Fondness and Concern for the World in Perfection, you must seek it in those places, where you hear most of running away from it, and scorning all its Enjoyments. Upon the whole matter, this abandoning all Pleasures, and stifling all our Desires, is an Extreme as culpable, as abandoning our selves to them. What I say here, is intended as a just Reproof of those Men and their Hypocrisie, whose pretended Mortifications, and particular way of making a Figure in the World, serves only to swell them more with Pride, and fill them with impudent and censorious Malice against all who are not of their way: But I would not be thought to cast the least Reflection upon any Religious Self-denial, or any such Retirements and Austerities as are practised for the Advantage of Piety and Heavenly Contemplation. But still I say, to condemn and disallow such Appetites and such Gratifications without Reserve, is the Effect of a Sick Imagination; a fantastical, morose, and unnatural Opinion. God himself is the Creator and the Giver of Pleasure; and our Duty is to receive it Thankfully, and not to disparage the Gift, by charging it with Folly. All that we have to do in the Case, is to learn how to enjoy these things, and to use them safely; to hearken to the Voice of Wisdom, and conform our selves to those Rules of Behaviour, which she will not fail to furnish us with upon this Occasion.

See B. III.
Chap. 38.

Now

Now the Direction, necessary for this purpose may very well be reduced to Four Particulars. First, That our Desires be Little. Secondly, That they be Natural. Thirdly, That they be Moderate. And Lastly, That they be bounded within a short compass, and with regard to one's own self. And these are such Qualifications, as, if these mighty mortified Persons, and magnanimous Contemners of the World would practise in good earnest, I should allow them to be Excellent Men indeed. These Four generally go together. And when thus in Conjunction, they make up one Perfect and Entire Rule. One might indeed contract them into less compass; And he that is disposed to save his Memory, may comprehend all the Four Qualities in this single Word, *Natural*. For in truth, Nature, if we would faithfully pursue her Dictates, is not only the Fundamental, but of herself alone a Sufficient Direction to us, in the management of this whole matter. But however, to explain the Thing more fully, and for the making our Notions more clear and easie, we will allow each of these Particulars a distinct Consideration.

1. The First Branch then of this Rule concerns the Quantity of the Object, and commands us to desire but Little. The restraining our Desires, and cutting them short, so that they shall extend to very few, if any Things at all, is of infinite Use and Advantage: It is the straightest Road to Happiness; a certain Defence against the Assaults of Fortune; it secures all the Avenues by which she can attack us, and leaves her nothing to fasten upon: It is the only course we can take to live Contentedly, and Happily, and in one word, Wisely. He that can bring himself to desire nothing, the matter is not great if he have nothing; for even upon these Terms he is as Rich, and as Great, as he that possesses all things; They come both to one at last; for in summing up a Man's Wants, ** it makes no difference in the account, whether you actually have a thing, or whether you have no desire of it.* For which reason it was well enough observed, that Wealth and Contentment were not to be attained by Variety and Abundance, but by Scarcity and Nothing; that is, by Scarcity of Desires; for he that is Poor in Desires is Rich in Contentation. † *The Want of Desires is the*

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ting our
Pleasures
and Desires.

* Nihil interest, an habeas, an non concupiscas.

† Summæ opes inopia Cupiditatum,

true, the greatest Wealth. In a word, The Man who desires nothing, hath made great Advances toward a State of Absolute Perfection, and is in some degree like God himself. He approaches very near to the Condition of the Saints and Blessed Spirits in Heaven, whose Happiness does not consist in having and enjoying all that We value here below, but in not wanting, not desiring, and being above it all. * *He that hath mastered, and confined his Desires, may vie Happiness with Jove himself*; says a Heathen Author. But on the other hand; if we let the Reins loose, and suffer Appetite to fly out at pleasure; if nothing but Abundance will satisfy, and we grow Nice and Fanciful in the Proposals we make to our selves, perpetual Misery and Torment must be our Portion. Things in their own Nature superfluous will then become necessary and indispensable; our Mind loses its Native Freedom, and is enslav'd to the Body; and all we live for from thenceforward is only Wantonness and Pleasure. If we do not moderate our Pleasures and Desires, and measure all we have, and all we seek, by the Standard of *Reason*, Opinion will carry us away, and run us upon Pits and Precipices, without bounds, or bottom. For when we once have begun to indulge our Extravagances, there is no knowing where the Luxury will end. At this rate, for instance, we may cover our Shoes, first with Velvet, then with Gold, after that with Embroidery, and at last come to set them with Pearls and Diamonds; And thus when we lay the Foundations, and carry up the Walls of our Houses, we may rise from Stone to Marble, and then to *Jasper and Porphyry*.

This method of enriching one's self hath likewise these farther Advantages, that it exposes a Man to no Fraud or Injustice, but is agreeable to the strictest Rules of Equity; and it is also entirely in every one's own power and disposal. There is no need of going abroad to seek for Contentment; it dwells at home; we need but ask our selves, and we may have it: Stop but the Current of our own Desires, and the thing is done. How unreasonable is all the Formality of Prayers, and Vows, and Wishes; all the Complaints we make of Vexations and Disappointments; all the Blame we lay upon God and Nature, and the World,

* Qui Desiderium suum clausit, cum Jove de felicitate contendit.

how wicked and unjust are they ; when the Result of all is in truth no more than this, That we want something to be given us, which none can give, none can procure, but our selves ; and which we are so abundantly provided with Means and Opportunities of obtaining, that we cannot possibly fail of it, unless we will be wanting to our selves ? For after all, Why should I rather beg of another to grant me what I have not, than of my self not to desire or be uneasy for the want of it ? * *How absurd is it to think Fortune will gratifie my Desires, when I cannot ease my self by ceasing to desire ? And wherefore should I so far forget the frailty of my Condition, as to indulge my Desires ?* If I either cannot, or will not prevail with my self, whom I have a Right to govern ; with what confidence can I pretend to importune others, over whom I have no Right, nor Power, and hope to extort from them, what, without all this trouble of asking, might have come much better from my own Hand ? Take this then for the first Rule necessary for the Regulating Mens Pleasure and Desires, That the Quantity be rightly adjusted. For this *Little*, or to express the thing in terms every whit as true, though more acceptable, A moderate Proportion, and Sufficiency of Mind, is the thing that brings Wisdom and Satisfaction. This is what will content a Wise Man, and keep him always in a State of Ease and Tranquility. Upon the full Conviction of this Truth it is, that I have chosen for my *Motto* those two significant Words ; *Paix & Peu. Quiet and a Little.* A Fool thinks nothing enough ; he is fickle and irresolute ; knows not what he would have, nor when to have done ; and consequently can never be contented, because he never knows what would satisfy him. Such a Man is well enough represented by the Story *Plutarch* tells of the Moon, which came to her Mother, and begged she would give her some New Cloaths that would fit her ; but received this Answer, That such a Garment was impossible to be made, for she was sometimes very Big, and at other times very Little, and continually Increasing or Decreasing ; and how then could she expect to be fitted with a Garment, which must always be the same, when her own Body was

* *Quare potius à fortunâ impetrem ut det, quàm à me ne petam ? quare autem petam oblitus fragilitatis humanæ ?*

Senec. Epist. xv.

so changeable, that its Bulk was never two days together the same?

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2. The next Point is, That our Desires and Pleasures be *Natural*; and this in truth carries great Affinity and Resemblance to the former. For we cannot but observe, that there are Two sorts of Pleasures; Some of which are *Natural*, and these are Just and Lawful; They have a foundation in our very Temper and Frame, and are imparted, not to Men only, but are exactly the same in Brutes. These Appetites and the Gratifications of them are short, and bounded in a narrow compass; it is an easie matter to see to the End of them. Now with regard to such, no Man is, or can be poor; because all Circumstances and all Places furnish enough to satisfy these Inclinations. For Nature is Regular and Abstemious, a very little contents her; and not only so, but she is very well provided too, and puts into every Man's hand as much as will suffice to support him. Thus *Seneca* observes, * *That the Sustenance Nature requires, is always ready, and any-where to be had; and it is very easie to come at enough for the supply of our Necessities*; For that which Nature requires for the preservation of its Being is in reality as much as we need; and sure we ought to acknowledge it a particular Happiness, and a special Favour, that those things which we stand in need of for the support of Life; as they must be had or we perish, so they are easie to be had, and no body need perish for want of them; and that the matter is so contrived, that whatever is hard to be obtained, we can be without it, and suffer no great Prejudice. If we lay aside Fancy and Passion, and follow Nature and Necessity, we are always rich, and always safe; for these will direct us to such pursuits, as all the Malice of Fortune cannot defeat. To this sort of Desires, we may add too those others, which regard the Customs of the Age and Place we live in, and the Circumstances and Quality of our Persons and Fortunes. For I can easily allow, that they should be comprehended under this Head too, though it must be confess'd, that they do not come up to the same degree of Necessity with the former. If we will speak strictly and consider things according to their utmost rigour, these are neither Natural, nor

* Parabile est quod Natura desiderat & expositum; Ad manum est quod sat est.

Necessary ; but if they be not absolutely so, yet they follow close in order, and are next to those that are. They do indeed exceed the bounds of Nature, which hath done her part, when she maintains us in Any Condition ; but yet we are not tied to all that Exactness but are permitted to enlarge our Desires farther ; and may, without any breach of Virtue, desire a Competency, in proportion to the Rank Providence hath placed us in. We may, I say, desire and endeavour this fairly and reasonably ; but yet with this Reserve, that it is against Justice and Reason both, to murmur and be discontented, if we be disappointed in our Hopes, or deprived of the Possession of it. For these are Additional Advantages, and the Effect of Bounty ; all that Nature hath bound her self to, is the Subsistence of our Persons, and we have no Right to depend upon more.

But we must not omit to observe, that there are (as I hinted before) another sort of Pleasures and Desires which we may truly call Unnatural, because they are quite beside and beyond the Bounds already mentioned. With these Nature hath nothing at all to do ; she knows them not ; they are of a Bastard Race ; Fancy and Opinion gave them Birth ; Art and Industry Cherish and Improve them ; They are superfluous and studied Follies ; and must not be allowed so mild a Term, as Appetites, but are most truly, and in the worst sense of the word, Passions. I know not well indeed, what Title to distinguish them by ; they are so fantastical, that it is not easie to find a Name for them ; but call them if you will, Lustings, Longings, Any thing that expresses the Whimsy and Impatience of a wild and wanton Mind. These we have therefore spoken to already, when in the First Book we treated of the Passions at large ; all that is necessary to be added here concerning them is only, That the greatest part of what Men call Desires, are such as these ; and that they are the proper source of that Misery and Fretfulness we see Mankind so generally disquieted by ; and that a Wise Man will think himself concerned to distinguish his Virtue in no one Instance more, than in keeping himself absolutely and entirely clear from any Vanities of this kind.

3. The Third Qualification requisite upon these Occasions, is, That all our Pleasures and Desires be Moderate ; by which I mean, that they should be guilty of no Excess

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See B. III.

Chap. 40.

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in any respect whatsoever. Now this is a Rule of a very large Extent, and capable of being parcelled out into a great many Subdivisions, but I think All of them may be reduced to these Two ; That neither, *first*, our Neighbour, nor, *secondly*, our Selves suffer by them. When I mention other Peoples Sufferings, I design by it, that we should indulge our Selves in nothing that may any way give any person disquiet, by Scandalizing him, or ministring just cause of Resentment ; nothing that may contribute to his Loss or Prejudice, by hurting his Person, Estate or Reputation : By our Own Suffering I mean, that we should have all due regard to our Health, our Leisure, our Business, and particularly the Offices of our Calling and Capacity, our Honour, and above all, our Duty. And He that is content with being subject to these Restraints, and takes care not to break in upon any of the forementioned Boundaries, I admit to be such a one, as exercises what I call Moderation in his Pleasures and Desires.

9. 4. There remains yet a Fourth Direction, which is, a Short Compass, and a constant Regard to one's self. For, besides that our Desires must not be let fly at large, nor our Pleasures run wild without any Check or Controul; the very Course and Figures they move in, must be managed and rightly ordered. It is not enough, that a stop be put to their Career ; but, if the Reader will permit that Allusion, they must not move in a Right Line, but in a Circle, of which the Person himself is the Center. My meaning is, They must not run out into Lengths a great distance from us, as Right Lines do ; but they must have a constant respect to, keep near, and quickly return again, to the Point from whence they set out at first : For This is to terminate in our selves ; and to make our own Necessities and Enjoyments the Subject and the Measure of them. And what miserable work do they make, who do not govern themselves by this Reflection ? How wretched, for want of keeping close, and moving round their proper Center, are the Slaves to Avarice and Ambition ; and infinite others, who are solicitous for Posterity, and contriving to keep up the Family in long distant Successions, or upon any pretence, as vain as these, run beyond themselves, and are perplexed for things that no way concern them ? Such Actions are properly Excentrical and Irregular, Fanciful and Vain ; and yet so very frequent withal,
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that, if all these Unreasonable Projects were reduced, or quite taken away out of our Lives, it is incredible, how great a part of Mens Cares and Anxieties would be cut off with them.

C H A P. VII.

Of Decent Deportment, and Evenness of Temper, in Prosperity and Adversity.

EVERY Man in this World hath two sorts of Fortune to grapple with ; a Good and an Ill Fortune ; or Prosperity and Adversity, as we commonly call it. These are the Rencounters, in which a Man ought to stand upon his Guard ; the Trying Seasons, when we are most obliged to have our Wits about us ; the two Schools, by whose Discipline we are trained up in Wisdom ; the Essays, or Touchstones, which bring Mens Minds to the Test ; and discover whether they be Standard or not.

The Common and Ignorant part of the World have no notion of Trial, except in one of these only ; They can by no means imagine, how Prosperity, and kind Fortune should possibly make a Man work, or involve him in any Difficulty or Trouble ; they hear no Threatning, and so they fear no Danger. They are so transported, so giddy with their Joy upon these occasions, that they lose all Sense ; know not where they are, nor what they do ; and so Insolent, that there is no enduring them. And in Affliction again, they are so miserably subdued, so perfectly stunn'd and confounded, that they have no manner of sense left ; but are affected with this Sickness and Feebleness of the Mind, as we generally see Men with That of the Body, who are always uneasy and in pain, can bear neither Heat nor Cold, but are restless and dissatisfied in either Extreme.

But Wise Men have quite different Notions of the matter ; they observe and acknowledge a Difficulty in Both ; and think it an instance of equal weakness, on Which side so ever the miscarriage happens. And indeed it is the same Vicious defect, and as egregious a Folly, for a Man not to be able to govern himself in Prosperity, as not to support

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himself under Adversity. But though all Men of Judgment allow a Difficulty on either side, yet on which hand the Difficulty is greater, they are not so perfectly agreed. Some are of Opinion, that Adversity is the harder Task of the Two, by reason of its extreme Severity, and that sensible sharpness we feel under the smart of it. So says one Philosopher, * *Its harder to endure, and bear up under Grief, than to deny one's self, and be moderate in Joy*; and another, † *It is a nobler Victory to get well over Hardships, than to temper Pleasures*. Others again rather incline to Prosperity, and think this the nicer and more dangerous State of the Two. They observe very truly, that Good Fortune charms and gets within us by her Smiles and kind Caresses; That there is Treachery at the bottom of all this Fondness; that it unbends and softens the Mind, enervates all its Powers, steals away its generous Qualities, and, as *Dalilah* dealt by *Sampson*, betrays the strength and vigour of the Soul, and reduces the best and bravest Heroes to the Condition of common Men. And of This we have frequent Instances; Persons who have been firm and inflexible, stood their ground, and born the shock of Adversity with all the Resolution and Gallantry in the World; and yet even these Invincible Sufferers, whom Affliction could not break, Prosperity hath quickly vanquish'd and melted down. Courtship and Flattery have effected what Threats and Blows never could; and Verified that Saying, That Prosperity is no such easie matter, but this must be endured too; (how odd soever that Expression may sound) and || is really a difficult and laborious thing to be born. As Full Ears load and lay the Corn, so does too much good Fortune bend and break the Mind. It deserves to be considered too, as another Disadvantage, that Affliction moves Pity, and reconciles our very Enemies; but Prosperity provokes Envy, and loses us our very Friends. Again, Adversity is a desolate and abandoned State; the generality of People are like those infamous Animals, that live only upon Plenty and Rapine; and as Rats and Mice forsake a tottering House, so do these the Falling Man. Now this hath sometimes that

* *Difficilius est Tristitiam sustinere, quam à delectabilibus abstinere.*

† *Majus est Difficilia perstringere, quam Lata moderari.*

|| *Magni laboris est ferre prosperitatem.*

good effect, that when One perceives himself thus reduced and destitute, and that his own Endeavours are all he hath to trust to; his Courage is awakened, he rouzes and shakes himself, collects and exerts all his Powers, and with wonderful Bravery and Succels forces his way through. In Prosperity, quite contrary, Every body is making their Court by Compliments, and Commendations, proffers of Service, and officious Assistances; and this is a Temptation to Negligence and Security, we trust to Others, and neglect our Selves; apprehend no difficulty because we feel none, and promise absolute safety, while we see not our danger; till at last our false Confidences deceive us, and we are sensible of our Error, when it is too late to retrieve it. Thus much, and a great deal more might be urged on both sides of the Question, which I shall not take upon me to determine on either side; For it may be, that it is not capable of any general and positive Decision, one way or other, And the most probable Resolution we can come to in the case, is in my poor Judgment this; That Both the forementioned Opinions are true as it may happen; and that Prosperity is more difficult to some, and Adversity to others, according to the different Dispositions and Complexions of the Persons concerned in making the Experiment. But if we look at the Thing it self, and the Usefulness of it in general, the Advantage seems to lie on the side of Adversity: For this is the seed and occasion of great Virtues, the Field in which the Bravest Heroes have signalized themselves. For Wounds and Hardships provoke our Courage, and when our Fortunes are at the lowest, our Wits and Minds are commonly at the best.

Now the Directions which Wisdom gives upon this occasion are, To preserve an Evenness of Temper and Behaviour, through the several Occurrences of Life, and to meet them all with the same serene composed Countenance. A Wise Man is Master of his Trade, and knows how to manage his Matters so, as to make every Thing turn to Account; Let the Accident be what it will, still Virtue shall be the result of it; as the Painter *Phidias* shewed his Skill, in making the same Figure represented, what form or prospect soever you put the Piece into. Thus Events are his Materials, and whatever comes to hand, he will not fail to convert into an occasion of doing good; and how different soever the Aspects of Fortune may be to him, yet his own Face always keeps the same

Air. * *A Wise Man* (says Seneca) is provided for Occurrences of any kind, the Good he manages, the Bad he vanquishes. In Prosperity he betrays no Presumption, in Adversity he feels no Despondency. He neither rashly courts danger, nor cowardly runs away from it, and for Prosperity, he sets not his heart upon it, but stands well appointed for any thing that happens; He fears no attack in any kind; the hurry and disorder of the one does not confound him, nor the splendor of the other dazzle or transport him. Calamities find him gallant, resolute, and inflexible; Luxury and Ease he is not only no Friend, but an Irreconcilable Enemy to. And, in short, this is his greatest Excellence and the just Commendation and Character of a Good Man, in all the variety of Human Chances, to raise the Soul, and get above the Promises and Threats of Fortune. Thus Wisdom equips us for the Fight; She puts proper Weapons into our Hands, teaches us to handle the Arms she gives, and when we are well disciplin'd, leaves us to engage, as the Laws of Combat, and the present Exigence of Affairs, require. When we are to encounter with Adversity, She provides us a Spur to quicken us, raises and whets our Courage, calls up our Resolution, and hardens our Mind against it; and thus She inspires us with the Virtue of Fortitude; When Prosperity engages us, She puts a Bridle into our Hand to curb and contain us, that our Flights may not be too bold, but all regulated by Prudence and Modesty; and thus She qualifies us with the Virtue of Temperance. These are the two great Cardinal Virtues, which enable us to manage the two Extremes of Fortune, and are a Preparation sure and sufficient, against any kind of Accident, that can possibly befall us. All which the brave *Epictetus* intimated his Sense of, when he summed up the whole System of Moral Philosophy in those two significant, and most comprehensive words †, *Bear and Forbear*. Applying the former to what the World uses to repute Evil,

* Ad utrosque casus Sapiens aptus est; Bonorum Rector, Malorum Victor. In Secundis non confidit, in Adversis non deficit. Nec avidus periculi, nec fugax; prosperitatem non expectans, ad utrumque paratus, adversus utrumque intrepidus; nec illius tumultu, nec hujus fulgore percussus. Contra calamitates fortis & contumax; Luxuriæ non adversus tantum sed & infestus: Hoc præcipuum in humanis rebus erigere Animum supra Minas & Promissâ Fortunæ. Seneca.

† Ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ Ἀνέχεσθαι.

all manner of Misfortune and Distress; for These things, as Burthens, are to be sustain'd with Patience and Constancy. The latter, of *Forbearing* to all those, which in common esteem pass for Good things; the Plenty, and Pleasures, and prosperous Successes of our Lives, all which require Moderation and Restraint. As for any particular Directions, suited to the particular Favours or Unkindnesses of Fortune; The Reader must give me leave to beg his Patience, till the Third part of this Treatise; where I shall have occasion to treat of this Subject more at large, under the Topicks of *Fortitude* and *Temperance*. At present I shall only lay down some general Rules, and Remedies, against Prosperity and Adversity taken in the gross; the design and business of this Second Book being to extend no farther than general Instructions to Wisdom, without entering into respective Cases, which call for the Exercise of such Rules; for This you may remember was the Scheme and Method of this whole Undertaking, laid down in my Preface, at our first setting out.

All the general Instruction, which I think necessary in this place, with regard to Prosperity, consists of these ^{5.} *Of Prosperity.* Three Considerations. First, That it is a great Mistake, nay, a great Injustice, which those Men are guilty of, who esteem Honours, and Riches, and other Gifts and Advantages of Fortune, Good things; and reckon them among the most substantial Happinesses of Human Life. For with what pretence can they be called Good? They can neither impart nor improve Goodness; they reclaim no Man who lives amiss; nor can they reform one vicious Habit; nor are they peculiar to, or any distinguishing Character of Good Men, but distributed promiscuously, and, at least in equal Proportions, to the Wickedest and worst part of Mankind. And He, that calls them Good in the notion of Happiness, and places his Hopes and his Felicity in them, hath committed his Treasure to a Rotten Cable, and anchored his Vessel upon a Quicksand. For what is there in the whole World so floating and unfaithful, as the Possession of such slippery Advantages? They go and come at random, no body knows how nor why; flow in upon us, and ebb off again, like a sudden Tide of Water: Like That, they come on with noise and observation, are violent and fierce in their Motions, troubled and foul in themselves; and like That too, they presently disappear, leave us drawn dry of all our overflowing Comforts and Joys,
L 4 and

and nothing but Mud, and Stench, and Filth, left behind at low Water.

6.

The Second part of this Advice, is, To entreat Men, that they would remember, what the Nature of Prosperity is; That nothing better resembles it, than a Poyson given in Honey; which, though it be sweet and pleasing upon the Palat, yet is fatal in the Operation, and Certain Death at the Stomach; and therefore that Men ought to be constantly upon their Guard against its treacherous Flatteries. When Fortune smiles upon us, and every thing falls out to our hearts desire; then is the Season especially for Watchfulness and Fear; then we should be more than ordinary severe in the Government of our Passions, and draw the Reins tight, because we are apter to grow skittish, and fly out at such times. Then we should be careful, that all our Behaviour be serious and compos'd, and above all things avoid Presumption and Insolence; which are exceeding apt to grow upon us in the midst of Gaieties and fair Weather. Alas! Prosperity is a very slippery Ground, and all a Man's caution is little enough, to stand fast, and tread sure in it. There is not any Circumstance in the World, in which Men are more disposed to forget God; it is the very critical Season that practises Religion least, and yet needs it most. One tolerable account whereof, among others, may be This; That you very seldom meet with any fortunate Man who is content to ascribe his Successes to the Blessing and Providence of God; but all Men usually think they owe their Advancement to their own Merit, and call themselves the Makers of their own Fortunes. Since then this is so very hazardous a State, a Man ought least to depend upon himself in it, and the greater his Prosperity is, the less still is he fit to be trusted. This is the proper Time of calling in Succours, of making use of our Friends for their Counsel and Assistance, of giving what they advise more than ordinary weight and Authority; and in a manner putting our selves into their Guardianship and Protection. To be short; a Man upon These occasions should act as he would if he were walking in very slippery Ways, or upon some dangerous Precipice; he should take every step with deliberation and fear, and beg some faithful Guide to lend him his hand. For want of these Precautions it is, that sharper Remedies become sometimes necessary; and even Affliction it self often proves a seasonable and very successful Application, to settle Mens Heads that were grown giddy; and

and bring them back to the knowledge of themselves again.

The Third Admonition I would give at present, is, That Men upon these occasions would put a Bar to their Desires, and not suffer them to grow extravagant, and out of all measure. Prosperity naturally swells the Heart, dilates the Spirits, pushes us on to new Undertakings, fills us with great Confidence of Success, and will not suffer us to see the Difficulties sufficient to defeat and discourage our Attempt; It makes us more impatiently eager of more and greater Attainments, (somewhat like a very vulgar Proverb, which says, *The Eating a good Breakfast gets a Man a keener Stomach to his Dinner*): In one word, it exalts, and carries us quite beyond our selves: And then it is, that by grasping at More, we lose All; plunge into Ruin, and make our selves a Jest and publick Scorn; like the Monkey that skips from Bough to Bough, till he get to the top of the Tree, and then turns up his Tail to the Company. It is really a very deplorable thing, to reflect how many brave Men have been lost, and come to a miserable End, merely for want of Prudence to govern themselves, and check those aspiring Thoughts, which Prosperity and Greatness push'd them forward with. The most advisable course therefore is to put a stop to these towering Imaginations; to move gently and warily; to relish our present good Fortune; and not lose the Enjoyment of what we have already, by being perpetually upon the scent, and anxious pursuit of some fresh Advantages. For it is One considerable point of Wisdom, to set up our Staff when we are well; to secure our Ease and Contentment, which can never dwell in that Breast, which is never at rest; but eternally urging its Fortunes on farther, and fixes upon no Period of its Labours; no End where to sit down, and make a final Settlement.

The general Advice and proper Reflections against Adversity, considered in the gross, are such as follow. First 8.
of all, A Man should take great care that he be not imposed *Of Adversity.*
upon with that general Opinion (among the common sort *It is not*
of People especially) which represents Affliction, as a thing *Evil.*
Evil in its own Nature. This is, like most of the vulgar
Notions, extremely false and unjust, and the most contrary
that can be to sound Reason. They have indeed a strange
dread and abhorrence of all manner of Adversity; and
therefore, to propagate, as well as justify this Aversion,
they render it as odious as is possible, by running it down,
and loading it with hard Names; they call Afflictions, Calamities,

lamities, Disasters, Dreadful Evils, Sore and Intolerable Evils; whereas in truth, none of these Outward Things are either Good or Evil in their own Nature; but of a middle kind, and in a state of perfect Indifferency. Adversity never made any one Man wicked, since the beginning of the World; but hath proved a very successful Instrument for reducing and reforming Persons very far engaged in Wickedness before; and hath in many other respects been the happy occasion of very great Advantages, to the Persons labouring under it: And it is too manifest to need a Proof, that it is by no means the Mark of Vengeance set upon Wicked Men; for the Good have large proportions also; and no Man can distinguish Virtue and Vice by Events; but all things in this present Condition of Mortality are order'd by a promiscuous Providence, and happen to all Men alike.

9.

But though these severe Crosses and melancholy Accidents are scattered in Common, and all smart under the same Rod; yet all do not make the same use of them: The Events agree, but in the Consequences and Effects there is a mighty difference. In the Ignorant and Foolish, the Reprobate and Obdurate, their only Operation is, the driving them to Despair; perplexing them with Trouble, and transporting them with Rage: The Extremity of their Sufferings does indeed sometimes bend them, whether they will or no; forces them to strike Sail, and humble themselves; extorts some Prayers and Complaints to the God that smites them; but if they look up and cry to Heaven, this is all; the Effects of it are of no continuance, nor does all their Affliction make them one whit the better Men. To Unthinking and Careless Transgressors they are so many lively and sensible Instructions, which by the sharpness of the Pain drive them to Recollection, and a Second Thought; and in a manner force from them Acknowledgments of God and their Duty. To Men of steady Virtue, they are Trials and exercise to keep them in breath, and render their Excellencies more conspicuous and exemplary; to recommend and endear them the more to Almighty God, and exalt them to nearer degrees of Affinity and Resemblance to his own Divine Perfections. To Persons of Wisdom and Conduct, they are, as Materials in the Hand of a Skilful Artist, who will be sure to make somewhat Good out of them; they are, as it were, Stairs, by which such Persons ascend to the highest Elevations of Honour and Greatness:

Instances

Instances whereof History furnishes in Abundance ; Persons under most prodigious and unexpected Crosses, such, as when they hapned, threatned no less than irrecoverable Misery and Ruin ; and yet by a strange Turn, to these very Misfortunes have ow'd all their future Happiness and Advancement ; and had, but for these Accidents, stuck in the Dirt, never come to be significant in the World ; but lived, and dy'd, and been buried in Obscurity and Contempt. This Observation was made good to that *Athenian* Commander, who cried out upon a like Occasion, *We had been undone, if we had not been undone. (Perieramus nisi periissemus.)* How full and noble an Instance of this Nature is that Relation of *Joseph*, which *Moses* gives us ? The Envy and Spight of his Brethren, the being Sold as a Slave to Strangers, and imprisoned upon a false Accusation, were so many Steps to the Throne of *Pharaoh*, and the Administration of one of the greatest Kingdoms in the World. It must be confest indeed, these are very extraordinary Events, and can be ascribed to nothing less than a strange overruling Providence ; but still Men are not without their part in it. For Human Prudence is the proper Instrument, which Providence makes use of for the finishing these works of Wonder ; and upon this account that excellent Advice of Wise Men ought to be studied by every one in these Circumstances ; which is, *To make a Virtue of Necessity*. For indeed, it is a Noble Instance of good Management, and the boldest and most beautiful Stroke of Prudence, when a Man can thus far imitate God, as to bring Good out of Evil ; when he can give a Turn to his Affairs, and get the Weathergage of Fortune, with such Dexterity and Address, That even Ill Accidents themselves shall turn to account, and, whatever happens to him, he will order matters so, that his Condition shall be the better for it.

All manner of Adversity and Afflictions may be truly ascribed to one or more of the Three following Causes ; for they indeed are the Authors, and the Finishers of all our Sufferings. The first Inventer and Original of them is Sin ; this gave them a Being, and without it they had never existed, nor had any Place in Nature at all. The Second is the Anger and Justice of God, who being provoked by Sin, issues out his Commissions, and employs these, as the Ministers and Instruments of Vengeance, to execute Wrath upon them that do Evil. The Third is the Polity of the World, as it stands at present ; its Order disturbed, its Admini-

10.
It proceeds
from three
Causes.

Administration corrupted, and its whole Frame vitiated and Changed by Sin. The State of Nature, by these lamentable Alterations, is like That of a Kingdom under a general Mutiny or Civil Inturrection; where Every thing is out of its proper place, and no part does its Duty; and what can possibly be the Consequence of This, but Calamity and Confusion? The Miseries of such a Body Politick, are like the Pains and Aches, which afflict the Natural Body; when its Limbs are disjointed, the Bones bruised or dislocated, and all the Ligaments, that should knit and keep these in their proper Duty and Station, loosed or cut asunder. These Three Causes therefore producing such dismal Effects, our Resentments toward Them should be proportion'd to the Injuries they do Us. The First is the detestable Root of all our Unhappiness, and This we should hate and avoid. The Second is the terrible Judgment of a just and provoked Deity, and This we ought to live in an awful Dread of. The Third betrays us into Mischiefe, and This we ought to beware of as an Impostor, and manage our selves as would become considerate Men, to that which they know will decoy them into Ruin. But with regard to the Afflictions arising from all Three, the best course of securing our selves, will be to subdue and kill them, as *David* did *Goliath*, with his own Sword; that is, as I said before, to convert this Necessity into Virtue, to make Advantage of our Afflictions, and retort the very Sufferings they bring upon us, back again upon their own Heads. For Affliction, which is in truth the genuine Fruit of Sin, if well and wisely entertained, will choak and kill the bitter Root that bears it. It deals with its Author and Parent, as the young Viper is said to do by the old One, that hatches it; and is like Oil of Scorpions, the Sovereign Remedy for All that are stung by them: Thus Sin is made its own Destruction; and does not only breed the Disease, but provide the Cure. * *We suffer because we have sinned*, 'tis true; but it is as true too, that *We suffer, that we may not sin any more*. The Roughness of Adversity is like that of a File, it scours off the rust We had contracted, cleanses and purifies the Soul from Vice and Filth, and brightens the Mind and its Virtues. By this means the Anger of God consequently is appeased, the Provocation removed, we released from the Prisons and

* Patimur quia peccavimus, patimur ut non peccemus.

Fetters, which Guilt and Justice had bound us in; and brought into the free and open Air, the glorious and cherishing Light of his Countenance lifted upon us. The Storms are quieted, the Thunder laid aside, and Grace and Mercy, and a clear Sky succeeds. And, then as a farther Antidote against the Third Source of our Misfortune, Adversity weans our Affections, and calls them off from the World; begets in us a dislike and dissatisfaction to a State of so much Misery; and the bitterness of our Calamities supplies the place of Wormwood, which Providence, like a wise Nurse, puts upon the Breast, to make us loath the Milk; and be content to part with the luscious Delights of that deceitful Life, of which we should otherwise be most immoderately fond.

Now One great, and in reality the most effectual Expedient to qualify a Man for this prudent Behaviour in Adversity, and all the valuable Fruits of it, is for a Man to be strictly Virtuous and Good. For a Man of Virtue is more easie, and hath a more agreeable Enjoyment of himself in Adversity, than a Vicious Man hath in all the Sweets of Prosperity. As Men in Feverish Distempers feel more Uneasiness from their Cold and Hot Fits, than those in perfect Health from the most scorching Heat of the Summer, or the greatest Severity of Winter-blasts. Thus it is with Ill Men. They carry their Disease within, and about with them; their Conscience is feverish and disorder'd, and this gives them infinitely greater Pain, than any that Good Men are sensible of. For these Persons are sound within; and nothing without can hurt them: That which arms Affliction, and gives it a deadly Force, is the Guilt and Reproach, the Misgiving and Distrust of one's own Mind; the Sense of having drawn what we labour under, down upon our own Heads, and the Amazing Expectation of more and worse: But where These do not put an Edge upon, it cannot wound very deep; and how fierce soever the Assaults may be, yet He will suffer but little by them, who feels all easie in his own Breast; and hath the best Defensive Armour in the World to oppose against them, a Good Courage, because a Clear Conscience.

Adversity is of two kinds; Either That, which truly and in its own Nature is such; what we cannot continue Men, and not be moved with; such as Sicknes, and Pain, and the Loss of those things which are very dear to us; or else, That, which is not really such, but falsely represented to be so,

11.

12.

More particular Ad-
vice.

so, and owes its being reputed such, either to some general Opinion, and Vulgar Error, or else to the private Interpretation, and Sense of particular Persons. When this is the Case, a Man hath both his Mind and Body at his own disposal, just as before any such Afflictions happened: And therefore in such Notional Calamities, all that need or can be said, is this, That what you make such doleful Complaints of, hath nothing painful, or troublesome in it; but all this is of your own creating, who put on an unnecessary Melancholy, resent things tenderly, cry out when you are not hurt, and fancy Misery, where there is really none.

13.
Real Afflictions.
Remedies
against
them.

As for those, which are Real and Natural, the most Obvious, and Popular, and Sound Advice is in this Case the most Natural and most Equitable; and therefore without proposing nice, and studied, and uncommon Arguments, I shall content my self with these few following Reflections. *First*, A Man will do well to remember, that nothing of this kind which he endures, is contrary to the Law of Nature, and the Condition of Mankind; Since *Man is born to Sorrow, as the Sparks fly upward*; that is, All such things as these, are very ordinary and usual; and from his Birth entailed and annexed as Incumbrances upon this State of Mortality, into which he is admitted. Therefore upon every Accident that uses to afflict us, we ought constantly to consider two Things; the Nature of what happens to us; and our own Nature; and when once we come to regard things as they really are, and to behave our selves accordingly, we shall then deliver our selves from any Vexation and Disquiet, that can arise from them. Vexation and Fretfulness are a Disease of the Soul; a Distemper unnatural in it self, and what ought by no means to be allowed by us. For Nature hath been so bountiful, and so very provident for our Ease, that there is not any Accident possible to come upon us, which She hath not already furnish'd us with a Faculty to bear, and manage, and convert to our Good; and rendred capable of such Arguments and Considerations, as may very reasonably prevail with us to be contented under it. There is no one Condition of Life so destitute and deplorable, but it hath some Interval of Refreshment; some Solace, some mitigating Circumstance to soften it. There is no Confinement so close, no Dungeon so dark, but some Light will spring in; some Comfort may be found to chear the Prisoner, and drive the Sorrow from

from his Heart. *Jonas*, we see, found Leisure for Devotion even in the Whale's Belly, and from thence poured out a Prayer, which God graciously accepted and answer'd. And sure this is a Privilege of considerable Value; and a great kindness in Nature, that she supplies us with Lenitives, and contrives ways for the qualifying and asswaging of our Pains, even in the instant of our labouring under them. This ought no more to be forgotten for our Consolation and Support, than that other Reflection, That our Condition necessarily exposes us to Suffering, and we were born liable to all kinds of Misery. For * *all those Grievances, which we either groan under, or tremble with apprehensions of their Approach, are but so many Taxes, or Rent-Charges upon Life.*

Secondly, It may be of great Advantage to consider, that, notwithstanding none of us are, or can be absolutely exempt from the Power and Jurisdiction of Fortune; yet we are far from being entirely under it, and that by much the least part of us is subject to it: The Principal and most valuable is still in our own hands; no Attempts from without can subdue or wrest it from us; nothing can lose it, but our own Consent and Voluntary Surrender. 'Tis confess'd, Fortune can reduce us to Poverty, waste us with Sickness, harass us with Afflictions; but it cannot debauch our Manners, nor enfeeble our Spirits, nor make us submit to base, and unmanly, immoral and dishonourable Actions. And how happy is it that we are thus far out of her reach? how incomparably better, that she should tyrannize over our Riches, or Successes, or even Health it self, than that she should deprive us of our Probity, our Courage, and our Virtue? Let us support and please our selves with this Reserve; for, while we hold our Own, nothing can render us truly miserable.

In the next place, I must beg of Men, that they will be Honest, and act according to the Rules of Reason and Justice. For the very truth is, Men are frequently very injurious to Providence, and complain without any Just cause. For, if at any time a cross Accident befall us, shall we sit down under it, full of Murmurings and discontented Thoughts? No sure; let us rather recollect, how much oftner things have

* *Omnia ad quæ gemimus, ad quæ expavescimus, Tributa vitæ*

succeeded as we would wish ; and then compute, and compare these, and balance one with the other. And I make no doubt to affirm, If this Reckoning were fairly and impartially stated, but the most Melancholy, most Unfortunate Man alive, might see greater reason to commend, and be thankful for the Good, the Successful Passages of his Life, than to Repine at any Losses and Disappointments he may have sustained in it. 'Tis a Reflection full of Eternal Equity, *Shall we receive Good at the hand of the Lord, and shall we not receive Evil ?* But it is enough to silence all our Grumblings, and put all Complainers to the blush, when improved with this Small, but most True Addition ; Shall we receive Good more and oftner, and shall we not be content to receive the Evil, which is but little and seldom ? Nature hath taught us to shut, or turn away our Eyes from all such Objects as are shocking or offensive to us ; to remove them from such Colours, as hurt and strain the Sight, and to fix upon others more gay and agreeable : There is the same Reason here, and Prudence and Duty both oblige us, to call off our Thoughts from melancholy Subjects, and to divert them with others more pleasant and entertaining. But we seem to be of quite different Dispositions ; to feed upon the Worst, and indulge our selves in Peevishness and Spight. We are like Cupping-glasses, that draw only the foul and corrupt Blood, and let all the good alone ; like Misers, that put off their best Wine, and keep the worst for their own Drinking ; like froward Children, who if you take one of their Play-things from them, throw all the rest into the Fire, for very Rage and Vexation. Thus upon every little Mischance, we teaze and torment our selves, and for the loss of a Trifle, cease to enjoy ; nay, perfectly forget, and overlook all that we have still left. Nay, some there are, such unthankful, such ungodly, such unreasonable Creatures, that you shall hear them call themselves Unfortunate in every thing, and tell you they never knew what Happiness or Success was ; insomuch that with these Wretches one Ounce of Adversity gives more Pain, and provokes more Complaints than Ten thousand times as much Prosperity excites Gratitude or sensible Satisfaction.

16.

Another good Expedient in these Circumstances would be to look abroad into the World a little, and there observe the infinite multitudes of Men whose Condition is more grievous, more lamentable than our Own ; to think seriously

ously and compare our selves with the many Thousands who envy what we repine at, and would think themselves very happy to exchange, and be in our case.

** When thou art bending under Fortune's frown,
Observe the Ills, that press thy Neighbour down,
And from his heaviness learn to sustain thy own.*

These querulous People would do well to consider, and, if they please, to practise that Saying of a Wise Man; That if the Calamities of all Mankind should be brought together, and laid in one common Heap, and afterwards an equal division be made out of all these, to every in particular; The generality of People would find themselves bid to their loss; and the Disadvantages of such a Distribution as This, would effectually discover the Injustice of their present Melancholy and Resentment; when They complain of hard usage, who have less of Misfortune, than comes to their Share, upon a strict and impartial Dividend.

After all these Admonitions, we may say with great Truth, That there are two very powerful Remedies yet behind; and such as are of wondrous force and success against all manner of Sufferings and Calamities. Though indeed these two do both amount to One and the same, and differ chiefly according to the Difference of the Persons that apply them: *viz.* Custom and Practice for the gross, and ignorant, and vulgar Capacities; and Meditation for the wise and considerate. Both of them obtain their intended effect by the help of Time, which is indeed the best Restorative, the surest and most common healer of all our inward Wounds. Only it is not applied by all alike; for the Wise are before-hand, and prevent their Miseries by Premeditation; the weaker Vulgar have a more expensive and painful Cure; and that which in the Others is Foresight, is in these Experience. That Custom produces wonderful Effects, we see most manifestly, and every day proves it by Ten thousand Instances; insomuch that what at first appeared to be insuperable, and insupportable, grows

** Cum tibi displiceat rerum fortuna tuarum,
Alterius specta, quo sit discrimine peior.*

M

in

in process of time very tolerable and easie. Your Gally-Slaves, when first put on board, wring their Hands; and Sighs, and Tears, and Groans, are all their Musick; but their Chains grow softer by degrees, and by that time they have plied the Oar one quarter of a Year, who more chearful and merry than they; Men that have never used the Sea, tremble with fear, when they weigh Anchor, even in the calmest Weather; and yet the Mariners will laugh and sing in a Storm. The young Widow is inconsolable upon the loss of her Husband, and thinks of nothing but Sorrow and Despair for the remainder of her Days; but a very few Months assuage this violent Passion, and the Concern wears off so fast, that before the Year of Mourning comes about, 'tis odds but you find her in the Arms of a Second Bridegroom. Thus Time and Practice overcome all things; and the greatest grievance in most of our Disasters, is that they are new, and uncouth; but all that abates of it self, and a little conversation and better acquaintance reconciles us very well to them.

18.
Foresight.

Now Meditation and provident Thought hath the very same efficacy with Wise Men, that Sense and Smart have upon Weaker. For by representing matters frequently to themselves, the Images are so lively, and the Impressions so strong, that the very Realities themselves could scarce affect them more. Thus the Things that are not, are rendred as common and familiar, as though they were. * *What the Vulgar make light and easie by long-Suffering, the Wise Man softens to himself by long Thinking.* Let us then sit down, and take an exact Account of our Fortunes: Let us consider the Nature of all those Accidents which are capable of giving us any Disquiet; and let us reflect with our selves the worst, most dismal, most insupportable, that can possibly befall us; Whether it be Sickness or Poverty, Flight or Banishment, Injuries and Affronts, Disgrace or Reproach; and examine in all this whole Black Catalogue, what there is consistent with Nature, and what contrary to it. Foresight is therefore an Admirable Preservative against all manner of Misfortunes, because by this Attention of Mind we have formed the whole thing in our Ima-

* Quæ alii diu patiendo levia faciunt, sapiens levia facit diu cogitando.

ginations before, and so they cannot make any mighty alteration in us, when they come in good earnest. And this is so considerable a Point gained, that you rarely find any great harm done by Calamities, except upon the Parties who suffer themselves to be surprized by them. Meditation and Reasoning is the very Temper of the Soul; this steels and hardens it, fortifies it against Assaults, and renders it impenetrable against all that can attempt to wound or break it. Let the Accident be never so grievous, yet the Man that stands upon his Guard, and puts himself in a posture to receive it, suffers but little by it. * *When a Calamity is foreseen, the blow is broken; and whatever was long expected, is less felt when it comes, says Seneca.*

Now the Method of attaining to this wise and profitable Foresight, is first to convince our selves, and be very duly sensible how craggy and rough a Standing Nature hath placed us in; that Nothing is stable in this World, but We and All about us rotter, and are in perpetual danger of falling; That whatever hath happened to Another Man, might every jot as well happen to Us; and the Fate which hangs over Every Head, may fall down, and crush Any; and in all our Designs and Undertakings, carefully to form to our selves the Disappointments, and Inconveniences, to which they are any way liable; that so, if any of these shall afterwards fall to our Lot, we may not be confounded, as if some strange thing had happen'd to us. Alas! how infinitely do we cheat and fool our selves, by proposing only the fair and inviting Side, and turning all the discouraging Circumstances out of sight? How miserably do we betray our want of Judgment, by never considering, that our Neighbours Misfortunes to day, may be Ours before to morrow; that we are by no means exempt, and out of reach. But how foolishly do they argue, who prefer a blind Fool-hardiness before it, and pretend that a Computation of probable Accidents would discourage and put a stop to all Action? As if a Man might not be prudent without Despondency, nor distrust Fortune without Irresolution, and Cowardice, and Panick Fear. Whereas, if we would represent Things to our selves, according as they

* *Præmeditati mali mollis ictus venit. Quicquid expectatum est diu, levius accedit.*

really are, and as Reason directs; we should be so far from Surprize at Crosses and Disappointments, that it would rather appear matter of Wonder and Astonishment, that so very few befall us, in comparison of what we had ground enough to expect; and when so many Accidents are always dogging us close at the Heels, that they should be so long before they overtake us; and when they have us in their Clutches, and we lie at their Mercy, that they should not treat us more ruggedly, than the Generality of them do. For he that sees another Person's Ill Fortune, and regards it as a thing so usual and common, that his own turn may very probably be next, This Man is armed against it, and hath vanquish'd his Foe, before he makes his Approaches. Nothing in these Cases should be left unconsider'd, and it is very advisable to reckon upon the worst; thus Events will mend upon us, and a great part of what comes, will be clear Gains. But it is foolish to sink under a Misfortune, and think to excuse one's Weakness, by alledging, We never imagined Matters would be so bad. It is a very common Saying, *That when a Man is surprized, he is half beaten*; and then by the Rule of Contraries, a Man forearm'd is worth two others. A wise Prince will make Preparations for War in the Times of profoundest Peace; a skilful Sailor lays in fresh Tackle, and all manner of Provisions for the weathering a Storm, and refitting after it, before ever he sets sail out of Port; For when the Mischiefe is actually upon us, 'tis too late to provide against it. Besides, There is this farther Advantage attends a Premeditation, that let a thing be never so difficult in it self, every Man finds himself dextrous to a wonder, in Matters that he hath been a great while prepared for; Presence of Mind, Prudence in Choice, and Boldness in Execution, give infinite Advantage in such Cases, and almost insure the Success. Whereas on the other hand there is nothing so obvious and easie in its own Nature, but Men are confounded and at a loss, if they be utterly unacquainted with it. * *This therefore should be our constant Care, That nothing happen unlook'd for; because the being new and strange to us, is really a very great Aggrava-*

* Id videndum ne quid inopinatum sit nobis, quia omnia novitate graviora sunt.

tion of any Accident whatsoever. Thus much I easily persuade my self, that were we in any tolerable degree so provident as we might and ought to be, all that Amazement and Perplexity would be saved, which we so commonly see in the World. For what is it that confounds thee, Man? You expected the thing, and it is come upon you; Astonishment is not the effect of having our Expectations answered, but the direct contrary. Let us therefore order our Affairs so considerately, that it may never be in the Power of Fortune to surprize us; let us stand upon our Guard, discover things at a distance, and observe how they make their Approaches toward us. * *The Mind should be fortified against all that can possibly happen*; that we may be able to say with that Hero in the Poet;

— No Terror to my View,
No frightful Face of Danger can be new.
Inur'd to suffer, and resolved to dare, [Mr. Dryden.]
The worst that Fate can do, hath been my early Care.

You foretel these things now, I have told them to my self long ago; I have all along contemplated them; for I considered I was a Man, and made provision against all that could possibly befall me as such.

* Animus adversus omnia firmandus, ut dicere possimus,

— Non ulla laborum

O Virgo, nova mihi facies, inopinave surgit.

Omnia præcepi, atque animo mecum ipse peregi.

Tu hodie ista denuncias; ego semper denuntiavi. Hominem paravi ad Humana.

C H A P. VIII.

Obedience to the Laws, Compliance with the Customs, and Observance of the Ceremonies in use. How, and in what sense necessary.

I.

WHAT a Man is in comparison of a Beast, the same is a Wise Man in comparison of a Fool; and as the Qualities, so likewise the Methods of ordering and managing them resemble one another. The Wild Beasts, and such as live by Prey, will not suffer themselves to be taken, nor willingly submit to the Discipline and Government of Man; they either flee from his Presence, and hide themselves in Dens and Coverts, or grow enraged, and make at him, if he offer to come near them; so that a mixture of Arms and Artifice, of Fraud and Force, is necessary to tame and make them tractable: Just thus is Folly restive against Reason; deaf and inflexible to Wisdom; it runs wild, grows peevish, and angry; and more extravagantly foolish, when mild Instructions, gentle Reproofs, and cool Arguments endeavour to reclaim it; so that Means more forcible are necessary; it must be managed and subdued, taken short, and kept in Awe, and affrighted into Obedience, that by these terrifying and compulsive Methods, it may at last be brought to hand, and submit to Discipline and Instruction. Now the proper course of effecting this Reformation, is by some over-bearing Authority, some Power, whose Severity may be perpetually thundring in its Ears, and whose amazing Splendor may be ever flashing in its Eyes, and like some God in Human Shape, command Submission and Compliance. For, as is well observed, * *Nothing but Authority can prevail with Fools, to make any tolerable Advances toward Wisdom.* The Efficacy of this is very often seen in the sudden composing of Mutinies, and Management of the Rabble; by the Address and Credit of some one Person of Reputation and Eminence; and proves, that the People are to be led by the

* Sola Autoritas est, quæ cogit stultos, ut ad sapientiam festinent.

Perſuaſion of Others, much better, than guided by their Own Judgment : A very lively and beautiful Deſcription whereof *Virgil* preſents us with, in that Similitude ;

** As when in Tumults riſe th' Ignoble Crowd,
Swift are their Motions, and their Tongues are loud :
And Stones and Brands in rattling Volleys fly,
And all the Ruſtick Arms that Fury can ſupply ;
If then ſome Grave and Pious Man appear,
They huſh their Noiſe, and lend a liſtning Ear ;
He ſooths with ſober Words their angry Mood,
And quenches their innate Deſire of Blood.*

Mr. Dryden.

The greateſt thing this World can ſhew is Authority. This is the Image of the Divine Power, a Meſſenger and Deputy from Heaven. If this Deputation (as to Men) be Sovereign, and immediately under God, we call it *Majeſty* ; if it be ſubordinate to any Human Power, we then call it (in a more peculiar and reſtrained Senſe of the Word) *Authority*. And this is ſupported upon two Baſes, Admiration and Fear ; both which muſt go together, and jointly contribute to the keeping it up. Now this Majeſty and Authority is principally and properly in the Perſon of the Supreme Governor, the Prince, and Lawgiver, and in him it lives, and moves, and acts, in its utmoſt Vigor. The next degree of it, is, when lodged in his Commands, Orders, and Decrees, that is, in the Law, which is a Prince's Maſter-piece, and the Nobleſt Copy of that Incommunicable Majeſty, whereof himſelf is the Original ; And by this Law it is, that Fools are reduced from Evil, informed in Good, governed and led to know and do, what is convenient for their own, and neceſſary for the Publick Intereſt. Thus you ſee in ſhort, of what Weight and Efficacy Authority and Laws are to the World ; how neceſſary, and how beneficial to the preſent Circumſtances, and the greateſt part of Mankind.

* — Veluti magno in populo, cùm sæpe coorta eſt
Seditio, sævitque animis ignobile vulgus.

Jamque Faces & Saxa volant, Furor Arma miniſtrat.
Tum Pietate gravem ac Mento ſi forte Virum quem
Conſpexere, ſilent, arreſtiſque auribus aſtant,
Ille regit dictis animos & pectora mulcet.

Æneid Lib. 1.

2.
Custom.

This Authority is stated, fix'd, and agreed upon ; but there is Another, which comes nearest of any up to it, commonly called Custom ; a very Powerful, but withal a very Positive and Imperious Mistress. This Power is all gain'd by Encroachment and Usurpation, by Treachery and Force ; it gets footing by Inches, and steals in upon the World insensibly. The Beginnings of it are small and imperceptible, gentle and humble, and frequently owing to Mens Tameness or Neglect ; their Laziness, and Yielding ; the Influence of Example, and the Blindness of Inconsideration ; but when it hath once taken Root, and is fix'd by Time, it puts on a stern domineering Look, issues out its Orders, plays the Tyrant, and will be observed : It is to no purpose then to argue for Liberty and Right ; no Man is suffered to speak, to move, to look, in contradiction to such an Establishment. It stops your Mouth with Possession and Precedent ; which indeed are its proper and only Pleas of Title, grows great and more eminent, the farther it goes ; and like Rivers, enlarges its Name and Channel by rowling ; insomuch, that even, when the Mischiefs and Inconvenience of its still prevailing are manifest, yet is it not safe to reduce it to its first Infant-State ; and Men are oftentimes better advised in suffering under it, than in attempting to disuse, or reverse it.

3.
*Law and
Custom
compared.*

If now we compare these Two together ; it will be found, that *Law* and *Custom* establish their Authority by very different Methods. Custom creeps upon us by little and little, by length of Time, by gentle and acceptable Means, by the Favour and general Consent, or at least with the Approbation of the Majority ; and its Beginning, Growth, Establishment, are all from the People. The Law admits none of these slow Proceedings ; it is Born at once, and in full Perfection ; comes to Vigor and Maturity in a Moment ; it marches out with Authority and Power, and receives its Efficacy from the Supreme Commander ; it depends not always upon the good liking of the Subjects, but is frequently full sore against their Wills ; and yet prevails, and takes place, though burdensome and ungrateful to them. This last Consideration is the Reason, why Some have compared Law to a Tyrant, and Custom to a King. Again, Custom, though otherwise never so engaging, yet never proposes Rewards or Penalties ; But the Law propounds both, and to be sure threatens Penalties upon the Disobedient at least. Yet, notwithstanding these Differences,

rences, the matter is so order'd that these Two are frequently capable, either of strengthening, and mutually assisting, or of destroying and overthrowing each other. For Custom, though in strictness it be only upon Sufferance, yet when countenanc'd and publickly allow'd by the Prince, will be still more firm and secure; and the Law likewise gets ground upon the People, and stands the faster by means of Possession, and long Usage. On the Contrary, Custom will be quash'd by a Law prohibiting the Continuance of it; and a Law will go down the stream, and be lost to all the purposes and effects of it, if a contrary Custom be conniv'd at. Thus, I say, they may interfere to the Prejudice of each other; but usually they go hand in hand, and are in reality almost the same thing, consider'd under different respects: the wiser and more discerning Men considering that as a Law, which the Ignorant and Vulgar, who have little Notions of a Legislative Power, or its Sanctions, observe purely as a thing Customary, and because it hath been in use, without attending how it came to be so.

The strange Variety of Laws and Customs, which have obtained in the World, and the Extravagance of some of them, is really prodigious. It is scarce possible to think of any Imagination so whimsical and odd, but some Country or other hath received it as a Custom, or establish'd it by a Law. I will give my self the trouble of instancing in several upon this occasion, to convince Those, who perhaps cannot easily suffer themselves to be persuaded, how much Truth there is in this Observation. And here, not to instance in Religion, which in the Idolatrous and less civiliz'd Countries especially, hath had grosser Deceits, more abominable Absurdities, and more amazing Variety of these, than any other Subject whatsoever; yet, because it does not fall so directly within the Compass of our present Argument, I shall pass it over at present; and confine my self to the Head of Civil Commerce; in which alone Customs, properly so called, are used to take place; and where the Matter being exceeding obvious to every Understanding, it is so much the more astonishing, that Men should be carried into such Extravagances. Now those, which I think most remarkable, and fit to be mentioned, are such as follow. The Reputing it an Instance of Affection and Duty, when Parents live to a certain term of Years, for their Children to Kill, and to Eat them; In Inns and other Publick

Publick Houses of Accommodation, instead of discharging the Reckoning with Money, to lend their Wives and Daughters to the Host for Payment; The having Wives in common; The setting up Publick Stews for Young Men; The esteeming it honourable for Women to be Common, and wearing Tufts of Fringe at their Garments by way of Boast and Glory, to signifie the Number of their Gallants; The suffering Single Women to abandon themselves to all manner of Filthiness, and publickly to procure Abortions when with Child; but of all Married Women requiring the strictest Chastity, and Fidelity to their Husbands imaginable; The Marrying of Men to one another; The Women going to War, and engaging in Battle along with their Husbands; Wives dying, and laying violent Hands upon themselves, either at the instant, or very quickly after the Death of their Husbands; The allowing Widows a Liberty of Marrying again, provided their former Husbands died by a Violent Death; but if otherwise, then debarring them of that Privilege. Investing Husbands with an Absolute, Unlimited, Uncontroulable Power over their Wives; to Divorce them at Pleasure, without being obliged to shew Cause; to Sell them off, if they bring no Children; to Kill them without any manner of Provocation, merely by virtue of this Dispotick Power, and the Relation the Wife stands in to him, and to borrow afterwards from other People; Women to Bear Children without any manner of Terror, or Complaint; Killing their Children, because they are not Handsome, not Beautiful in Complexion; not well-Featured, Crooked, or ill Shap'd, or without assigning any Reason at all; The Feeding altogether upon Man's Flesh; The Eating Flesh and Fish quite Raw; The Lodging Persons of all Ages and Sexes indifferently, to the Number of ten or twelve together; Making the putting their Finger down to the Ground, and afterwards pointing with it up to Heaven, the common Form of Salutation; Turning their Back upon the Person they Address, and make a Civility to, and taking it for a constant Rule, never to look at the Person to whom you design Honour and Respect; Observing it as a Mark of Duty to gather up the Spittle of Princes in their Hands; Never speaking to the King, but through a long Trunk; Never cutting the Hair or Nails during their whole Lives; To Shave the Hair on one Side, and Pare the Nails of one Hand, but never to do it of the other; The boring Holes in the Cheeks, and other parts of
the

the Face, to wear Pendants and Jewels at, and the same at the Breasts and Nipples; Absolutely to despise Death, to welcome it with Feasting and Joy, to contend and quarrel for it, nay, to plead and sue for it in publick, as if it were some remarkable Dignity, or extraordinary Favour, and to look upon the granting these Suits, and being preferred before other Competitors in them, as a singular Honour; The Esteeming it the most Honourable way of disposing their dead Bodies, and much more glorious than any Burials, to be Eaten up of Dogs, and Fowls of the Air, and to be Boiled or Baked, Dried and Pounded to Powder, and that Dust mingled with Men's ordinary Drink.

Now, whatever Diversion the relating such Customs as these, or whatever wonder it may create, yet if we come a little closer to the matter, and once undertake to pass a Judgment upon them, all then is noise and scuffle, eager and endless quarrel. The Common People are so over-run with Prepossession and Pedantick Folly, that they, according to their usual Wisdom, run all down at a venture; and without more ado, condemn every thing for Barbarous and Brutish, which is not just according to their own Palate, that is, which does not agree with the received Practice and Customs of their own Country. For they, never looking Abroad, nor understanding what is done there, can see no manner of Reason, why their own Local Usages at Home, should not be the only, and unalterable Standard of Truth, and Justice, and Decency, all the World over. If you endeavour to infuse some larger Notions of these Matters, by telling them, That other People of their Capacity are even with them; That they are every jot as much out of conceit with our Methods, as we can be with theirs; they cut you short immediately, by replying, *You may see by that how Barbarous and Brutish they are*; which is but saying the same thing over again, and here they resolve to stick. But now a wise Man is more reserved, and allows a greater Latitude; he gives them a fair hearing at least, and does not determine hastily, for fear of too much warmth, and wronging his Judgment; and he is certainly in the right; for there are really a great many Laws and Usages, which, at first sight, appear insufferably Barbarous, contrary to all the Notions of Humanity and sound Reason, and yet if they were soberly considered, (all Passion and Prejudice apart) if they did not so far approve themselves to our Judgment, as to be allow'd Just and Good, yet

5.

*Customs
Examined
and Judg-
ed.*

yet it would be found that they are not destitute of all Colour of Reason ; but have a great deal to be said in their Vindication ; and Arguments plausible enough to excuse other Men's Practice, though not enough to recommend them to our Own.

Let us now, for instance, make the Experiment in those two first mentioned, which, I must confess, seem extremely odd, and the most distant that can be, from all the Apprehensions we commonly entertain of the Duty and Affection we owe to those who brought us into the World, and were at the Trouble and Expence of our Sustenance and Education. These Customs then are the Killing one's Parents, when they come into such particular Circumstances, and Eating their dead Bodies. The People who receive this Custom, look upon it as the highest Testimony of Piety and Respect ; the last and fullest Proof of their Tenderness and sincere Affection. The great design they have in it is Compassion to their old decrepid Parents, whom they think themselves under the strictest Obligations to deliver from a state of Misery and Infirmary ; a State that renders them not only utterly Useless to themselves and to every Body else, but even a Trouble and a Burthen ; a State of Languishing and Decay, of Uneasiness and Pain ; that makes Life a Weariness and a Torment to themselves and all about them, and therefore they think that Death which gives them Ease and Rest, and puts them past Suffering any more, a very profitable Exchange, a Gain which they might be glad to chuse, and thankful for receiving. When they have done them this Kindness (as they esteem it) the next Proof of their Dutiful Regard, is to give them the most honourable Burial in their Power : And for this purpose they make their own Bodies their Repository ; lodging these Carcasses and precious Relicks in their own Bowels ; thus in some measure conveying a new Life, and recruiting their perish'd Nature, by digesting and turning to Nourishment this dead Flesh of their Parents, and Transubstantiating it into their own living Flesh. These Reasons are not so very Contemptible ; at least, I am apt to believe, they may somewhat abate that Detestation, which the prejudice of a contrary Opinion is apt to produce in the generality of People. A Man that considers impartially, will, I believe, allow, That the Persons who have been brought up to this Custom, may think it so plausible a one, that it will not be easie to bring them off from it ;

may,

may, that it may appear in the Eyes of these Persons, a horrible Cruelty, and Abomination, to see their Aged Parents lie Languishing before their Eyes, in the midst of Sickness and Pain, and Faint Strugglings for the wretched Remnants of Life; without any kind Hand to do the good Office of setting them at Rest. And when Declining Nature hath finish'd its own Course, it is no hard matter to imagine, that these People should with Reluctancy and Horror Interr these Spoils of Those who gave them Being; that they might think it a Neglect and a Reproach to cast those Remains they so dearly Love into a Hole, to Rot in the Earth, to Corrupt and become Food for Worms; that this is the greatest Disregard they can possibly be guilty of, and a very ill Expression of Tenderness and Duty.

And that this Supposition is not so very much out of the way, we have plain matter of Fact to prove: For *Darius* made the Experiment, and found it to be exactly as I have put the Case. He first demanded of some *Grecians*, upon what Terms they would be content to take the *Indian* Custom of Eating the Bodies of their Deceased Parents; and their Answer was; What! do so Barbarous a thing, as Eat our own Fathers? We could not do it at any rate! Then again he attempted to persuade the *Indians*, That they would Burn the Bodies of their Parents, after the manner of the *Grecians*; and he found These a great deal more averse to his Proposal, and more difficult to be persuaded, than the Other. Give me leave here only to add one Instance more of Men's different ways of Reasoning in a Trifling Matter, and such as only concerns Decency and Civility. A Man that used to wipe his Nose upon his Fingers, being reprov'd for so unmannerly a Trick; desired in his own vindication, to know, what Privilege that filthy Excrement had above all the rest, that we must pay it the respect of a fine Handkerchief, and then, as if it were some valuable Treasure, wrap it up close, and carry it in one's Pocket: That in all reason this should rather turn one's Stomack, and give offence, than throwing it carelessly away. Thus you see how few things there are, for which some probable Reason may not be alledged; and This should be a warning to us, not to condemn Things hastily and rashly, but to consider both sides of the Question.

But after all, the Power of Custom is incredible; no Man can conceive easily, how absolute and uncontrouled an Authority it exercises over Mankind. He that called it a Custom.

Second

6.

The force of

Second Nature, came far short of the Truth; for it is equal, it is superiour to Nature; it even contends with, it triumphs over, Nature. Whence, I pray, comes it to pass that Fathers never fall in Love with their own Daughters, though never so charming and desirable Creatures? Or why are Sisters seldom or never smitten with their own Brothers, though infinitely handsomer, better accomplish'd, and more engaging than Strangers? This Reservation and Coldness does not properly proceed from Nature; She makes no such Distinctions; These are the Effects of general Customs and Positive Laws, who forbid such Mixtures, pronounce them Scandalous, and Horrid, Incestuous and Wicked; but again, I say, these Characters are fix'd by Divine or Human Institutions; for Nature knows no such thing as Incest, nor condemns any Alliances, let the Line or Relation be what it will.

Gen. ii.
xx. xxix.
xxxviii.
Exod. vi.
Levit.
xviii.
Deut.
xxii. 30.
2 Sam.
xiii. 13.
1 Kings ii.

See Cajet.
in Loc.

This is sufficiently plain from Scripture, not only if we consider the Children and first Descendents of *Adam*, whose Case made the thing unavoidable. But observe the Marriages and Relation of *Abraham* and *Nahor*, and the Descendents from them; the Matches of *Isaac* and *Jacob*; the Fact of *Judah* one of the twelve Patriarchs; *Amram* the Father of *Moses*; and other Holy and Eminent Persons. It was indeed the Law of *Moses*, which prohibited these Mixtures within the nearest Degrees: And yet this very Law Dispensed with that Rule in certain Cases, not only in the Collateral Line, that of taking the Brother's Wife for instance, which was an express Command, and not barely an Indulgence, but between Brother and Sister of the Half Blood, nay, even in a Right Line of Alliance, as betwixt the Son and his Father's Wife; for as to a Right Line in Blood, this indeed seems a Crime against Nature, and the Example of *Lot* can give no Countenance to it, whatever Excuses some great Men have found for his Daughters, who seem to have done this for the sake of preserving Mankind, which in the Consternation they were then in upon the Destruction of *Sodom*, they thought All extirpated but themselves. But the Law of Nature is an Original Law, and Eternal one too, such as none but God can dispense with, and such as we never find any Example of his having ever dispensed with. But then, as for such Incests as are Accidental, and Ignorant, and Involuntary, 'tis very likely *Tertullian's* Complaint may be too true, *That the World is full of them.*

Farther

Farther yet; Custom commits a Violence upon the Rules of Nature, and overbears them; witness that daily practice of Physicians, who frequently forsake the Theory, and set aside what Art and Reason do both concur in, so far as the Rules and Grounds of their Profession can discover or direct; and take a different Course with their Patients, in Deference to Experience, and common Success: Witness again those People, who have wrought a perfect Change in their Constitutions, even so as to Eat, nay to live upon Poison, Spiders and Ants, Lizards and Toads, as several whole Nations are said to do in the *Indies*. Custom does likewise stupify our Senses, and alter the Temper of the Organ, and the quality of the Impression, and the Report made from it. To this purpose are the Accounts we read of those People, who dwell near the Cataracts of the River *Nile*, and indeed a Mill-pool, or a Steeple, or a Brazier's Shop will in proportion have the same Effect; and, if you give credit to some old Philosophers, All the World are deaf to the Musick of the Spheres, which is nothing else, but the different Motions of the several Orbs turning round upon their own Axis, and variously jostling and interfering with one another. In one word, The great and Master-workmanship of Custom is, That it subdues and conquers Nature, vanquishes every Difficulty; makes those things easie by degrees, which seemed unattainable and impossible; and the Bitterness of Pain and Suffering it wears out, and softens, till at last our Complaints cease, and we are reconciled, even to our Miseries themselves. Nay, it does not only produce Content, and lay asleep the sensitive Soul, but it manages and domineers over the Rational one too; and exercises a most unjust and arbitrary Power, over our Imaginations and Judgments. It makes and unmakes at pleasure: Gives and takes away Reputation and Esteem, without, nay, sometimes against Reason. It brings Notions in Philosophy, in Religion, in Politicks, Opinions and Ceremonies, Fashions and Modes of Living into credit, though they be never so fantastical and extravagant, never so uncouth and distant from what Reason and Judgment would teach and approve. Nor is its Tyranny less formidable in the contrary Extreme; for it as frequently does great wrong, to things in themselves noble, and worthy of universal Advantage, by disparaging and lessening them, and even bringing them into Neglect, and universal Contempt. So unreasonably does Custom and
common

common Fame raise or lower the Market ; so precarious and uncertain is the greatest intrinsic Worth, if it happen to be lodged in an Obsolete Opinion, an Antiquated and Unfashionable Virtue ; for all these things have their Seasons of Improvement and Declension ; and the Sentiments of the World upon them will vary, though the Reason and Nature of the thing be constantly the same.

* — *What we now with greaest ease receive,
Seem'd strange at first, and we could scarce believe ;
And what we wonder at, as Tears increase,
Familiar grows, and all our Wondrings cease.* [Creech.

Thus you plainly see the vast Influence, and excessive Power of Custom. Plato was once reproving a Youth for playing often at Cob-Nut ; who replied in his own excuse, *Methinks, Sir, under favour, you chide me for a very small matter* : No, (said Plato) *you are mightily mistaken ; for be assured, Young Man, that Custom is never a small matter.* A Sentence this, which well deserves the Serious Attention of All, who have the care of Educating Youth. Once more. Custom is so very tyrannical in the Exercise of its Power, and expects so unreserved a Compliance, that it will not give us leave to struggle with it, or retreat from it ; nay, does not allow us so much as the Liberty to consider, and reason with our selves, whether what it imposes be fit for us to comply with, or not. It so perfectly charms our Senses and Judgment, as to persuade us that every thing which is new and strange, must needs be contrary to Reason ; and that there can be no Justice or Goodness in any thing, which Custom hath not confirmed, and made current by its Approbation. *We do not govern our selves by Reason, but are carried away by Custom ; whatever is most in use, that we esteem most virtuous, most becoming ; even Error it self, when it is become Epidemical, hath the Authority of Truth with us.* These Complaints of Seneca are but too true in every Age and Place ; and, were only the Plain, and Mean, and Ignorant People concerned in them, the Calamity were somewhat tolerable : Because these Men are

* Nil adeo magnum, nec tam mirabile quicquam
Principio, quod non desinant mirarier omnes — Paulatim.
Lucret. Lib. XI.

not

not really qualified to enter into the true Reasons and Differences of things, they have not Sagacity enough to see, nor Solidity enough to search an Argument to the bottom; and therefore 'tis the best thing they can do, since they are not able to distinguish and judge for themselves, to pin their Opinions upon the Sleeves of those that are able, and let them speak for them. This is a safe and a peaceable way, and the Publick finds great Ease and Convenience from it. But for Wise Men, who are under a very different Character, and have another part to Act, to see them led thus about by the Nose, and enslaved to every Folly, that puts on the Venerable Face of Custom; is very much below their Judgment and Quality, and may justly be allowed to move our Indignation, that they should so far forget themselves, and what they are qualified for.

I do not mean by this, that a Man, who would approve himself Wise, should be Singular and Precise, and denounce War upon all Mankind, and their Manners; for my Desire and Advice is, That he should be very observant of the Laws and Customs which are Establish'd, and in present force in the Country where he dwells: Yet that, not with a Servile Superstitious Spirit, but from a Manly and Generous Principle: That he should speak of them with Deference, and great Respect; and conform his Actions and whole Behaviour to the Rules and Measures they prescribe. And all this I would have him do, not merely from a Conviction of their Agreement with the Principles of Justice, and Equity, and Reason, but without regarding so much what they are in themselves; and upon this Consideration only, that they are Laws and Customs: Then I desire he should be very cautious and considerate in his Judgment of Foreign Customs and Constitutions, and not rashly condemn, or take offence at them, upon slight and superficial Pretences. And lastly, I would have him with all possible Seriousness, Freedom, and Impartiality, examine into both the Domestick, and the Foreign; and engage his Judgment and Opinion in the behalf of either, no farther than Reason will bear him out; These are the Four Instructions which I shall a little enlarge upon, and they contain the Whole of what seems to me necessary under this Head.

In the First place, All Wise Men agree, that the observing the Laws, and being governed by the Customs of the Country where we dwell, is the Great and Fundamental Principle; the Law of Laws; because indeed it is this,

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which gives Life and Vigor to all the rest. All affected ways of living that are particular, and out of the common Road, give just Cause of Indignation and Jealousie; betray a great deal of Folly, or Conceitedness, or Ambition; confound the Order, and disturb the Government of the World.

2. I add in the Second Place, that this be done out of Reverence to Publick Authority. For strictly speaking, these Laws and Customs support their Credit, and ought to preserve an Authority, not merely with regard to any inherent Equity or Reasonableness to be discovered in them; but they are sacred upon this single Consideration, That they are Laws and Customs, though there be nothing else to recommend them to our Observance. This is the Mystical Foundation upon which they stand, and the great Secret of Government; and, properly speaking, they have no other Motive but their Sanction to enforce them. My meaning is not from hence, That any Establishment, though never so strong, can derive a Right to our Obedience, upon Laws and Usages, manifestly Unreasonable and Unjust; but that he who obeys a Law, merely for the sake of its Subject-matter being just, though he do the thing commanded by it, yet he does it upon a wrong Principle. For at this rate every Law must submit it self to the Judgment of every private Man; and each Subject shall call it to account, arraign and try it at the Bar of his own Breast; bring all Obedience to be a Matter of Controversie and Doubt, and by consequence, all the Right of Administration, and the whole Civil Polity must truckle and submit, not only to the Fickleness and Variety of infinite several Judgments; but to the Changeable and Humoursome Sentiments of one and the same Person. That which binds the Law upon Mens Consciences, is the Authority of the Legislative Power; and the Sanction it receives from thence; the Reasonableness of the Duty contained in it is only an additional and collateral Obligation. How many Laws have there been in the World so far from any appearance of Piety or Justice, that they have really been exceeding trifling, extravagant, and senseless; such as no Man's Reason knew what to make of? And yet Mankind have submitted, nay, and enjoyed as much Peace, and good Order, and been as regularly governed, as highly contented; as if they had been the Justest and most reasonable, that ever Human Wisdom and Policy enacted. Now, he that should

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should have gone about to create a Dissatisfaction and Dislike to such Laws, or attempted to repeal, or to amend them, would have deserved to be suspected as an Enemy to the Publick, and not to be endured or hearken'd to in a wise Government. There are very few things, but Human Nature may in process of Time reconcile it self to; and when once the Difficulty is overcome, and things sit easie upon People, it is no better in effect, than an Act of Hostility, to offer at the dissettling them again. We should always be content to let the World jog on in its own beaten Path; for it is but too often seen, that your Removers of Antient Land-marks, and busie Politicians, under their plausible Pretences of Reforming, spoil, and ruin All.

There is seldom or never any considerable Alteration made in establish'd Laws, received Opinions, acknowledged Customs, and ancient Ordinances, and Discipline; but it is of very pernicious Consequence. The Attempt is always extremely hazardous; there is commonly more Hurt than Good done by it; at least this deserves to be duly weighed; That the Mischief, it less in it self, is yet sooner felt; for the Disorders every Change creates are certain and present, but the Advantages it produces are distant and doubtful; so that we exchange a Good in Possession, for one in Expectation only; and where we submit to That, there ought to be very great Odds in value, to justify the Prudence of our Proceeding. This is certain, that Men are but too fond of Novelties, before they have tried them; and Innovators never want some very fair and plausible Pretences, to catch and feed their Fancies with; but the more of this kind they pretend, the more ought we to suspect and be aware of them. For how indeed can we forbear detesting the vain and ambitious Presumption of Persons, who undertake to see farther, and be wiser than all Mankind besides? What an intolerable Arrogance is it in such Turbulent and Factious Spirits, to persuade Men into Compliance with their Humours, at the Expence of the Publick Peace, and to think it worth while, that the Government should run the Risque of its own Ruin, merely for the sake of establishing a fresh Scheme, and passing a private Opinion into an Universal Law?

I have already hinted, and do repeat it here again, That we are not by any means obliged to obey all Laws and Constitutions whatsoever, which our Superiors shall think

fit to impose, without any Distinction or Reserve; For where we find them evidently to contradict the Laws of God and Nature, in such case, we must neither comply on the one hand, nor disturb the Publick Peace by our refusing to do so on the other. How Men ought to behave themselves in such Critical Junctures, will fall more properly under Consideration, when we come in the next Book to treat of our Duty to Princes. And indeed this Inconvenience is much more frequent upon Subjects, with regard to their Arbitrary Commands, than the Established Laws. Nor is it sufficient, that we submit to Laws and Governors, upon the account of their Justice, and particular Worth; but this must not be done servilely, and cowardly, upon Motives of Fear and Force: This is a Principle fit only for the Meanest and most Ignorant; it is part of a Wise Man's Character, to do nothing unwillingly and upon Compulsion, but to delight in his Duty, and find a sensible Pleasure in a reasonable Obedience. He keeps the Laws, for his own sake, because he is jealous and tender of doing any thing he ought not, and a rigid Master over himself. He needs no Laws to constrain him, in what is decent and good. This distinguishes Him from the Common Populace, who have no other Sense or Direction of their Duty, but what Positive Laws can give. In strictness, according to the old *Stoical* Notions, the Wise Man is above the Laws, and a Law to himself. But however, he pays all outward Deference to them, and a free voluntary Obedience; this is due from him as a Member of Society, as the inward Freedom of his Mind is owing to the Prerogative of a Philosopher.

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In the Third Place, I affirm it to be the Effect of extreme Levity, a Presumption, vain in it self, and injurious to others; nay, a mark of great Weakness and Insufficiency of Judgment, to Condemn all those Laws and Customs abroad, which are not conformable to those of our own Native Country. This indeed is owing either to want of Leisure and Opportunity, or to want of Ability, and Largeness of Mind for the considering the Reasons and Grounds impartially, upon which Foreign Establishments are founded. It is a great Wrong done to our own Judgment, to pronounce a Rash Sentence, which, when we come to a more perfect understanding of the Cause, we shall in many Instances, find our selves obliged to retract, and be ashamed of. And it is an Argument that we forget the Extent and Condition

Condition of Human Nature ; how many, and how different things it is susceptible of. It is a shutting the Eyes of our Mind, and suffering them to be laid asleep, and deluded, with the often repeated Impressions of the same thing, the daily Dream of Long Life ; and to submit so far to Precedent and Prescription, that these should overbear the plainest Reason, and give Example the Ascendent over Judgment.

Lastly, It is the Business and the Character of a generous Mind, and such a Wise Man, as I am here drawing the Idea of, to examine all things. First, To take each apart, and consider it by it self ; then to lay them one over against another, and compare them together, that so the several Laws and Customs of the whole World, so far as they shall come to his Knowledge, may have a full and a fair Trial ; and that, not for the directing his Obedience, but to assert his Right, and execute his Office. When this is done, he ought to pass an honest and impartial Judgment upon them, as he shall find them, upon this Enquiry, to be agreeable, or otherwise, with Truth, and Reason, and Universal Justice ; For This is the Rule, This the Standard, which all of them are to be Tried and Measured by. To these we are Principally and Originally engaged ; nor may we so far falsifie our Obligations, as to depart from them in favour of any Customs ; or to suffer our Judgments to be debauched with false Notions, though our National Constitutions were Ten thousand times dearer to us, than it is possible to suppose them. For these can only claim a Secondary Obligation ; the Former was general, and concerned us as Men ; This only binds us as Subjects, or Natives of such a determinate place ; and so the Obligation is limited and particular ; and if we pay our outward Observance, and submit in our Behaviour to these Municipal Injunctions, this part of our Duty is discharged ; and all Parties have reason to be satisfied. It is true, Things may so fall out, that in compliance with this Second, this particular and Local Obligation, (that is, in conformity to the Laws and Customs of the Place where we dwell) we may do something that does not appear to Us in every point Agreeable to the Primitive and Universal one ; that is, such as Nature and Reason do not dictate, nor evince the Equity of ; but we still are true to this Obligation, by reserving our Judgment for it, acknowledging that what Nature suggests, and Universal Equity dictates, ought to be preferred ; and

continuing firm in our Opinions, that this is always best, though it be the Unhappiness of our particular Constitution not to be regulated according to it. For after all, our Judgment is the only thing we can call our Own, and all we have left to dispose of; the World hath nothing to do with our Thoughts. Our External Behaviour, 'tis true, the Publick lays claim to, This we ought to pay, and must be accountable for it; and therefore thus far our Laws and Usages take place. We may very justly do, what we cannot approve for any Justice or Goodness of its own; and obey Laws, which have nothing of that intrinsick Excellence, that, had we been in Power, or perfectly Free, we should either have Enacted, or made Choice of them. A great deal must be foregone for the sake of Order and Quiet, for, in short, there is no Remedy; This is the Condition of the World, and, as matters stand, Mankind could not subsist without it.

8.

Next in order to the two former Governesses, Law and Custom, succeeds a third; who with a great many is esteem'd of equal Authority with either of the former; and indeed, those that submit, and enslave themselves to her, she treats with a more tyrannical, and unrelenting Severity, than either of the former does. And this is *Ceremony*, which, in plain English, is for the most part no better than a set Form of Vanity. But yet, through Littleness of Soul, and the spreading depravation of Mind and Manners, so very general among Men; it hath gained so undeserved Honour and Reputation, and usurped such a Power, and is so insolent in the Exercise of it, that a great many People are possess'd with an Opinion, That Wisdom consists in a nice Observance of it. Under this Notion of the Thing, they tamely come to the Yoke, and list themselves its most willing Slaves; insomuch, that their Health, their Convenience shall suffer and be lost, Business be disappointed, Liberty be sold or given up, Conscience violated, God and Religion neglected, rather than they will suffer themselves to offend against one of the least and nicest Punctilio's. This is manifestly the Case of Formal Courtiers, and others, that affect the Character of Civility and good Breeding; This *Mint*, and *Anise*, and *Cummin*, is punctually paid, when the weightier matters of the Law are passed over; and the Idol *Ceremony* set up in the Place, and to the infinite Prejudice of plain downright Honesty, and sincere Friendship. Now I am very desirous,

rous, That the Wise Man of my Forming should by no means suffer himself to be thus Captivated and Imposed upon. Not that I would have him Singular and Morose, as if Wisdom consisted in Rudeness, and acting in Defiance of Ceremony; for some Allowance must be made to the way of the World; and all the outward Conformity we can shew, is fit to be paid to the Manners of it, provided always, That this Compliance do not thwart other more weighty Considerations. For thus much I must needs insist upon, That my Scholar never bind himself without reserve, nor be so absolutely Devoted to these sorts of Respect, but that, when he shall find it Necessary, in point of Duty, or otherwise shall see fit, he may have the Courage to Dispense with, and shew that he can Despise these little Niceties. And this I would have done with so visible a Prudence and Gallantry of Soul, that all the World may be satisfied, it is not Humour and Affectation, nor Ignorance, or sordid Neglect, which moves him to a Behaviour different from theirs; but that he is acted by a right Judgment, and juster Notions of the matter, which will not let him value these poor things more highly than they deserve; that even where his outward Comportment is suited to the Practice, his Will and Judgment are entire and uncorrupted, and have not been perverted to a false Approbation and Esteem: In short, That, however he may lend himself to the World when he sees occasion, and not be Sullen, and Restiff, and Particular; yet he will not, nor can it ever become any Wise or Good Man, to sell, or give himself up to the World, by being eternally Supple and Ceremonious, and devoted entirely to the Rules and Modes of it.

C H A P. IX.*Modest and Obliging Behaviour in Conversation.*

THIS Particular is properly reducible to the Topic of Justice; a Branch of that Virtue which instructs us how to live and converse with all Mankind, and to render to every Man what by any sort of Right becomes his due. And the proper Place for Treating of this will be in the following Book; where the different

Rules and particular Directions will be laid down, suitable to particular Persons and Occasions. At present you must expect only general Advice, That being agreeable to the Scheme at first Proposed, and such as the Design and Matter of this Second Part of my Treatise is confined to.

- I. Now this is a Subject, which offers it self to us under a Twofold Consideration, and consequently this Chapter which discourses of it, must of necessity be divided into Two Parts; according to the Two different sorts of Conversation, which Men use, and are engaged in, with the World. One of these is simple, general, at large, and in common; such as is made up of our ordinary Company, and that Indifferency in Commerce and Acquaintance, which some accidental Occasion, or Business, or Travelling together, or Meeting in third Places, or frequent interviews at Places of Publick Resort, or the Civilities of Visits and Complemental Ceremonies, do every day lead us into; and so increase, or lessen the number of our Acquaintance, introduce new Familiarities, or change our old; All, or some of which, happen not only with those we know, but with such as we never knew nor saw before: And this is a Correspondence and Conversation wholly owing to Fortune, and Formality; our own Choice hath nothing to do with it, nor did we seek or take pains to procure, or contract it. The other sort of Conversation may be called Particular, because consisting of such Companions as we like and love; Acquaintance of our own desiring; such as we either industriously sought, and chose to recommend our selves to; or else such as when offered to us, was most willingly embrac'd, and that with a prospect of Advantage to our selves; either for the improvement of our Minds, or the advancing our Interest, or some other Profit or Pleasure, which we hope to reap from an Intimacy with them. And here, we are not to consider such a superficial Commerce as before, but that which is stricter and more endearing, close Conferences, mutual Communication, secret Confidences, and great Familiarity. Each of which require distinct Rules, and shall have Directions apart. But before we enter upon either of these Considerations, I beg the Readers leave to lay down One general Rule, which regards them both; and is in truth a Fundamental Principle in the Case before us; for which reason I chuse to place it here, as a necessary Introduction to every part of the subsequent Discourse.

One very great Vice, which the Wise Man I am all this while forming, must be sure to keep himself clear of; (and indeed a most Unseasonable and Troublesome ill Quality it is, both to one's self, and to all he converses with) is the being particularly addicted to some certain Humours, to keep always in the same Road of Conversation. This brings a Man into Slavery to himself, to be so inseparably wedded to his own Inclination, and Fancy, that he can upon no occasion be prevailed with to comply, nor be agreeable to other People; and 'tis a certain sign of a perverse and unfociable Disposition, the Effect of Ill nature and Ill-breeding, of unreasonable Arrogance, Partiality, and Selfconceitdness: The Men of this Temper have a rare time on't; for, where-ever they come, they are sure to meet with Objects enough, either to try their Patience, or to raise a Controversie. On the other hand, it argues great Wildom and Sufficiency, when a Man hath an absolute Command of his Temper, so that he can accommodate himself to all Companies; and is of such a flexible and manageable Spirit, that he can rise and fall with the Company, be pleasant or serious, keep pace, and constantly make one, with what he finds the rest disposed to. And indeed the best and bravest Men have always the largest and most general Souls; and nothing argues Greatness of Mind more, than this universal Temper; the being always in good Humour, free, and open, and generous in Conversation. This is a Character so beautiful, that it in some measure resembles God himself, and is a Copy of his Communicative Goodness: And among other things said in Honour of Old *Cato*, this is one Noble Commendation; * *That he was of a Disposition so dextrous and easie, that nothing ever came amiss to him; and whatever you saw him engaged in at that time, he was so perfectly Master of it, that you would imagine this, the very thing which Nature had cut him out for.*

Having premised this general Consideration, which is of use in both the following Branches of the Subject I am now upon; let us return to the former part of the Division, which concerns what I called Simple, and General, and Common Conversation; in distinction from that other, which is chosen, and intimate, and particular.

* Huic versatile ingenium; Sic pariter ad omnia fuit, ut natum ad id unum diceret, quodcunque ageret,

Now for our Behaviour in this Point; there are several Things very proper and necessary to be observed; and the First Thing I would advise is, To be very Reserved and Modest in our Discourse.

4. The Second is, Not to be out of Humour with every foolish or indiscreet thing; every little Indecency, or Levity, which want of better Sense, or better Breeding, or some unthinking Gaiety of Mind may betray Men to: For we are to consider, when in Company, that we are in some degree disposed of to Others, and no longer entirely our Own; so that, allowing the Thing to have been otherwise than it ought, and better let alone; yet it is troublesome and impertinent in Us to take Offence at every thing, which is not just as we would have it, or think it ought to be.

5. The Third is, Not to be too profuse of speaking all we know; but to play the good Husbands, and manage the Stock of our Understanding prudently. For Reservedness is not unbecoming even the wisest, and best provided for Discourse; so far as it argues a Deference to the rest of the Company, and declines that Assuming way of talking All. But generally it is adviseable, that Men should be more inclined to hear, than to speak; and converse, rather with a prospect of informing Themselves, than with an Intention to teach the Company. For indeed 'tis a very great fault, to be more forward in setting one's self off, and Talking to shew one's Parts; than to Learn the Worth, and to be truly acquainted with the Abilities of other Men: He that makes it his business not to Know, but to be Known, is like a foolish Tradesman, that makes all the haste he can to sell off his old Stock, but takes no thought of laying in any new.

6. The Fourth is, Not to lie upon the Catch for Disputes; nor to shew our Wit, by perpetually entring into Argument; and even, when it is proper to do so, with regard to the Subject, yet to make a difference, as to the Persons, with whom we are to engage. We ought not to contest a Point with Persons of Honour, and those that are much above us; it is a breach of the Deference and Respect due to their Character. Nor will it become us to do it with those that are much below us, either in Quality, or in Parts, for neither of these are an equal Match for us; To the One we are restrain'd by good Manners, and the Other is to Triumph, where we ought rather to be asham'd of the Victory.

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The Fifth Rule is, To be Modestly Inquisitive: For there is a decent and very commendable Curiosity, such as with great Innocence and Temper, and genteel Address, endeavours to be informed of all things fit to be known; and when a Man hath attained to this, his next care must be to manage his Knowledge to the best advantage, and make every thing turn to some account with him.

The Sixth and most important Direction is, To make use of his Judgment upon all occasions; for the examining and considering Matters well is the Master-piece of a Man; 'Tis this that acts, and influences, and finishes All. Without the Understanding every every thing is void of Sense and Life, and in all respects as if it were not. Thus in History particularly, How poor a thing is it to remember the Passages we read? The judging of what is done is the Soul and Energy of Reading: But this perhaps you will think a little out of season here; and so far I confess it is, that the acting this judicious part in Conversation, is what concerns a Man's self, and not the Company he is engaged in.

The Seventh is, Never to talk positively, nor be peremptory in any thing: And above all things, to avoid that Magisterial and Imperious Air, that pretends to Dictate to all the Company; That Stiffness and Opiniatrety, which is, of all things in the World, the most nauseous and offensive. An insolent dogmatical Humour is what no body can help being provoked at; and indeed it is usually a sign of a Senseless Ignorant Fellow. The Style of the Ancient Romans was so extremely modest, that even the Witnesses in their Depositions, and the Judges in their Sentences and Decrees, when they spoke nothing but from their own positive and certain Knowledge, did always soften their Expressions with an *Ita videtur*, *To the best of my Knowledge*, and *This is my Judgment*. And if these Persons were so much upon their Guard in those most Solemn Occasions; what ought the Generality of People to be in Common Discourse? Sure it were convenient for a Man to accustom himself to all those Expressions, that may any way sweeten the harshness, or take off from the rashness of what we say; such as, *Possibly*, *As they say*, *In my Opinion*, *In some sense*; And so again, when we reply to others, to qualify our Answers thus, *Sir, I do not apprehend you; what is the meaning of that? nay possibly it may be so, say you so? or the like*. By all which we sufficiently make
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our own Sense understood, but convey it in a less shocking manner.

I will conclude this first general part of the Chapter with this short Admonition ; That the true Qualifications for conversing with the World, are * *an open good-natur'd face, a free air, pleasing and agreeable to every body ; a mind close and secret, open to no body, a Tongue sober and reserved*, such Discretion as is always upon its Guard, and lays not too much stress upon other People ; in short, The Man that sees and hears a great deal, that talks little, and judges every thing, is perfectly accomplish'd, as to this Point.

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Let us now proceed to the other Consideration, and that part of Conversation which is Chosen and Particular. And here these following Hints may probably be of some use, for the due Government of our selves.

The First concerns the Choice of our Acquaintance ; in which it should be our great care, to find out Men of the best Sense, and soundest Judgment ; and to frequent the Company of such. For by conferring with Wise and Judicious Persons, the Mind whets and fortifies its self ; it improves every day, hath stronger and higher Notions of Things, and is elevated above its common pitch. As on the other hand, it degenerates and falls off, grows poor, and weak, and despicably low ; by using the Conversation of People that are so : For Ill Qualities are catching as well as Diseases ; and the Mind is at least as much, if not a great deal more, liable to Infection, than the Body.

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The Second is, Not to be Surprized, or much Offended with the Opinions of other People ; for how different soever they may be from our own, or from those commonly entertained in the World ; how odd and extravagant, how frivolous and absurd soever they may appear to us, yet still they are suited, it seems, to the Notions and Nature of a Human Mind ; which, like a fertile Soil, is in a capacity of producing all manner of Seed ; and therefore it is a Weakness in us to be amazed at a Crop, so very unlike what grows in our own part of this common Field.

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The Third is, Not to be afraid of Correction, nor surprized or troubled for any rough Treatment, or sharp Expressions, which it shall fall to our Lot to receive. For these

* *Frons aperta, Lingua parca, Mens clausa, Nulli fidere.*
Vide, Audi, Judica.

are Things that a Man ought by all means to harden himself against, and learn to bear them without being moved. Brave Men express themselves boldly ; they speak and spare not ; This nice and ceremonious Softness, this tender Complaisance, so fearful to give the least umbrage, is fit for none but Women, and formal Coxcombs : Men ought to converse like Men ; their Familiarity should be open and free, masculine and generous, full of courage and becoming confidence ; they should dare, both to give and take Reproof, when occasion requires. It is but a dull and insipid Pleasure, to have always to do with such supple and well bred Fools, as Consent, and Flatter, and Applaud all you say, be it True or False, Right or Wrong, Indifferently.

The Fourth is, To make Truth our constant Aim and End ; to direct all our Discourses hither, to acknowledge it wheresoever we meet it, to yield to it fairly and cheerfully ; For this is a Mark of Ingenuity, to make no difference or respect of Persons, but give up our Assent to Truth, let it come from what hand it will ; To be Honest and Sincere upon all occasions, and in all our Disputes ; and not like Pedantick Wretches, who affect to shew their Parts, maintain an Argument, right or wrong, and wrangle for Victory, and the last Word ; and think it a Reproach to give out, and not Silence their Adversary. The noblest Conquest, after all, is to conquer one's own Vanity ; and the truest Glory is to submit to Reason ; for this we are sure is Victory indeed ; but an Adversary may be baffled by Art and Management ; a Good Cause may suffer by a weak and unskilful Defence : This is not carrying a Point, but triumphing over an Infirmary ; and therefore all Heat, and Positiveness, and Passion, should be avoided. When a Man confesses his Mistake, owns his Scruples, or his Ignorance, and acknowledges his Faults, when made sensible of them ; when he can yield quietly and decently to stronger Reasons ; This Man shews more than common Marks of Judgment, and Candour, and Sincerity ; which are indeed the principal Qualities of Honesty and Wisdom : But Stiffness and Obstinacy is an irrefragable Evidence of an ill Mind, and a sure sign of great and many Vices and Defects.

Fifthly. When we engage in any Dispute, it will be very advisable, not to trouble one's self with mustering up all the Arguments that can any way be serviceable to us ; but

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but rather out of that Variety to cull out a few of the best, most pertinent, and such as come up to our purpose; and to put these into as close and short a method, as conveniently we can. For let a Man talk never so well, yet he may say too much, and the best Subjects may be rendred tedious. And indeed, this Affected way of Enlargement, and Spinning out our Discourses; our Repetitions and formal Amplifications, are a certain sign of a Man's Ostentation, and Vanity, and loving to hear himself Talk; and as such, it is certain too, to be troublesome and offensive, and never fails to tire, and to prejudice the Company against us.

75.

The Sixth, and indeed the Chief, Direction is, To observe due Form and Order, and not to make impertinent Digressions and Excursions in our Discourses. Oh the horrid Confusion, and Vexation, that there is in disputing or talking, with an impertinent Coxcomb; that ventures at All, knows nothing of the Matter, will be kept to no Method, but is eternally out of Time! This seems the only reasonable excuse for breaking abruptly, and renouncing all Measures; nay, for leaving the Field, and giving quite out. For what can you expect but Teazing and Torment, from a Fellow that is Untractable, and Incurable? Not to discern the Strength of what you offer against him, to take his own course, to run away with his own Notions, and never Reply to the Objections of an Adversary; to hang upon some one word; to catch hold upon a thing accidental and by the by, and let go the principal and designed Argument of Discourse; to confound and jumble all; suspect every word; deny every thing at a venture; to proceed in no order; to weary you with formal Prefaces, and unprofitable Digressions; and after a world of Words, nothing to the purpose, to grow Loud and Clamorous; to stick to his own Sense, and not to be one whit moved by all one can say; to insist upon Forms and Terms of Art, and never come to the true Head of an Argument, nor know the real Merits of the Cause; These are the Qualities, and common Practice of Pedants and Sophisters, Arrogant and Affected Coxcombs. And from this Description we may very easily learn, how to distinguish between judicious and pertinent Wisdom, and practicing Impertinence and Folly. This is Bold and Rash, Hot and Fierce, Arrogant and Assured; the Former is never Confident or Positive, but Cautious and Fearful, Modest and

and Reserved, Calm and Peaceable. The Wise Man is full of Respect, and free in making Allowances; obtains his Victory fairly, and uses it generously; but the Impertinent is full of Self-satisfaction and Joy, leaves the Field with an air of Gaiety and Boasting, as taking for granted that the Day is his own; all his Countenance and Behaviour is triumphant, and proclaims to the Company, that he looks upon himself as absolute Conqueror.

Lastly. When we are reduced to a necessity of contradicting any thing said, particular care should be taken, that we do it not after a bold and assuming manner, nor betray any thing that looks like Eagerness and a Spirit of Contention. For, if it have any of these ill Symptoms, it can never be well received; and the Mischief will be much greater to the Author himself, than to the Person whom it is directed against. The only way to render any opposition tolerably easie to the Company, and to be secure from any of those ill Resentments, which are apt to follow upon it, is to contrive, that it should be produced upon the spot, and immediately applied to the Matter, which gave the Provocation; that it be not far fetched, not foreign to the present Discourse, nor ripping up somewhat long past and forgotten. It must also be levelled at the Thing alone, and be free from any Personal Reflections; nor must we contradict any thing because such a one says it, but merely because the Thing it self deserves, and the vindication of Innocence or Truth requires it. In which case, if there be any manner of occasion put into our Hands, it is a very proper expedient, to soften the difference of Opinion, with some particular Commendation of the Person we oppose; But above all things, we must be sure that in all matters of this Nature, we command our Temper; and Reason with all the Coolness, and calm Argument; the gentlest Terms, and most inoffensive Language, that is possible.

16.

C H A P. X.

Prudent Management of Business.

THIS Particular does in strictness belong to the Virtue of Prudence; of which our intended Method hath not as yet led us to treat, but reserved that to the following Book. And there indeed is the proper place, for insisting severally upon the many Rules and Admonitions, which answer to the several Kinds and Branches of Prudence; and provide against that infinite variety of Occurrences, which call for the Exercise of it in Human Life. But in the mean while, I will so far enter into that Subject at present, as to lay down some of the principal Points of Prudence, which may serve for common and general Topicks: Thus to instruct my Scholar in the Gross, how to behave himself well and wisely in the common Correspondence and Commerce of the World, and to make him a Master of his Business. For the due Management whereof, I would recommend these Eight Directions that follow.

I.
*Knowledge
of Men and
Things.*

The First of these is, That he would be sure to get good Information, and a competent Knowledge of Men and Things. For the Men he hath to deal with, it is requisite he be well acquainted with their particular Humour and Disposition, their Understanding and Capacity, their Inclination, and governing Passions; their Intention and Design, and the Methods by which they move. The Things, or particular Business, in which a Man is engaged, or which he proposes to undertake, ought likewise to be well understood; whereby I mean, not such a slender and superficial Knowledge, as considers the Appearances only, but a thorough Examination to the very bottom: Such a Disquisition, as does not only consider the Things themselves in their own Nature, but enlarges and extends it self, to the Accidents which they in any probability may be incumbered with, and the several Consequences they are like to draw after them. Now, in order to the attaining this Knowledge, it is necessary to take a close and particular view of our Affairs; to turn them all manner of ways, eye them in all the different Prospects they are capable of, and nicely scan all the Forms and Circumstances of them, which
our

our own Imagination can represent them under. For there are a great many Attempts, which have a fair and beautiful side, full of Invitation and large Promises; and yet if you turn the other side, look horrid and forbidding, and shew nothing but Deformity and Danger. Now there is no occasion to prove the Necessity of such a Knowledge as This; because it is so very evident, that this is the very Compass Men must steer by; For no Man doubts, but that the different Tempers of Men, and conditions of Things bring us under an absolute Necessity of changing our Measures, and making all our Scheme suitable to them. A Man in this case should be as vigilant, and as dextrous, as the Seamen are; who immediately gibe their Sails, and ply their Oars differently, as the Wind shifts, or their Course they run, brings them upon different Roads and Shores. And as they could never make their Ports by steering always the same Course, no more could a Man, who always governs himself alike in Business, expect any other effect at last, than that his Affairs should be ruined and come to nothing, and that all the World should despise and laugh at his Folly. Now, if we do but reflect a very little, how intricate the Affairs of the World are, and how much more intricate and full of Disguise Human Nature is; The Perplexity will appear so great, as to convince us, that the Knowledge I have here been advising, is no such easie matter, but that we must be content to come at it slowly and painfully; for it requires much Attention, long Study, and repeated Consideration; a Judgment clear and strong, and a Mind unprejudiced and free from Passion.

The next Lesson to be learnt upon this occasion, is, that of knowing how to make a just Estimate of Things, so as to give each that real Value, and proper Place in our Opinion, which of Right belongs to it. And this is a certain Effect of Prudence and Sufficiency. It is indeed a very high pitch of Philosophy, to be able to do this; and such as a Man shall never rise up to, except he first get clear of his own deceitful Passions, and the Common received Errors of the World. There are some six or seven Qualities, that strangely captivate Vulgar Minds; and seduce them into very mistaken Valuations of a Thing, which Wise Men will take good Care not to be deluded by. These are the Novelty, the Rarity, the Strangeness, the Difficulty, the Artificial Composure, the Quaintness of the Invention,

2.
Just Valuation of them.

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the Absence or present Want, the Losing or being Refused it; but especially, and above all the rest, the Noise, and Show, and Pomp it creates in the World. Thus the generality of People look upon all things to be little better than despicable, which are not exalted by Art, and Study, and Human Skill; they must have them raised and refined, to recommend them. Those that are plain and simple, and have nothing but their own Native Excellencies to set them off (let those Excellencies in reality be never so valuable) are so far from being had in any regard, that they are scarce taken notice of at all. They pass off in the common Crowd, unobserv'd and unseen; or, if they are seen, yet do they not move us, but are look'd upon as low, flat, and insipid: Than which we cannot have a plainer Proof of the Vanity and Weakness of Mankind, who thus take up with Air and Emptiness, and are content to accept Base Metal, and Counterfeit Coin in Payment, rather than True Standard and Current Money. Hence it is, that Art is so much preferr'd before Nature; Acquired Excellencies to those that are Innate; Things difficult and elaborate, before those that are easie; sudden Gushes, and Flights, and impetuous Sallies, before the Constancy and Calmness of Habit and Temper; Things extraordinary, above those that are ordinary and usual; Ostentation and Pomp, above intrinsic and private real Worth; Things that are Another's, above our own; Foreign above Domestick, Borrowed before Natural. And how egregiously foolish now is all This; This, I say, is the Folly of the Vulgar and the Undiscerning; but Wise Men observe other Measures. They take care not to be thus impos'd upon, nor carried away with fantastical Notions; but to pass a severe and crittial Enquiry; and judge of Things, first by their True, Substantial, and Natural Goodness, which many times is internal, and lies far out of sight; And then by the Advantages they are capable of bringing. These are solid Foundations of Esteem, all the rest is mere Cheat and Delusion.

Now, it must be confess'd, the being able to make these Distinctions judiciously, is exceeding difficult; for the World is full of Sophistry and Disguise; Things have a Thousand False Faces; and it often happens, that Those which are really Counterfeit and worth nothing, look fairer, more gay, more inviting; than Those that are truly valuable and good. (Nay, *Aristotle* hath ventured to say, That in Matters of Speculation, there are a great many Falsities, which carry

carry more shew of Probability, and bid fairer at first sight for engaging our Assent, than several Truths do:) But then, for our Encouragement, we ought to remember, that as this a is very difficult and laborious, so is it likewise an incomparably Noble and most Divine Attainment; and withal, that it is of infinite Use, and Absolute Necessity. * *How necessary is it (saith Seneca) to set a true rate upon things?* And so without question it must needs be. For, to what purpose does a Man inform himself in the Rules and Directions for living well, till he be first rightly instructed, what account he ought to hold those several Objects in, which his Desires and Actions are conversent about? Riches, for instance, and Health, and Beauty, and Quality, and Learning, what degrees of Good these can pretend to, and what Evil he is to expect, or can suffer from their Contraries. It is a great Instance of Skill in Moral Heraldry, to know the Places of all these, and what Precedences are due to them respectively; and especially, when several of them meet together, it is not easy to proportion our Respects, because the Number confounds us; and indeed all People are not, nor ever will be agreed as to their Quality, which of them is most honourable. The Tastes and Judgments of particular Persons differ exceedingly; And it is very well they do, for if all Mankind were fond of the same thing, they would constantly be interfering, and hindring one another.

For an Instance of what I have said; let us take these Eight Principal Sources of all the Happiness, we can propose to our selves in this World; whether of Body or Mind. I shall pair them together by mentioning Four of each sort; And they are Probity and Health; Wisdom and Beauty; Good Parts and Quality; Learning and Riches. These Terms I understand here in the common and received Sense, and do not confine them to a Philosophical Nicety. By Wisdom I mean a Prudence and Discretion in the Government of our Selves, and in all our Conversation and Deportment with Others: By Good Parts, that Capacity, and those Abilities for Business, which such Persons are known to be prepared and provided with, above others, to whom Nature hath been less bountiful. And by Learning, that Knowledge of Things, which is acquired by Book and Study. The Rest are so perspicuous, that they need no Explanation.

* Quam necessarium pretia rebus imponero?

Now what a prodigious Difference do we find in the Opinions of Men, in adjusting the Place and Precedence, which is pretended to belong to these Eight Things? What infinite and irreconcilable Competitions are there among them? I, for my own part, have delivered my own Judgment freely already in this Treatise; I have here mingled them together, and tack'd them to one another in such order, that each Advantage of the Mind hath one belonging to the Body, joined; and so joined, as to be Correspondent to it; for as Nature hath united Body and Soul together, so she seems to have given each of them Accomplishments extremely agreeable, and alike. Thus Health is to the Body, what Probity is to the Mind; it is the Probity or good Disposition of the Body, as Probity is the Health of the Soul. These should be the Sum of our Wishes.

** Forgive the Gods the rest, and stand confin'd
To Health of Body, and a Virtuons Mind.*

Says the Poet.

Beauty is commensurate to Wisdom; the Just Measure, exact Proportion, and Comeliness, is the Wisdom of the Body; and Wisdom is the Regularity, the Decency, the Beauty of the Soul. Quality and good Birth is a wonderful Capacity, a mighty Disposition to Virtue; and these Spiritual Abilities again, and good Parts, are the Nobility of the Mind. Learning is the Wealth of the Soul, and Riches the acquired Advantages of the Body. Others, I know, will differ from me in the Method and Order of Ranging these Qualifications; for some put all the Advantages of the Mind first; and are of opinion, that the least of these is more valuable than the best and highest of those that belong to the Body; and others, who go not so far, yet may not agree in the Preference due to each Particular. Every Man in this Case follows his own Sense, and from that we cannot but expect great Variety of Judgments will ensue.

3. *Wise choice.* In the next place, succeeds a third Qualification, which indeed naturally springs out of the former; For, from the Sufficiency of passing a just Estimate upon Things, is de-

* — Mens sana in Corpore sano.

rived

rived an Ability of making a Wise Choice; and this is, not only a matter of Duty and Conscience, but very often an Eminent Instance of Wisdom and good Conduct. There are indeed some Cases extremely plain and easy; as when Difficulty and Vice, Honesty and Profit, Duty and Interest stand in competition; For the Preeminence in this Comparison is so visible and so vast, on one side above the other, that whenever these things encounter each other, the Advantage lies, and the Balance should always fall, to the side of Duty, though attended with never so great Difficulty and Inconvenience. In the Case of Private Persons, I mean, for possibly there may sometimes be room for an Exception; but then this does not often happen, and if it do, 'tis generally in the Administration of Publick Affairs; and then too, it must be managed with great Tenderneſs and Circumspection. But of This I shall have a more proper season to speak, when my Third Book brings us to treat of Prudence in particular. But sometimes there is such a Conjecture of Circumstances, that a Man is driven to a very hard Choice: As for Instance, When we stand inclos'd, as it were, with Two Vices, and there is no getting clear of both. Thus History describes that Eminent Father *Origen*, who had it left to him, Whether he would commit Idolatry, or suffer his Body to be carnally abused by a *Moor*: The first was the Thing he chose, and some say he chose amiss. Now, when we are unhappily involved in such Perplexities, and at a loss which way we should incline, in the choice of Matters not morally evil; the best Rule we can be guided by, is to go over to that side, where there is the greatest Appearance of Justice and Honesty. For, though every thing should not afterwards succeed according to our Wish or Expectation, yet there will result so pleasing an Applause, such Glory, and Self-gratulations from within, for our having taken the better Part, as will make us ample Compensation for our Misfortunes, and abundantly support us under them: And besides all this, If the Worse, but seemingly Safer Side, had been chosen, what Security can we have, that the Event would have proved more favourable? and why may we not reasonably suppose, that the Governour and Lord of Us, and all our Fortunes, would have been provoked to punish, and disappoint us that way too? When Matters seem to be so equal, that we cannot distinguish, which is the better, and shorter course, we should take that which is the plainest and straightest. And in Things manifestly Immoral (of

which properly speaking there cannot be any Choice) we must avoid that which is most detestable, and hath more of Villany and Horror in it. For this indeed is a Point of Conscience, and is more truly a part of Probity than of Prudence. But it is very often exceeding hard to satisfy one's self, which of Two things of the same kind is the more agreeable to Justice, or to Decency, or which is preferable in point of Advantage: And so likewise of Two Ill Things, which is the more Unjust, more Indecent and Dishonest, or attended with worse Consequences. Upon the whole matter then, though the Act of chusing is an Act of Probity and Conscience; yet the Ability of making this Choice aright is a part of Prudence and sound Judgment. I am apt to believe, that in such Straights as these, the best and safest way will be to follow Nature, and to determine, that those Things which are most agreeable to Nature, are the more just and becoming; and that what is most distant from, or contrary to Nature, is more especially to be avoided and abhorred by us. This agrees well with what was formerly delivered in our description of Probity, That we ought to be Good Men, by the Dictates and Impulse of Nature.

Before I go off from this Point of Choice, give me leave to say one word or two for the resolving a Doubt, which some People have started, with regard to the Determination of our Wills in these Cases. The Question is, When two Things are proposed so Equal and Indifferent, that we can give no reason, why one should be valued more than the other; what it is that disposes the Soul to take the one, and leave the other? The *Stoicks* pretend, that it is a rash Operation of the Soul, somewhat Foreign, and Extraordinary, and beside its proper course. But let Them say what they will, We may be bold to affirm, That there is no ground for the Question; and that no Two Things ever do, or can present themselves to our Consideration, so as to be perfectly Equal and Indifferent to us: It frequently happens indeed, that the Difference is very small and inconsiderable; but still some difference there is; something we apprehend in one, and not in the other, which casts the Scale, and draws us on to a Choice, though the Motion be so gentle, that we scarce feel it; and the Motive so slender, that we know not how to express, and can very hardly give our selves any account of it. But still certain it is, that were a Man evenly poized between Two Desires, he would never chuse

chuse at all : For all Choice implies Inclination of the Mind, and all Inclination supposes Inequality.

Another very necessary Direction in this Matter, is, That of consulting with our Friends, and taking good Advice. ^{4.} *Consultation.* For there is great danger in acting upon our own Heads, and depending entirely upon our selves ; Others will see further, and judge better of our Affairs, than Partiality and Concern will suffer us to do. Now in this Point of Consulting, there are two Cautions very necessary to be observed for the prudent Management of our selves, and the making this method turn to account with us.

The First regards the Choice of fit Persons to Advise with: For many are much better let alone than applied to, and a Man is as highly concerned to be upon his Guard, and conceal his Designs from some sort of People, as he is to communicate them, and address for Counsel to others. Those then, who are proper for such purposes, must First of all be Men of Integrity and Fidelity, that is fit to be trusted ; and then they must be Men of sound Sense, Sober and Discreet, Wise and Experienced ; otherwise they will not be fit to Direct. Honesty and Sufficiency are the two Indispensable Qualifications of good Counsellors ; and indeed, to these we may add a Third Consideration which ought to weigh with us very much in our Choice ; and this is, That neither they themselves, nor any of their Relations, or particular Friends, be at all concerned in the matter we consult about. For, though you may possibly Reply to this, That I have sufficiently prevented any Mischiefs of that kind, by providing already, that they should be Persons of Integrity, and whoever is so, will not be biassed by his own, or his Friend's Interest ; yet to that I must rejoin, in justification of this Advice ; First, That Honesty so staunch and firm, and Philosophical, as shall be Proof against all the Impressions of Advantage, is to be met with in very few. It is indeed what ought to be ; but, as the World goes, it is rather to be wish'd for, than found and practis'd. And Secondly, Allowing the Party we Consult, to have attained this Perfection of unmovable Sincerity ; yet it is neither Wisdom, nor Kindness, nor good Manners, to drive him to such Difficulties, and such Anxieties of heart, as the asking his Advice in such Circumstances must needs involve him in. This is what we call putting him in between the Millstones, where he must either crush himself, or us.

The other part of Caution, requisite upon these occasions, regards the receiving Advice, when our Counsellors are chosen. And this must be sure to have a patient Hearing, and kind and grateful Entertainment allowed it; we should follow and put it in practice betimes, and not delay, till we are reduced to Extremities; we should consider and proceed upon it with Judgment and Candour, and be well pleased that our Friends should speak their Minds freely, and declare the Truth, though it happen to be severe and unpalatable to us. When we have taken our Measures according to it, in full confidence of the Prudence and Friendship with which it was given, we must not afterwards repine, or be sorry that we have been guided by it, though the Event fall short, or prove contrary to our Expectations. For it is a very common thing for good Counsel to be very unsuccessful. But a Wise Man ought to take greater Satisfaction in proper Measures, and prudent Conduct, though the Consequence be calamitous; than in the greatest good Fortune imaginable, when his Measures were false and ill-adjusted; When as the Historian observes of *Marinus*; * *The Rashness of the General was corrected by the Event, and his fault received Honour and Commendation.* It is below a Man of Sense, and agreeable to the Character of Vulgar and Ignorant Souls only, to sit down and wish they had done otherwise; and, after the maturest Deliberation, and the best choice their case will admit, to fancy they took a wrong Course: For such People in their Crosses and Disappointments, only way the Reasons for the contrary Methods, without having greatness or Presence of Mind to counterbalance these, with those other, once more forcible Arguments, which induced them to act as they did. Thus much was not amiss, I thought to be hinted briefly for the use of those who want and ask Advice; but as for the Persons address'd to, the Rules fit to be observ'd by them in giving of it, shall be specified at large under the Head of Prudence. For indeed Counsel is a very considerable and extensive Branch of that Virtue.

3. The Fifth Thing, which I apprehend advisable for the prudent Management of Affairs, is a Steadiness of Temper; consisting in a middle State, between the Extremes of Confidence and Distrust; Assurance and Fearfulness. And this

*Moderation
between
Fear and
Assurance.*

* Sic correcta Marii temeritas gloriam ex culpa invenit.

is necessary to be well Moderated, both with regard to our Selves and Others.

To repose too great Confidence in a Friend, and reckon our selves absolutely sure of him, is very often Prejudicial to our Affairs; and to distrust his Ability, or his Inclination to do us Service, is offensive to him; Insomuch, that where we entertain Suspicions, though never so just in themselves, yet it is not prudent to give any Demonstrations of our Jealousie. For no Man loves to be Distrusted (because every Man loves to be thought to have Power and Sincerity) and therefore to betray our Distrust is sure to Displease; nay, likely to Provoke, and turn a Friend into an Enemy. But then, on the other hand we must be careful too, not to be so entirely depending, so lazy and secure in our Confidences, as not to be very much upon our Guard, except it be with some very choice and tried Friends: A Man never Rides safe without the Reins in his own Hand; only the Skill of the Horseman must be shewn, in neither letting them hang too slack, nor drawing them too stiff. A Man should never disclose all his Thoughts, and Intentions; but, so far as he thinks convenient to communicate his Mind, he should do it with Truth and Sincerity; he must by no means Deceive or Ensnare his Friend, and therefore let him tell True; but he must take heed too, that he be not Deceived or Abused himself, and therefore he should take care not to tell All. He should follow that excellent Advice of our Blessed Master, to Marry the Serpent with the Dove; tempering and qualifying that Innocence and Simplicity which restrains a Man from hurting Others, with that Wisdom and Subtlety, which keeps him injuring himself; so standing upon one's Guard, and Defending one's self against the Cunning Insinuations, and Treacherous Designs, and unseen Ambushments of our pretending Friends. For Policy and Stratagem is as commendable a Weapon, when used Defensively, as it is Dishonourable and Base, when Offensive. And therefore every Motion should be wary and well-advised; and in our Advances of Familiarity and Confidence, we must never engage so far, as not to secure a Retreat to our selves, whenever our Inclination shall dispose, or the Necessity of our Affairs oblige us to it: Nay not only so, It is not enough, that our Retreat be possible, but it must be safe and easie, without any great Reluctancy in our Selves, or any Damage from those in whom we Confided.

On

On the other hand, we should not so far be confident of our Selves, as to let this grow into Security and Presumption. If we have Friends, though they do not bear our whole Weight, yet it is not convenient to let go our Hold; nor for any Opinion, either of our own Abilities, or the prosperous Condition of our Affairs, to disdain another's help, or grow negligent and remiss in our own Care. And yet this is oftentimes the Case of Men, who think no Body so Wise as themselves, or have that Opinion of their own Power and Address, to imagine every thing will bow before, and truckle under them; that no Body will dare to attempt any thing to their Prejudice or Dissatisfaction; and from these fond Possessions, come to abate of their Pains, to despise all Care; and so at last are abominably overreach'd, surpriz'd into Mischief and Ruin, and become a Jest and publick Scorn.

6.

*The laying
hold on Oc-
casions.*

Another, and that indeed a very important piece of Advice, is, to take every thing in its proper Time, while it is seasonable, and Occasion serves. And in order hereunto, we must be sure to avoid Precipitation, which is a mortal Enemy to Wisdom, the bane and confounder of all good Designs: And a Vice very usual, and much to be fear'd, among People in heat of Youth, and all others of a warm and sanguine Complexion. And in truth, the knowing how to take every thing in the Nick; to lay hold on every Opportunity and Advantage, and make the best of all times, and all means of Action, is one of the masterly Perfections of a Wise and Dextrous Manager. For we are to consider, that every thing hath its Season, and even the best things, as we may order them, may be irregular, and out of due Time. Now Hast and Hurry is the most contrary to that good Quality, that can possibly be imagined; for this disorders and confounds all, and so at last spoils all. You know the common Proverb, * *Hasty Bitches bring blind Whelps*. This Precipitation is usually the Effect of some Passion, which spurs us on too fast, and will not endure to wait till Matters are ripe for Execution; † *The impatience of Desire puts us upon hastening, and Hast disorders and undoes all; so that This is always improvident and blind; Hastiness,*

* Canis festinans cæcos parit catulos.

† Nam qui cupit, festinat; qui festinat avertit; unde festinatio improvida & cæca; duo adversissima rectæ menti Cæleritas & Ira.

and Anger are the Two things in the World most distant from a Sober and Judicious Mind. Such is the account generally to be given of it; though it cannot be denied, but these Hasty Proceedings are frequently owing to Weakness, and want of Judgment. Now the contrary Vice of Heaviness, and Sloth, and Negligence in our Affairs, which is sometimes mistaken for Solidity, and Thought, and wise Caution, is no less dangerous and destructive to our Affairs, especially then, when all Preliminaries are adjusted, all Resolutions taken, and nothing remains but the Executive Part. For it is well observed, That in Deliberation and Consultation a Man is allowed to spend a great deal of Time, because then every Particular is to be nicely weighed, every Advice canvassed, and out of All compared together, the Best to be pitch'd upon; but when we come to Action, the case is much otherwise, for the Mind is then supposed to be settled, and all Doubt over; upon which account it is, that we are commanded by the Masters of Wisdom, to be Slow in Counsel, and Swift in Execution; to deliberate at leisure, but to finish apace. It is true indeed, this Rule is not so universally efficacious, but that sometimes we see Events contrary to it. A Man stumbles upon Success, though he run headlong upon it; and proves as Fortunate in the Event, though the Time he took to consider was very short; and the Resolves he made as rash and imprudent, as they were hasty: But this is very seldom seen, and the few Instances we have of it are owing purely to Chance; And Chance is somewhat so distant from the ordinary course of Affairs, that a Man can never depend upon it, or govern himself by such Events. On the contrary, he should take great care, That these lucky Hits, like a winning hand, do not tempt us to run too great a Risque, and venture upon them boldly. For, commonly speaking, Gamesters give out Losers; and all they have to shew for their daring Hastiness, is only that Proverb, *Of Resolving in Hast, and Repenting at Leisure*; Ruin and a fruitless Remorse being commonly the End of such inconsiderate Undertakings.

These then are the Two Extremes, which like Rocks must be avoided, and with equal care too; for if we Split upon either, our Affairs will be shipwreck'd and lost. It is as great a Fault to anticipate a fair occasion, and snatch it, while it is Green and Crude; as it would be to let it Wither and Rot in our Hands. The Former is a Defect most

most incident to Young Men, whose Spirits move briskly, and their Blood boils in their Veins; and whose Desires are so eager and impetuous, that they want Patience, and cannot be content to let Time and Providence bring things to Maturity, and work for them; and so these sprightly Men, by starting too quick, run, and catch nothing; The Latter is more proper to Stupid Men, the Cowardly and Irresolute, the Lazy and Unactive. For there is need of a Sprightly and Vigilant Soul to discern and to lay hold on favourable Junctures; but then at the same time that the Soul must be awake, we must see that it be not Restless and Impatient. A Man must look before him; descry Opportunities at a distance; keep his Eye constantly upon them; observe all the Motions they make towards him; make himself ready for their approach; and, lying thus upon the catch, when he sees his time, lay fast hold, and not let go again, till he hath done his Business.

7.
Industry
and For-
tune.

The Seventh Direction I would give at present, is for a Man to govern himself well, and to do his Duty to the Two great Disposers, and Superintendants of all Human Affairs; Industry I mean, or which in this place comes to the same thing, Virtue, and Fortune. It hath long been matter of Controversie, which of These carry the greatest Sway; and the Question never was or will be decided to the Satisfaction of all People; for some have a greater respect for the One, and some for the Other. Thus much at least is past all Doubt, that both the One and the Other do a great deal; both have Power and Credit, and both have a Title indisputable to shew for it; for nothing can be more palpably false, than that either of these Two does All, and the other Nothing. Perhaps indeed Matters would go better, if it were not thus; and Men have reason to wish, That the whole Authority were vested in one of them singly. For then we should know what to trust to. Then our Task would be easie, because all our Thought and Diligence would be fixed, and determined to one Object; whereas now we float between both, the Distraction of the Mind renders our Attempts infinitely laborious and full of hazard; and we can very hardly attend to both, and bring them friendly to conspire together. Daily Experience proves this Truth to us; for usually those who are very much taken up with the One, disregard and perfectly despise the Other. Thus the Young and Sanguine, the forward and daring Men keep Fortune in their Eye, and lay the main stress

stress there, as you see plainly by their large Hopes, and the mighty Successes they promise themselves in every Undertaking: And Fortune often rewards this Respect they pay her, and declares them her Favourites, by the many Prodigious and most Surprizing things wrought by them. On the other hand, Men in Years, whose Blood is cold and heavy, and they consequently calm and slow, place all their Expectations in Industry: And it cannot be denied, but these act the more reasonably of the Two. If a Man were disposed to compare them both together, and observe what can be alledg'd to determine his Choice on either side; we may state the Matter very fairly thus. He that depends upon Industry, takes the safest Side, the more Virtuous, and the more Reputable: For admit, that Fortune run counter, and spitefully defeat all his Diligence, yet is there still this Satisfaction left, that he hath made no false Steps, that he suffered in his proper Post, doing his Duty; and that he hath acquitted himself, as became a Wise and an Honest Man. Those that take the other course, are in great danger of waiting and hoping in vain: But if all should succeed to their Hearts desire, yet still this is none of their doing; nor is there really any Credit or Commendation due to them for it. But indeed Wisdom takes a middle Course; she advises no Man entirely to devote himself to either of these; and though One may be preferred, yet not to that degree, as to bring the Other into absolute Neglect and Contempt. For since Neither can be excluded from our Affairs, it is fit we should allow Both a place in our Regard; and indeed they are often beholding to one another; and an observing Man will easily discern a great deal of Mutual Assistance, and a very good Understanding between them. We must take care then to discharge our part to Both, but Both do not challenge our Respects alike. For the Preference is abundantly on the side of Industry; for, according to that old Motto, ** Virtue should lead, and Fortune go along with us.*

There is yet one necessary Caution behind, which is, In all our Behaviour to act with Discretion. For this seasons every Action, and gives it an agreeable Relish. Now Discretion is not any one particular Quality, but a Large and Comprehensive Virtue, that mingles with every part of our

8.

* Virtute duce, comite Fortunâ.

Duty. Indiscretion spoils all ; and the very best Actions, it tainted with it, lose all their Beauty and Commendation. If a Man design an Act of Beneficence or Charity, this is necessary to direct it ; for neither all Kindnesses are fit to be done, nor all sorts of Persons fit to receive them. If a Man would vindicate or excuse himself, he must do it discreetly ; for there are some ways of Apologizing, which in effect are Bills of Indictment against one's Self ; and increase the Suspicion, instead of clearing our Innocence. If a Man would pay Civilities, and appear courteous and well-bred, he must distinguish and moderate himself here too ; otherwise he will run into the Excess of Foppery and Affectation, or degenerate into Clownish Rudeness ; and the same may be said of Offering, or Accepting, or any other Instance of Courtesie and Conversation ; or indeed of Virtue in general ; for without this Prudence, and discreet Managery, even Virtue, and the best Intentions, can never recommend, nay, can scarce justify themselves to the Spectators.

C H A P. XI.

The Fruits, or Good Effects of Wisdom.

The First,

Living in a constant Readiness for Death.

*i.
The Day of
Death.*

THE Day of our Death is the Principal and most Important of any that belongs to us ; That which gives the finishing Stroke, and fixes the Character upon all the rest ; for indeed all the Actions of our whole Life must be submitted to this Test. This is most truly what we commonly call it, *The Great Trial* ; The Essay, that distinguishes our Alloy and True Standard ; and it is in the good Success of this Trial, that we are to expect the greatest Fruit of all our Studies. In order to make a true Judgment of Life, we must of necessity inform our selves what sort of Conclusion it hath ; For the End compleats and crowns the Work ; and as a Good Death is an Honour to our whole Life, so an Ill one casts back Infamy, and ful-
lies

lies all that went before. You can never give a Just Character of the Player, till his Part be at an End; and the Case of common Life is so far the same, that the Management of the Last Act is incomparably the most difficult of any that belongs to either of them. *Epaminondas*, one of the Bravest Men that ever *Greece* bred, when his Opinion was ask'd, To which of the Three he thought the Preference due, *Chabrias*, *Iphicrates*, or Himself; made answer, That this was a Question incapable of being resolved; For (says he) the Man that would determine justly of such a Competition for Honour, must stay till he hath seen how we all three die. The Reason is evident; because every other Action of a Man's Life is capable of Hypocrisy and Dissimulation; but in this last Scene alone, All is Natural, and no room left for Counterfeit or Disguise.

** For then Mens Words will with their Thoughts agree;
And, all the Mask pull'd off, shew what they be.*

Creech.

Fortune, in truth, seems to way-lay us here; to drive us upon this as her last Reserve; to make the utmost Effort upon our Virtue; and in one moment overturn all that Character and Credit, which we have for many Years with infinite Toil, and Anxiety, been setting up. Oh what a Triumph it would be then, to make a Man expire with *Laberius* his Exclamation; † *I have lived this one day more, than it was for my Honour and Advantage to have lived!* So truly as well as wisely, so every way worthy of *Solon*, was that Observation made to *Cræsus*, which one of the Poets hath illustrated thus:

∴ — *Man must censured be by his Last Hour,
Whom truly we can never Happy call,
Before his Death, and closing Funeral.* Sandys.

** Nam veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo
Ejiciuntur, & eripitur Persona, manet Res.* *Lucret. Lib. III.*

† *Nimirum hâc die unâ plus vixi mihi, quàm vivendum fuit.*

∴ — *Scilicet ultima semper
Expectanda dies homini, dicique beatus
Ante obitum nemo, supremæque funera debet.*

Tis

2. 'Tis, without all dispute, a most Excellent Attainment, *Of knowing how to die.* to have learnt how to die : It is the Study of true Wildom, and that in which all its Rules, and all its Labours determine : He that hath laid out his whole Life upon it, hath put it to no ill use ; and he, who among all the rest of his Qualifications is not Master of this, hath thrown away all his Time and Pains to no manner of purpose. *That Man can never Live well, who knows not how to Die well ; and he hath lived to very good purpose, who makes a happy End,* (says Seneca.) A Man can no more govern and direct his Actions as he ought, who does not keep Death in his Eye ; than an Archer can shoot well, who never looks at the Mark. In one word, The Art of Dying as becomes us, is the Art of Liberty, and an easie Mind ; the way to get above all Fear, and to live in perfect Happines and Tranquility ; Without this there is no Pleasure in Life ; it is impossible indeed there should ; for who can enjoy that with Peace and Satisfaction, which he esteems most valuable and dear, and is tormented with perpetual anxious Fear of losing every Moment ?

3. Now the First and Principal Step toward this, is to make it our Care and constant Endeavour, that our Vices may die before us ; and then our next Care must be, to live in constant Readiness and Expectation of dying our selves. Who can express the happy Condition of that Man, who hath husbanded his Talent, and finish'd the Business of Life, before Death approach to interrupt him ? So that when he comes to die, he hath nothing else to do but to die ; no occasion to ask longer time ; no farther Business for this Body ; no need of any thing ; but can walk out of the World, pleased and satisfied, like a Guest after a full Meal : All this I take to be comprehended in the Notion of our being always in a Readiness for Death : There remains yet One Qualification more to be attained, which is the being Willing, as well as Ready ; for no Man dies well, who goes out of the World with such Loathness and Reluctancy, that it is mere matter of Constraint ; and plain, he would fain, but cannot, stay here any longer.

4. *Five Sorts of Behaviour with regard to Death.*

The several Sentiments and Sorts of Behaviour, which Men are capable of with regard to Death, may, in my Opinion, be reduced to these Five that follow :

1. They may Fear and Avoid it, as the Last and greatest Evil.

2. They

2. They may expect and wait for it with great Easiness, and Patience, and Resignation of Mind, as for a Thing which they look upon as Natural, Unavoidable, and not only Necessary, but also Reasonable to be undergone.

3. They may despise it, as a Matter Indifferent, and of no great Concern to them.

4. They may wish for it, pray for it, make toward it, as the only Safe Harbour which can give them Rest and Protection from the Troubles of this Life; nay, as that which will not only be a Deliverance, but a Happiness; a mighty Advantage, as well a perfect Security.

5. They may bring it upon themselves.

Now, if we examine these Particulars, the Second, Third, and Fourth will appear Commendable and Good; the Thoughts and Resentments of a Virtuous and a Judicious Mind; though it must be allowed, that as they differ from each other, so they are expected to move and effect the Man differently, according to his present Circumstances. For All of them are not commendable equally, and at all times. But for the First and Last, they never are or can be so at all; as being the Vicious Extremes of Weakness and Want of Virtue; for how different soever the Effects may appear, This is the same common Cause of them both. I shall enlarge a little, and try to illustrate each of these Particulars, in this Chapter.

The First is what no understanding Person hath ever pretended to approve, though indeed it be the Practice (the Failing I ought to say) of almost all the World. And what can be a greater Reproach? what a more undeniable Evidence of the Weakness of Mankind, than that every Body in a manner should be guilty of that, which No Body dares undertake to defend? But on the contrary, against those who labour under this painful Folly, in Tenderness for themselves; or are thus concerned upon the account of others, we can never want plenty of Arguments. Among others, these following Considerations may perhaps do something toward softning the Approach of our own Death, or that of our Friends to us. There is not in the World any Calamity, which Mortals have such amazing Notions, and live in such constant Terror of, as Death; and yet it is very evident, there is nothing they call a Misfortune, dreaded upon such Poor, such Insignificant Grounds; nay; I must revoke those Words, *Dreading* and *Misfortune* too; and dare venture to affirm, there is not any thing which ought to be received with greater Satisfaction, and a

5.
Fear of
Death.

The effect
of vain O-
pinion.

more resolved Mind. So that we must be forced to confess, in despite of all the Sophistry of Flesh and Blood to the contrary, that this is a mere Vulgar Error; Opinion hath charm'd and captivated all the World; for Reason hath no hand at all in it. We take it upon trust from the Ignorant and Unthinking Multitude, and believe it a very great Evil, because they tell us so; but Wisdom assures us, that it is a Deliverance and sure Repose from all the Evils that can possibly befall us; the only Haven where we can lie safely, after the Waves and Storms of a Troublesom Tossing World; we turn the deaf Ear, and believe not one word she can say. Thus much is certain: Death, when actually present, never did any body hurt; and none of those many Millions, who have made the Experiment, and know what it is, have made any Complaints of this nature concerning it. If then Death must be called an Evil, it hath this to say in its own Vindication; That of all the Evils which are, or ever were in the World, this is the only one that does no body harm; and in truth, the mighty Dread of it proceeds merely from ghastly and monstrous Ideas, which Mens vain Imaginations form of it at a distance. There is nothing of Foundation or Reality at the bottom; 'tis all Opinion and Fancy; nay, 'tis the very Instance, in which Opinion pretends most to set up against Reason; and attempts to fright us out of our Wits, by shewing the hideous Vizard of Death: For, Reason to fear it there can be none, because we are so perfectly ignorant what it is. How Unaccountable is our Concern, how almost Impossible indeed, for a Thing, of which we have little or no Notion? Upon which account, He, who had *Apollo's* Testimony for the Wisest Man living, said, that to fear Death, was to pretend to be more knowing than one really was, and a vain Affectation of Wisdom; for it was to make the World believe a Man understands a thing, which neither He, nor any body else understands: And we find, that this was his real Sense, by the Testimony his Practice gave to it. For when his Friends importuned him to plead for his Life, and justify himself against the Calumnies of his Accusers, the Address he made upon that Occasion, we are told, was to this Effect.

"Gentlemen. If I should make it my request, That
 "you would not put me to Death, I am under some apprehensions of asking a Punishment, instead of a Favour;
 "and suing to my own Disadvantage. For I must ingenuously confess, I do not at all know what it is to Die,
 "nor what Good or Ill is consequent upon it. They who
 "fear

“ fear Death must in reason presuppose some Notices of it,
 “ for my own part, I declare I have none ; nor can I tell
 “ at all, either what sort of Passage that is, which leads into
 “ the other World, or how Matters stand there ; so that for
 “ ought I know to the contrary, both the One and the
 “ Other, the Condition and the Way to it, may be exceed-
 “ ing Desirable, and full of Felicity, As for those things,
 “ which I know to be Evil, such as Injustice and Wrong,
 “ I have the greatest abhorrence of them, and avoid them
 “ with all possible Circumspection and Care ; But for such
 “ as I know nothing of, I know as little how to Hate, or
 “ to Fear them. Now Death I own is one of these ; and
 “ therefore, Gentlemen, I leave the Matter wholly to You.
 “ For really I cannot be satisfied, whether is best for me,
 “ to Die or not to Die ; and therefore I hope you will
 “ Order what is really best ; and I am perfectly content you
 “ should determine and dispose of me, as you think fit.

And why this mighty Trouble and Concern upon the
 account of Death ? This in the first Place is most despicable
 Weakness, and scandalous Cowardice, the merest Woman,
 the most tender-heared Wretch alive can Compose her self
 in a few Days, and put an End to the justest Passion, for
 the Loss of a Husband, or a Child ; and what a Disparage-
 ment is it to Reason and Wisdom, that they should not
 effect that presently, which in a little while will do it self ?
 The most Ignorant and poor Spirited Man alive can do it
 with the help of Time ; and why should not a Wise and
 Brave Man do it without that Advantage ? For what is
 Wisdom, and Resolution, and Gallantry of Soul good for,
 or how shall we distinguish it, if it do not quicken a Man's
 pace, and render him more expert and dextrous ; so that he
 shall be able to do Greater Things, and to dispatch them
 with greater ease and speed, than Others, who are destitute
 of these Accomplishments ? From the same Weakness and
 Irresolution it is, that the Generality of Dying Men, are
 never sensible of their last Hours ; but flatter themselves
 with Expectations of perfect Recovery, or longer delay at
 least ; and perhaps, there is no one passage of our Lives
 comparable to this part for Cheat and Delusion ; none that
 equally soothes, and amuses us with vain hopes. Not that I
 ascribe this wholly to Weakness neither ; for possibly Van-
 ity may contribute a great deal toward it. We look upon
 our Death, as a matter of mighty Consequence, a strange
 and most important Revolution ; in which the whole
 World is concerned ; and can scarce be brought to imagine,

6.
*Of Weak-
 ness.*

that Providence will permit a Calamity, in which all Nature must suffer, and this orderly and beautiful System of the Universe End, and Perish. So extravagant are the Notions we entertain of our Selves, and of the importance we are of to God and the World.

7.
Of Injustice.

Besides all this, such a Man is evidently guilty of Injustice. For if Death be really a good and a desirable Thing, Wherefore are we afraid of it? And if it be otherwise, Why do we make it worse? This is to aggravate and multiply upon our selves the very Thing we pretend most to be afraid of; and to create new Pains and Torments, which Death knows nothing of, nor would ever bring upon us. This is a Fool-hardy Madness, like his, who, when an Enemy had Robbed him of one part of his Goods, threw the rest into the Sea, to shew how little he valued the Injury his Plunderer had done him.

8.
'Tis prejudicial to Life.

Lastly. To live in fear of Death is the greatest Injury a Man can be guilty of to himself; the spitefullest way of destroying his own Life. For no Man, who hath this Dread perpetually upon him, can ever have any tolerable Enjoyment of himself or the World. He only lives truly free and at ease, who is got above the Fears of Death: And on the other hand, Life were no better than perpetual Slavery, if the Liberty of Dying were taken away. Death is in effect the only Foundation, and Support of all the Freedom we can make any Pretensions to; The sure, and common Retreat from all our Sufferings and Hardships. A Man therefore must needs be very wretched and uneasie (and yet thus wretched are almost all Mankind) who takes off the Quiet and Enjoyment of Life, by an anxious Concern and Fear to die; and loses all the Benefit of Death too, by an immoderate Fondness, and afflicting Solitude for Life.

9.

And yet, as full of Discontent as People generally are with the present Order and Constitution of Things; what loud Complaints, what eternal Murmurings, may we very reasonably suppose, would have filled their Mouths, if it had been otherwise? How would Nature and Providence have been cursed, condemned, and blasphemed, if Men had been under a fatal Necessity of dwelling always here, whether they would or no; and no such kind Relief, as Death is, had been provided for them? Think with your self, how much more Insupportable, how much more Grievous and Burdensome a Life must needs be, without any Period assign'd for it; than that Life we now lead, which is attended with a Necessity of leaving it, but of laying down the

the Load that oppresses us along with it too? To this purpose it is, that the Poets tell us, *Chiron* refused to be Immortal, when it was proffer'd him, upon receiving Information from the God of Time (his Father *Saturn*) what hard Conditions the Gift was clogged with. On the other hand, What would become of the World, if there were not something of Pain and Bitterness, which should discourage us, and create in us some Aversion to Dying? There is no doubt to be made, but were it not for this Check upon our Nature, Men would run out of the World eagerly, greedily embrace Death, and upon every little Pett take Sanctuary here, without any manner of Judgment or Distinction, how far the Provocation ought to carry them. We must therefore upon second Thoughts confess, that this Mixture is made with Discretion, fit to preserve us in a due Moderation; so as neither to be fond of Life, nor peevishly weary of it; and so again, as neither to be afraid of Death, nor to court and hasten to it; both the One and the Other are tempered with Sweet, and allayed with Bitter; enough of the One to recommend and make it Tolerable; and so much of the Other too, as will keep it from being the Object of any Passion in Extremes. So necessary are the Ingredients, so just the Proportions; so skilful, and withal so tender of our Good, the Hand that mingled them.

Now the Remedy which the Vulgar prescribe against the Fears I have been condemning, is much too dull and stupid; For they advise a Man to banish all Uneasinesses of this kind, by striving to forget the Occasion of them, and drawing off the Mind to something else. 'Tis upon this Account, that you find them always bid their Friends never Think of Death, and can by no means bear to hear it Named: But sure this is for many Reasons a very improper Prescription. For, in the first place, such an odd careless Temper as this, is somewhat so contrary to a Man of Parts and Judgment, somewhat so like a State of Thoughtlessness and Insensibility, that none but the Ignorant and the Heavy seem capable of the Medicine: Application and good Sense cannot Doze away a Life at this Rate. But if every Body could bear the Physick, yet what Operation, what good Effect is to be expected from it? Where would all this end at last, and what a miserable Account should we find when we come to the upshot, and feel how dear this Course hath cost us? For do but imagine the Condition of a Man surprized by Death; the Tears, the Agonies, the Groans and Lamentations,

tions, the Rage, the Despair, in a word, the inexpressible Confusion of being seiz'd all on the sudden, by a Merciless, Invincible, and Unseen Enemy. These are such dreadful Circumstances, that Wisdom sure gives much safer and better Advice, in directing Men to stand their Ground; to face their Enemy; to observe his Approaches; and provide for the Combat. Nay rather indeed, to encounter him perpetually, by following a Method the direct contrary to that of the Vulgar; which is, by fixing their Eyes and Thoughts steadily upon Death; to converse, and grow intimately acquainted with it; to render it gentle and tame by Familiarity and long Use. To carry the Idea and the strongest Representations of it that we can possibly form, constantly about with us. To harden our selves in the Expectation of it; and that not only in Times of Sickness, and Danger, where we have reason to suspect our selves; but in our most confirm'd Health; in the midst of what we call Safety. Death should not be the Companion of our black, and sullen, and melancholy Hours only; but of our greatest Gaieties, best Humour, and most solemn Entertainments and Delights. The Sawce to every Dish; the Burden to every Song should this Reflection; That we are always in danger, set as fair Marks, and that Death is aiming at us; that several others have been snatch'd away, who thought themselves as far out of the reach of his Dart, as we can suppose our selves to be now in the heighth of all our Jollity; That an Accident, which happen'd at One Time, or to One Person, may as well happen to Another: And thus we are advised by the Wisest Men, to check our Pleasures, and abate our blind Security, by imitating, as well as supplying by these never unseasonable Meditations, that * Ancient Custom of the *Egyptians*, who at their Feasts served up a Deaths-

* According to the Custom of the *Egyptians*, &c. The Meaning of this Custom is very often misunderstood, and misapplied. For whereas the bringing this Death's-head in to the Company at Publick Entertainments, is frequently look'd upon as done with a design to check the Excesses of Mirth, with this Melancholy, but never Unseasonable Reflection: Both *Herodotus* in his *Euterpe*, and *Plutarch* in his *Traict de Isid. & Osiride*, give a quite different Account of the Matter; and report it to have been done for the heightning of their Jollity; by considering, that their Time was but short, and therefore they ought to make the best of it. This Emblem in effect speaking that Maxim of the Epicure, *Let us Eat and Drink, for to morrow we die.*

head; and that of Christians, and other Persuasions too, who contrive, that their Burying-places shall join to their Temples, or be in some other Parts the most conspicuous and frequented of any: The Original whereof seems to have been, That these Publick Monuments might awaken Men's Minds, and preserve the Reflections and Remembrances of Death always fresh and vigorous. Where Death awaits us, is very uncertain; and therefore we should expect to meet it every where, and every moment; and make such constant and sure Provision against its coming, that let it steal upon us never so Cunningly, never so Suddenly, it may find us always in readiness. This is no such mortifying Exercise, as some fondly imagine; quite otherwise, it rather sweetens Life, and recommends its Enjoyments, by setting us above the Fears, and Disappointments, and amazing Terrors, which Worldly and Sensual Men feel and labour under. It abates our Losses, by foreseeing and preparing for them; and it doubles our Advantages, by looking upon them, as clear Gains, and adding a pleasing sort of Surprise to the Fruition. Thus the Poet very justly hath observed to his Friend:

** While 'midst strong Hopes and Fears thy Time doth waste,
Think every Rising Sun will be thy last.
And so the grateful unexpected Hour
Of Life prolong'd, when come, will please thee more.*

Creech.

But, that we may not be thought guilty of Injustice, in condemning People unheard; let us examine a little into the Grievances they complain of, and the Excuses they make for themselves upon this occasion; and then it will appear, how frivolous and foolish all the Apologies are, by which they would palliate their Fears, and put some specious Colour upon their Melancholy Apprehensions. And here you may observe throughout, that Men are generally ashamed to own their being afraid to die, simply consider'd; and therefore they bethink themselves of some sad aggravating Circumstance or other; by which they hope to justify their uneasy Dread for themselves, or their inordinate Grief for their Friends, who have been taken from them.

** Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum,
Grata superveniet, quæ non sperabitur, Hora. Hor. Lib. 1. Ep. 4.*

I. The First of these is Dying Young ; and this they think a very lamentable Case ; for what Reflection can be more disturbing, than that Death should snatch them rudely before their Time ; that he should crop this lovely Fruit, while green, and in the Bud ; and mow down the Glory of the Field, before it was ripe for the Sickle ? This indeed is a Complaint most usual, most becoming Mean and Vulgar Souls, who measure every thing by the Length ; and count nothing valuable, but that which lasts a great while : Whereas on the Contrary, we find, that Things rare, and excellent, and exquisite in their kind, are generally the most fine, and subtle, and subject to Dissolution and Decay. 'Tis esteemed a Master-piece in Art, to contract a great deal into a narrow room ; and God and Nature have so far taken the same Method in their choicest Pieces, that a Man would almost think it a Fate upon Extraordinary Persons to be short-liv'd. Eminent Virtue, great Parts and Attainments, and Old Age very seldom meet together. But the solid Comfort is, that the true Estimate of Life is to be taken from its Use and End ; and if it be well employ'd and well finish'd, all the rest hath its due proportion. Years are good for nothing but to make a larger Sum ; nor does the Number of them contribute one whit to the rendring Life more or less Happy, more or less Desirable. But the shortest Term is capable of Virtue and Felicity, and hath its proper Perfections, which are no more increased by Quantity, than the Largeness of the Circumference makes the Perfection of a Circle: The Least Round is as truly so as the Greatest ; and as the Figure in Lines, so the Quality and Manner in Life, does all. A Man of small Limbs and Low Stature, is as truly a Man as the Tallest Giant that ever Story described ; and to be short, neither Men nor their Lives are to be Estimated by their Bulk and Length ; but by having All their Parts entire, and every Qualification requisite or possible to the Condition of their Nature.

Another could be well enough content to Die, but to do this in a remote Country, at a distance from all his Relations ; to be cut off with a Violent Death, and have his Carcass lie Unburied, and stink above ground: This is what he cannot bear ; and sure every body must allow such a Death to have a world of Horror in it, in comparison of that gentle and easie Passage which those have, who die in Peace and Quietness ; by the slow and gradual Decays of Age, or such as we call dying a Natural Death at least, decently and in

in their Beds, with their Relations and Friends about them; taking and giving the Last solemn Ceremonies of Parting; Comforting those they leave behind, and receiving Support, and Assistance, and Consolation from them. Now how Reasonable or Natural soever these Notions may seem, 'tis evident all Mankind are not of the same Opinion. How many Brave Men do we see every day, who follow the Wars, and contend for the Post of Honour in the Engagement, without any of these tender Thoughts? They put themselves in the way of Dying, when Life and Vigour are at their highest pitch; they go into a Foreign Land for Graves, and think the Heaps of Slain, and the Throng of fallen Enemies the noblest Monument; so far are they from grieving, that they cannot lie among their Family and their Friends. And as for the Terrors of a Violent Death, they are exceeding Childish and Vain; and would easily be cured, could we prevail with our Selves to see Things as they are. For, as little Children cry and tremble at Men in Vizors, but are presently quiet, and lay aside their Fears, as soon as you uncover their Faces; so it is here. Remember then Man, that Fire, and Sword, and all other Instruments of Violence, and Casualties, and surprizing Aggravations of this kind are only the hideous Disguise of Death; a Vizor put on to affright us; but all this Effect is owing to the dismal Idea's we form to our Selves; for take but off this Mask, and you will find that Death is always one and the same. And he, who dies in Battel, or is Burnt in his Bed; he that falls in an instant by the hand of an Executioner, and he that Expires upon a Rack, meet all in the self-same State, tho' they do not come to it the same way, and die the very Death that Women and Children, and all that seem to us to depart in the easiest, gentlest, and most peaceable manner, Die. The Difference lies only in the Pomp and Noise, the Preparation and Prefacing of Death; but let the Ceremonies be what they will, in the Substance and Thing it self, there neither is, nor can be any Difference at all.

Another sore Grievance is their Concern to leave the World. But what occasion of Grief is there in This? Alas! here is nothing new; all your Curiosity hath been satisfied over and over; and you have seen all that is to be seen already. Each Day is equal and exactly alike to every other Day. Four and twenty Hours brings the World round, the same Succession of Light and Darkness: There is no fresh Sun to be Lighted up, nor any other Course or Revolution, than

than what Nature hath Travelled in from the very Beginning. But put the longest Period the thing can bear, and One Year is sure to present you with all the Vicissitudes: In the Change of these Seasons you see the several Stages of the World and your own Life; the Sprightliness of Infancy, and a new Born Universe in the Spring; the Gay and Chearful Youth of Summer; the Maturity and Manhood of Autumn; and the decrepid Age, the Decays and Deformity of a dying World in Winter. All the Trick is to play this Farce over again, and begin where this time Twelve-month we left off. So that they who live longer, do not see any more Objects than Others; but only more of the same Objects oftner repeated to them.

4. But Friends and Relations are very dear to us, and it is a hard thing to part with these. Never fear, Man, thou wilt find a great many of thy Family and Acquaintance in the Place whither thou art going. Thou art rather parted from thy Friends here at present; for the Number of those thou leavest behind, is not comparable to those thou will meet in another World. Thy Acquaintance will be infinitely increased, and abundance of thy Kindred are there, whom yet thou hast never seen. All, who were too Little, or too Great; too Remote, or too much before thy Time, to be known and taken notice of here. And as for those, whose Correspondence is sweet and valuable now, remember that the Separation is like to be very short; for they too are Travelling the same Road, and follow thee apace to thy Journeys End.

5. Oh! but a Man hath a Family of dear Pretty Children, and what will become of these poor Orphans? What a World of Difficulties must all this sweet Innocence struggle with? How will they be exposed for want of a Parent's Care? What a Prey will they be made, if they have Fortunes? And if they have none, How will they be Supported, or where will they find the Kindness of Inspection and good Advice? For they who are destitute of a Competence, and stand most in need of Friends, are least likely to have their Assistance. This is surely a very cutting Consideration, a natural Anxiety, and a necessary Consequence of those tender Regards thought due to a Man's Posterity.

But, hark you my Friend; consider again, whose Children these are; Are they not God's as well as yours? Nay, Are they not his a great deal more than yours? He hath an Original Right in them; He is their True, their First Father;

ther ; You are only so in a subordinate Sense ; as One who by his Permission were an Instrumental Cause of their Being. He is able to Provide for his own Family ; never fear it : All your Care without His Blessing is Vain and of no Significance while you Live ; but though His Assistance be necessary to you ; Yours is not in any degree so to Him. He will feel no Difficulty at all in Sustaining these Orphans, when you are taken from them. Every Condition, and all Times are equal to Omnipotence. And if you cannot question His Power, Have you any pretence to doubt His Disposition ? You have daily Experience of this ; they Subsist by His Bounty, even now ; His Bowels are not less tender than yours ; and as He is more truly and properly, so is he a more, Infinitely more Affectionate Father to them, than your self are ; It is most absurd to think, that you can either Do, or Wish better for them than He. Nay, if upon any other Consideration such an Imagination could be endured, yet even common Experience contradicts it. Do but observe the Circumstances of such as seem to be left entirely upon Providence ; destitute of all Human Advantages ; and you shall find more thriving Men in the World, more that have been raised to great Honours, and eminent Posts, and plentiful Fortunes, who have had nothing but His Favour, and their own Industry to depend upon, than Others, who begun upon good Funds, and thought they might reasonably promise themselves much greater Success. So particularly, so visibly, is He the Father of the Fatherless.

But it may be you are afraid to venture into this dark Place all alone. Never trouble your self ; you need not fear a Solitary Journey. That Road is always very full of Company. There are abundance of Men, that die when you do ; nay more than you can imagine, set out the very same hour with you.

To be short, You are going to a Place, where you shall be sure never to grudge at the Loss of this Life. For what room, what pretence can there be for any such Discontent ? If a Man, who hath felt all the Troubles of Life, had it in his Choice, whether he would live the same over again ; without all Controversie he would refuse it. And, if before one is first called into Being he could See and Know what he is going about, he would rather chuse to sleep still in Non-entity. * *Were People thoroughly acquainted with the Conditions,*

* Vitam nemo acciperet, si daretur Scientibus.

and

and Incumbrances of Living, no body (says a Wise Man) would accept Life upon those Terms. What ground of Dissatisfaction then can occur to them who have felt and suffered under these? What Temptation can they have to wish a Second Torment, or to Repine, that their First was not of a longer Continuance? The Old Philosophers fixed upon this Argument for Comfort, and thought it an irrefragable one. Either we are Nothing at all after Death, or we are in a much better State than at present; and either we may have Reason to be well Content to die, because either way Death puts an end to all our Suffering and Pain. "There is, I confess, a great Alteration in the Case, when we come to consider the matter as Christians; because thus we are assured that there is a State, infinitely Worse than the most exquisite, and most durable Miseries of this Life. But then this is what we have fair warning of, and may avoid if we please. A Christian who lives as he ought, is better fortified with Arguments against the Fear of Death, than any other Person can be. And they who will not live so, have no Reason to repine; for even thus, the shorter the Life, the less Measure of their Iniquities; and the Damnd themselves would not wish to Live again, but upon a supposition, that they should Live better than before. But be that State to which Death turns such Men over never so dreadful, yet since this is a Misery of their own making, it comes not within the compass of our present Argument, which only undertakes to shew, That Death hath nothing formidable, so far as Nature and Providence are concern'd in it." And that comes to thus much, and no more. You came out of Death, that is, out of a State of Insensibility, into Life, a Scene of Business and Action; and this you did without any Horror or Passion, or the least Disorder; You are now going back again into the former Condition of Sleep and Inactivity. Travel then the way you came, with the same unconcernedness you did before. For after all, * *What mighty Calamity can it be to return from whence you came, and where you lay hid for many Ages?*

8. It may be the Gastliness of Death affrights you, because dying Persons make but a very ill Figure. 'Tis true, you see their Countenance discomposed, their Features distorted with Convulsions, and all their Body struggling and labouring under Agonies and Pains. But all This is only that ugly

* *Reverti unde veneris quid grave est?*

Vizor,

Vizor, which (as I said before) Death puts on to scare us; it is not Death it self in its own Natural Visage; for that hath nothing of Horror or Deformity, but is all Quietness and Composure. We send our Senses and Passions out to discover this unknown Land; and they, like cowardly Spies, bring us an ill Report of the Country. They never penetrated far enough to get true Intelligence; they speak nothing of their own Knowledge, but make a Report only from the common Rumour of Ignorant People, and their own Fears.

But it snatches so many things away from Us, or rather it takes us away from them; nay, takes us away from our Selves, removes us from all that we have been so long acquainted with, and accustomed to, and puts us in a State of Darkness and Horror, such as we have no Knowledge of; and from this Condition of Light, shuts us up in Eternal Night: In a word, It is our End, the Ruin, the Dissolution of our Persons. These are the cutting Considerations which Men aggravate to themselves, and magnifie the terrible Ideas. To all which we may return a sufficient Answer in one word; by saying, That Death being the necessary Law and Condition of Human Nature, from which there is no possibility of an Escape (as will be shewn hereafter) it is to no purpose to dispute, or create these Uneasinesses to our own Minds; and wretchedly foolish, to torment our selves with Fears of a Thing, which there is no getting quit of. Things that are doubtful and contingent may be a proper Object of Fear; but for those that are fix'd and irreversibile, we have nothing to do but to sit down, and expect, and prepare to meet them. But waving that, I rather chuse to observe at present, how extremely mistaken these Men are in their Account; For the Matter is in very Truth, the direct Reverse of all the terrible Representations these Persons form to themselves. For Death, instead of taking away from us all that is valuable and dear, puts into our Possession all we are capable of receiving; Instead of taking us from our Selves, it enlarges us from our Confinement, and restores our Souls to perfect Liberty, and true Enjoyment; Instead of locking us up in the dark, it sets us in the clearest and brightest Light; and serves us as we use to deal by the Fruits, when we take off the Skin, or Shell, or other Covering, that so we may see, and use them, and taste their Natural Excellence. It removes us out of a streight inconvenient Dwelling, from a Dark, and Rheumattick, and Diseased Place, where we can see but a very little Spot of Heaven,

ven, and only receive Light by Reflection, and at a vast distance, through two little Holes of our Eyes; into a Region of absolute Liberty, confirmed and uninterrupted Health; perpetual and incessant Light, a Sun that never sets, and Endless Day without any gloomy Intervals: * A Place where our Faculties shall be enlarged, and all Heaven will display it self to us; where we shall not only see Light, but dwell with it in its own proper Sphere. In a word, It delivers us from the very Thing we dread most, by making us Immortal, and putting a final and full Conclusion to that Death, which took place from the Instant we came into the World, and was finish'd at our Passage into Eternity. † For the Day we have such dreadful Apprehensions of, as if it were to be our Last, is really our First, the joyful Birthday into a Life, which can never have an End.

12.

We come now to consider the Second Sort of Resentment, which Men are affected with, upon the account of Death; which is, Waiting for, and entertaining it with contented and chearful Minds, when it comes. This is indeed the Quality of a good, a gentle, and well governed Spirit; and the Practice of it is peculiar to a plain, easie way of living; and to Persons, who, as they make the best of Life, and enjoy the Quiet of it, so know very well how to esteem it as it deserves; but still they make Reason the Standard of all their Affections and Actions; and, as they are well satisfied to stay here, so they readily obey, when Providence thinks fit to call them out of the World. This is a Medium very justly temper'd, a Masterly Greatness of Soul; and such an Indifference to all here below, as a Life of Retirement and Peace seems best qualified for; and the two Extremes between which it lies, are Desiring and Dreading, Courting and Running away from Death; according to that of the Poet:

*|| With Courage firm, and Soul sedate,
Attend the Motions of thy Fate;
And whether Death be far or near,
Live free from eager Wish, and anxious Fear.*

* Æqualiter tibi splendeat omne Cœli latus. Totam lucem suo loco prope totus aspicias: quam nunc per angustissimas oculorum Vias procul intueris & miraris.

† Dies iste, quem tanquam extremum reformidas, æterni natalis est.

|| Summum nec metuas diem, nec optes.

Now

Now these Extremes, except there be some very particular and uncommon Reason to give them countenance, are both of them Vicious and exceeding blameable; and when I come hereafter to speak of this Matter in its proper place, you will see, that nothing less than a very extraordinary Cause can render them so much as excusable. To desire and pursue Death is very criminal; for it is very unjust to throw away one's Life without a sufficient Reason; it is spiteful to the World, and injurious to our Friends, to grudge them the longer Use and Continuance of a thing, which may be serviceable to them: It is the blackest Ingratitude to God and Nature, thus to slight, and throw back again, the best and most valuable Present they can make us; as if it were a Trifle, or a Burden, not worth our keeping: It savours too much of Peevishness, and Pride; and shews us humour-some and difficult, when we cannot be easie, and bear the Lot that falls to our share; but will needs quit our hands of the Station God hath called us to, when there is nothing extraordinary to render it cumbersome. And on the other hand, to fear and flee Death, when summoned to it, is an Offence against Nature, Justice, Reason, and every Branch of our Duty; since Dying is Natural, Necessary, and Unavoidable, Reasonable and Just.

First, It is Natural; it is a part of that Great Scheme, by which the Order of the Universe is established and maintained, and the whole World lives and subsists. And who are we, that all this Regularity should be broken, and a new System contrived in our Favour? Death is really one of the Principal and most Material Articles in the Constitution, and Administration of this vast Republick; and of infinite Use and Advantage it is, for determining the Continuance, and promoting a Constant Succession of the Works of Nature. The Failure of Life in One Instance propagates it afresh in a Thousand others.

13.
*Dying is
Natural.*

** Thus Life and Death successive keep their round,
Things die to live, and by decays abound.*

But, which comes nearer home, Death is not only a part of this great Complex and Universal Nature; but of thy own Nature in particular; and that every whit as essential a part, as that Birth which gave thee Life. So that in cherishing an Aversion, and running away from this, thou at-

* Sic Rerum Summa novatur. temptest

temptest to flee from thy own self. Thy Being is divided equally between Death and Life ; These are the Two Proprietors, and each claims a share, and hath an indefeasible Right in every one of us. These are the Terms, upon which thou wert created, and Life was given with a Purpose, and upon Condition of being taken away ; rather indeed it was only lent, and, like all other Trusts or Debts, must be demanded back, and may be called in at pleasure. If then the Thoughts of Dying discontent thee, consider, that the Hardship does not lie here ; but carry thy Reflections higher, and be concerned that ever thou wast born. For, either there is no cause of Repining in either case, or else the Ground of all the Complaint lies in having lived at all. You had Neighbours Fare, and purchas'd Life at the Market Price ; which is, The laying it down again ; no body hath it cheaper ; and therefore they who do not like the Bargain, and are loth to go out again, should have refused at first, and never come into the World at all. But this is what Men, were they capable of such a Choice, would never do, if their Fondness of Life be so excessively great. The First Breath you drew bound you fast ; and all the Advances you made toward a more perfect Life, were so many Steps toward Death at the same time.

** Assoon as born we die ; and our Lives End*

Upon its first Beginning does depend.

Manil. Ast. 4.

To be concern'd then, that we must die, is to be concern'd that we are Men, for every one that is so, is Mortal. And upon the strength of this Impression it was, that a Wise Man, when the News of his Son's Death was brought him, received it with all the Sedateness and seeming Unconcernedness that could be, and only made this calm Reply ; *I knew very well that my Child was Mortal.* Since then Death is a thing so Natural, so Essential to all Nature in general, and contributes so much to the Order and Well-being of the whole World ; and since it is likewise so to your own Being, and the Condition of That in particular, why should you conceive such horrible Ideas, why hold it in such irreconcilable Detestation ? In This you act in Contradiction to Nature. I allow indeed, that the Fear of Pain is very Natural, but I cannot admit the same Plea for the Fear of Death. For how is it possible, that Nature should ever have infused

** Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet.*

into

into us a Principle of Hatred, and Dread, against an Ordinance of her own Institution, and such as she receives such a mighty Benefit from the due Execution of? And, as an incontestable Evidence, that she does not so, it appears plainly, that, where Nature works entire, without any Depravation or Restraint, there little or no Marks of this Passion are to be found. Little Children, for instance, and Brutes, who are not capable of being corrupted with Prejudice, are so far from betraying any Fear of Death, that they meet it chearfully, and seem pleased to undergo it. The Gay and Smiling Countenances of these Creatures are enough to assure us, that Nature does not teach us to fear Death, but we learn that from some other hand. But all the Direction we have from Nature upon this occasion, is, to expect and wait for Death; and whenever it comes, to receive it with Submission and Chearfulness, as considering, that it is of Nature's sending, and express appointment.

Secondly. It is necessary; a Sentence past for it, and irreversibile; and thou who distractest thy Soul with Fears, and bewailest this Fate of thine, art satisfied at the same time, that there is no possibility of avoiding it. And what more exquisite Folly can a Man be guilty of, than the tormenting himself industriously, when he knows it is to no purpose? Where do you find any Man so stupidly silly, to spend his Time and his Breath in Intreaties, and importunate Addresses, to one whom he knows incapable of granting, or inflexible and never to be prevailed upon for his Requests? Or to knock eternally at a Door that will not, cannot be opened? And what more inexorable, more deaf to all our Supplications, than Death? If any Calamities be proper Objects of Fear, they are such as are barely Contingencies; which may indeed, but may not happen too. And those that are capable of Remedy or Prevention, are fit to have our Thoughts and Care employ'd upon them. But those that are fix'd, and must come (which is the Case of Death) we have nothing to do but to expect and to provide for; and all that is to be done with that which cannot be cured, is to fortifie our Souls, and resolve to endure it. The Ignorant and Inconsiderate fear and flee from Death; the Rash and Fool-hardy courts and pursues it; the Wise Man waits its Approach, and is ready to follow and obey the Summons; but neither runs away from it, nor advances to meet it. But certainly our Lamentations are very Idle and Extravagant, where they are sure to do no Good; and so

14.
Necessary.

are our Anxieties and Fears, where there are no means of Escape. * *You must bear, and not complain, when the thing is unavoidable.* The Behaviour of *David* was really very prudent; and an admirable Pattern he hath set us in it: When his Servants informed him, that the Child, whose Sickness he had express'd a most passionate Concern for, was dead; the next thing he did, was to wash, and dress himself, and return to his ordinary way of Eating, and usual demonstrations of Chearfulness. This indeed was somewhat out of the common Road; and those about him, who knew no better, were much astonish'd at his proceeding; but the Account he gave of himself was solid and substantial; That, while the darling Infant was yet alive, and consequently it was yet uncertain, how God would please to dispose of him; he fasted, and wept, because he did not know, whether his Prayers might be heard, and God would be gracious in letting the Child live: But as soon as he understood it was dead, he changed his Course; because all hopes of that kind were then past: Life could not be recall'd, nor his Tears and melancholy Humiliations be of any farther use in this Case. I know well enough, that foolish People have a Reply ready for all this. They will tell you, that when a Thing is beyond all Remedy, it is then the fittest Object of our Grief; and, that our Concern is at no time so reasonable, as when we cannot be better than we now are. But this is the very Extremity of Senselessness; this compleats, nay doubles the Folly. It is most truly said, † *That the greatest Madness a Man can possibly be guilty of, is to struggle and fret himself, when he sees and knows all he does is in vain.* Since then the Matter now before us is so absolutely necessary, so unalterably fix'd, so perfectly unavoidable, it is not only to no manner of purpose to torment our selves with the fear of it; but, if we would take right Measures, and make any Profit of this Consideration, our Method must be, to make a Virtue of Necessity; and if this grim Guest will come, to put on all our good Humour, and prevail with our selves to receive him decently, and bid him welcome. For the best thing we can do is to be beforehand with him. It would better become us to make some Advances, and meet Death, than to suffer it to overtake us;

* *Feras, non culpes, quod vitari non potest.*

† *Scienter frustra niti extremæ dementiæ est.*

and to lay hold on that, than to be surprized and apprehended by it.

Thirdly. It is highly agreeable to Reason and Justice, that Men should die. For what more reasonable, than that every thing should come to the place of its Final Rest, and be safely deposited, where no new Change, no fresh Removal awaits it? If Men are afraid of arriving at this Long Home, they should not move towards it, but stand still or go back again, or get out of the Road: But none of these are in their Power to do. What more reasonable again, than that you should go off this Stage of the World, and make room for new Actors, and a new Scene, as your Predecessors made room for you? If you have plaid your Part well, you go off with Applause, and that ought to content you; If you have enjoy'd your Self and the World, you have had a good Entertainment, enough to Satisfie and Feast your Appetite; and therefore you ought to rise from Table in good Humour. If you had not the Wit to make the best of Life, and all its Advantages slip through your Fingers; what loss do you sustain in parting with it? What would you do with it any longer? If you could be trusted on, still the Talent would lie unimproved. Observe to this purpose the Reasoning of the Poet.

15.
Just and Reasonable

* — *If Nature should begin to speak,
And thus with loud Complaints our Folly check;
Fond Mortal, what's the matter thou dost sigh?
Why all these Fears, because thou once must die,
And once submit to strong Mortality?
For if the Race thou hast already run
Was pleasant; if with Joy thou saw'st the Sun;*

3

* Denique si vocem Rerum Natura repente
Mittat, & hoc aliquoi nostrum sic increpet ipsa;
Quid tibi tantopere est, Mortalis, quod nimis ægris
Luctibus indulges? quid mortem congemis, ac fles?
Nam si grata fuit tibi Vita antea, priorque,
Et non omnia pertusum congesta quasi in vas
Commoda perfluxere, atque ingrata interiere,
Cur non, ut plenus Vitæ conviva, recedis,
Æquo animoque capis securam, Stulte, quietem?
Sin ea, quæ fructus cunque es, periære profusa,
Vitaque in offensus est; cur amplius addere quæris,
Rursum quod pereat male, & ingratum accadat omne;
Nec potius Vitæ finem facis, atque laboris?

Lucret. Lib. III.

*If all thy Pleasures did not pass thy Mind,
 As through a Sieve, but left some Sweets behind ;
 Why dost thou not then like a Thankful Guest,
 Rise chearfully from Life's abundant Feast,
 And with a Quiet Mind go take thy Rest ?
 But if all those Delights are lost and gone,
 Spilt idly all, and Life a Burthen grown ;
 Then why, fond Mortal, dost thou ask for more,
 Why still desire t' increase thy wretched Store,
 And wish for what must waste, like those before ?
 Nor rather free thy self from Pains and Fear,
 And end thy Life, and necessary Care ?*

Creech, Lucret.

But, besides that we are accountable for the Use of Life while we have it, and our Profuseness does but inflame the Reckoning, the longer time we have allow'd us to Mispend it in ; we must remember, that, according to what was urged a little before ; Life it self is a Debt ; This is as the Principal Sum put into our Hands to Traffick with, but such as we should always be ready to pay down upon the Nail, whenever it shall be called in again ; and he who is the Owner and Giver may demand it the very next Hour. How then can you Argue against the Condition of your own Obligation ? How can you falsifie your Trust, and Act against your Engagement, and your Duty ? It is most unreasonable to Shuffle and Flinch, and Kick against these Pricks ; because by Death you ease your self of a mighty Charge and Trouble ; You make up your great Account, and pay in that vast Sum, for which you stood responsible, and which, while in your Custody, was liable to great Loss and Hazard. Dying is a general Thing ; Every Body does it, And can you take it Ill not to be Exempted ? Do you expect to be the Single Instance, the Sole Reserve from Universal Nature ; to enjoy a Privilege by your self ; a Privilege never yet seen nor heard of in the World ? What unparallel'd Folly and Presumptuous Madnes is this ? Or why should you be afraid to go where all the World goes, where you will find innumerable Millions of Men, who have taken up their Residence before you come, and whither you will be follow'd by as great a number afterwards ? How singular an Affectation is this ? Death is equally certain to All ; and therefore it cannot be Unreasonable, nor Unjust, with respect to you ; for Equality is the first constituent part of Equity ;

Equity ; and no Man will be forgotten or overlook'd in this Distribution.

* *In the same Road All travel on,
By All alike the same dark Journey must be gone.
Our Blended Lots together lie,
Mingled in one common Urn ;
Sooner, or Later, out they fly, &c.*

III. Miscell.

The Third Resentment I mentioned upon this occasion is 16.
the Contempt of Death, and this is a Mark of a Brave and Generous Mind ; This frequently proceeds from exalted Judgment, and strength of Reason, and is more peculiarly the Virtue of a Publick Character, Elevated Fortune, and a Life full of Difficult and Weighty Affairs. For to Persons in such Circumstances, many Accidents, may happen, for which no Man ought to scruple Dying ; and several Prospects present themselves, of Things so valuable, that they deserve to be preferred even before Life it self. Let other Matters succeed how they will, this at least is a constant Rule ; That a Man ought always to be fonder, and have a greater Regard for himself, than for a Life led in hurry and publick Business ; which shews him, as it were, always in a full Theatre, and exposes him to the View and Censure of all the World. He must consider himself, not only as a Spectacle, but as a Pattern to Mankind ; and remember, That one of the Incumbrances of Honour and Dignity, is a necessary Obligation to shine brighter than Common Men ; to render his Virtue more conspicuous to those below him ; and to do Things exemplary Good and Great, though it happen to be at the Expence of All that the World calls Dear. To such Persons many times the same Methods of safety are denied, which private Men might make use of, without any reflection upon their Prudence, or their Duty. They must by no means suffer any diminution of their Honour ; but when driven to a pinch, must Risque and Sacrifice their Lives, and trust the Event to Fate. The Great Man, who cannot command himself so far as to Despise Death, is not only made thereby incapable of doing any Gallant and eminently Good Action, but he lays himself open to more than ordinary

Contempt of
Death, good,
if upon a
good Ac-
count.

* Omnes eodem cogimur, Omnium
Versatur Urna : Serius, ocyus
Sors exitura, &c.

Horat. Od. 3. Lib. II.

Q 3

Dangers,

Dangers, by this timorous Spirit and Behaviour; and those too, such Dangers as threaten most, what requires his best care to preserve. For while his great Concern is to preserve his Person, and see that Life be under Covert; his Duty, his Honour, Virtue and Probity lie naked and exposed; and run a mighty hazard for want of Courage to Protect and Stand by them. The Contempt of Death is in effect the very Principle, to which the Boldest and most Renowned Exploits are owing; the most daring Attempts, whether in Good or Ill Designs. He that hath Conquered the Fear of Death, hath nothing more left to terrifie him; He hath it in his Power to do what he pleases, and may at any time make himself Master of another Man's Life, because he is already Master of his own. And as this Contempt is the true Scource of Generosity and undaunted Firmness in Action; so is it likewise the very Spirit and Life, that quickens and supports that Resolution from whence they proceed. Hence Calmness, and Constancy, and Perseverance, All the free bold Determinations, by which Virtue hath expressed herself; the Noble and Admired Sentences uttered by Celebrated Persons, when reduced to Extremity of Danger and Distress: Such as shine in Story, give lasting Characters to their Authors, and transport the Reader with Wonder and Delight; a very few of which, because they now occur to my Mind, I take the Liberty to insert here.

Helvidius Priscus, having received a Message from the Emperor *Vespasian* not to appear in the Senate; or, if he came, strictly prohibiting him to interpose his Opinion in a Debate, which was to be moved there; sent back word, That his Character of a Senator required his Attendance, and he should not refuse his Summons; neither should he, when there, balk any thing that became him; but, if called upon to give his Judgment, would discharge his Conscience, and deliver his Sense of the Case freely, and without Fear or Reserve. The Emperor provoked with what he thought Insolence in this Reply, sent a Second Message, threatening to put him to Death, if he open'd his Mouth; To which he return'd thus; Sir, said he, *Did I ever tell the Emperor that I was Immortal? His Majesty, I suppose, will do his Pleasure, and I will take care to do my Duty; It is in his Power to put me to Death Unjustly, but it is in my own to die Virtuously and Gallantly.* The *Lacedemonians*, when *Philip of Macedon*, Father of *Alexander the Great*, had entred their Country with his Army, received a terrible Message from him,
Threatning

Threatning what Severity he would use them with, if they did not court his Friendship, and send to make Terms with him. To which one Brisk Fellow Answered in behalf of the whole Republick, *What Harm can those Men suffer who are not afraid of Death?* And upon another Dispatch from Philip, telling them, That he would break all their Measures, and prevent the Designs they had form'd in their own Defence; The Answer was, *How, Sir, what break all our Measures?* No, *Sure you will not pretend to hinder us from Dying?* *This is a Project which you cannot Defeat.* Another, when his Opinion was ask'd, What course a Man could take to live Free and Easie, resolv'd the Doubt thus, That all other Methods were ineffectual, except that One of *Despising Death.* We read of a Young Boy, who was taken Captive and Sold for a Slave, and in Discourse with his Patron who had Bought him, Sir, says he, *You shall now see what a purchase you have; I should certainly be much to blame, and guilty of great Folly, should I submit to Live in Slavery, when my Liberty is in my own Disposal, and I can retrieve it when I please:* And with that he threw himself down from the House top, and was dash'd to pieces. While a Person was deliberating with himself in deep perplexity of Thought, whether he should quit this Life, or not accept that Deliverance, but be content to tug on still under the weight of a very heavy Calamity, which then oppress'd him; A Wise Man told him, That in his Judgment the Matter under Debate was very small and inconsiderable. "For, what is it, say he, to Live?" "Thy Slaves, nay thy Beasts and Cattel Live; but to Die" "like a Man of Honour, and Integrity, and Wisdom, to" "leave the World with remarkable Constancy and Courage," "this indeed is a thing of moment, and worth Studying for." To conclude this Argument; and to crown it with the most complete and substantial Consideration that can possibly belong to it; our most Holy Religion owes more of its Success in the World, and more its Effect upon Mens Hearts and Lives, to this single Principle of getting above the Fear of Death, than to any other Human Foundation whatsoever: No Man can be an excellently good Christian, who is not Resolute and Brave; and upon this Account we find, that our Great Master, who best understood the Temper of his own Gospel, does insist upon taking up the Cross; hating and despising Life for his sake; not fearing Men who can only destroy the Body, and the like; which are but other Expressions for the Contempt of Death; These he insists

upon, I say, as frequently, as earnestly, as upon any other Duty, or Article of Religion whatsoever.

Now we must understand, That there are many Counterfeits and False Pretences to Bravery upon this Occasion ; a great many People, who look big upon the matter, and would fain persuade the World, nay perhaps are persuaded themselves, That they despise Death, and yet are in truth afraid of it. Thus several People will tell you, They do not value Life ; they would be content, nay glad to leave the World ; but the Ceremony and Process of Dying is what they cannot away with. Others again, while in perfect soundness of Health and Judgment, can think of Death without any Impressions of Horror ; nay have, as they imagine, settled their Minds so, as to bear the Shock of it Firm and Unmoved ; and some have gone farther yet, and resolved to make it their Choice, their own Act and Deed. This is a Farce very often play'd ; insomuch that the Soft, the Luxurious *Heliogabalus* himself had a part in it ; and made Sumptuous Preparations, that his Death might be as Pompous and Expensive, as his Life had been. But when these Mighty Men of Valour have come to the Push, their Hearts have failed ; and either Courage was wanting to give the Blow, or they have repented of such Hardiness for rash Heat and Folly ; (as *Lucius Domitius* particularly, who after he had Poison'd himself, was sorry for what he had done) and would fain have lived, when it was too late. Others turn away their Heads, draw their Cap over their Eyes, and dare not look Death in the Face ; They think of it as little as they can, steal upon it, and plunge in all on the sudden ; They swallow it down like unpalatable Physick ; and hasten to get to the End of that bitter Potion which goes against their Stomach. To this purpose is that saying of *Caesar*, *That the Shortest Death is the best* ; and that of *Pliny*, *That a Sudden and Speedy Dispatch is the greatest good Fortune, that can happen to Man in this State of Mortality*. Now no Man can truly be said to have Resolution and Courage, such as above the Fear of Death, who is afraid of facing, and coming up to it ; who dares not meet and undergo it with his Eyes open, and his Thoughts and Senses about him. Thus we know several have done, and therefore this is no Romantick Excellence, above the Power or Capacity of Human Nature. Thus did *Socrates* particularly, who had Thirty days time to chew the Cud, and digest the Sentence pronounc'd against him ; and yet, after all this

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Forefight and Consideration, died without the least Disorder or Passion, without any Change in Countenance or Temper; without any struggle or sign of Reluctancy; in the most Calm, Composed, Chearful manner, that you at any other time can suppose a Man in. Thus did *Pomponius Atticus* and *Tullius MerceLLinus*, those two Gallant Romans; and *Cleanthes* the Philosopher, who died all three almost alike. For, resolving to Fast themselves to Death, that so they might get rid of a very painful Distemper, that had made Life a Burthen; and finding their Abstinence to prove the best Physick, and, instead of Killing them, to Cure their Disease; They would not desist, even upon this Recovery, but finish'd their Design; and took great Satisfaction in observing the gradual Decays of Nature; and by what Steps and Methods Death gained ground upon them. Among these fearless Men we may reckon *Otho* and *Cato* too; who, after resolving to Kill themselves, and all necessary Preparations made in order to it, just as they were going to put their Design in Execution, took a sound sleep. Thus preserving their Spirits from any Disorder or Confusion, which the Prospect of Approaching Death was no more able to cast them into, than any trifling little Accident in Human Life, would Discompose a Man of Temper and Judgment.

The Fourth Quality is the Affection of a Great and Generous, a Firm and Resolute Mind; which hath been often, and with general Approbation practised by Persons of unquestionable Magnanimity, and eminent Piety. But then they have restrained this commendable desire of Death to two particular Cases.

The First of these, which seems most agreeable to Nature, and upon that account may justify such a Desire, is a Life of extreme Calamity and Distress, of perpetual Uneasiness, and exquisite Pain; or an Apprehension of some Death more Scandalous, more Torturing, more Insupportable, than that which at present they should undergo; In a word, a Condition so Deplorable, that there is no place left for Hope, no possibility of Remedy or Redress. Then Death is desired as a sure Retreat, and quiet Harbour from the Waves and Storms of a troublesome Life; the best and most effectual Relief for weary and wasted Nature; the only Refuge and Support of Slaves harassed and ill Treated; and, as the Case then stands, the supreme Happiness a Man is capable of. It is, I own, an Argument of Weakness and Littleness of Soul, to sink under Misfortunes; but it is as sure

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an Instance of Folly, to cherish and be fond of them. And, in my poor Judgment, it is high time to Die, when (all Circumstances fairly computed) there is a great deal more Evil than Good in Living. For, as throwing away one's Life rashly and inconsiderately is against Nature, so likewise is the taking pains to preserve it to our own Loss, and chusing to Live in Misery and Torment. When therefore Providence hath reduced us to such a lamentable Condition as this, God will not sure be Angry, that we wish a Release. Some Persons have run the Point so high, as to tell you, That Men ought to Die to avoid the Pleasures and Temptations, which are highly agreeable to Nature; And if so, how much stronger and more cogent are the Reasons for avoiding Pain and Grief this way, which are of all things in the World the most contrary to Nature? There are, in all Appearance, several Incidents in Life, worse and much more formidable than Death: Such as a Man had better die than continue under; many Circumstances, in which, if it were left to any Wise Man's Choice, he would infinitely rather quit the World, than stay longer in it; So far is Life it self from being a sufficient Compensation for all the Evils possible to be endured in it. Hence it was, that when *Antipater* threatned a great many terrible things, and severe Revenge upon the *Lacedemonians* refusal, if they did not submit presently, and comply with the Terms he sent them; They replied, "That he did not yet drive them to absolute Necessity; for if the Sufferings he threatned were worse than Death, they would chuse That, as the more desirable of the Two. And it is a Saying usual with the Philosophers, That a Wise and a Good Man lives as long as it is fit he should, and not as long as possibly he can: Which is the Care of those who only sacrifice their Virtue, their Reputation, their every Thing that is most valuable and dear, to lengthen out their Term, and gain, though it be but a little Respite from Death.

Again. Death is much more at Command, and in our Disposol than Life is, or can be; There is but One Passage into the World, and our Entrance into it must be assisted by the Will of Others; Our Ways out again are Infinite, and our Departure hence needs no Consent, but our Own: And the more chearful and contented we are at our leaving it, the more becoming and reputable is our Exit. We may want Lands and Revenues sufficient to maintain us while Living, but no Man can want enough to receive him when Dead;

Dead ; This is a Freehold, which neither Poverty nor Prodigality can alienate. No Man is so despicable, but he may have the Life of any other Man at his Mercy ; no Place so secure, none so strong, as to be inaccessible to Death ; for as the *Tragedian* observes most truly ;

** Through all the spacious Tracts of Air, Seas, Land,
Death, Omnipresent Death is still at hand.*

The numerous Ills, that wretched Mortals wait,

Kind Heaven with Pity saw and did create

This always near, this ever sure Retreat.

Courage and Strength, Wisdom and Virtue, All

To Vice and Cowardice a Prey may fall :

The Base and Weak may take our Life away,

The Strongest can't detain, or force its Stay.

The Privilege of Escape none can refuse,

Death hath Ten thousand plain and easie Avenues.

The most valuable Present that Nature hath made us, and that which really renders all the Complaints we utter in our melancholy Moods without Excuse, is, the Trusting us with the Outlets of Life, and leaving the Keys in our own hands. " Why then (Vain Man) dost thou find fault with the World ? It detains thee not. If thou livest in Uneasiness, thank thy self, thy own Cowardice is to blame for it : For he that hath but the Resolution to Die, needs no more to set him free, and perfect his Deliverance.

The Second Case, wherein the desire of Death is most practicable and most commendable, is purely Religious ; when Men have entertained such strong and lively Apprehensions, and those Apprehensions have kindled such eager Wishes, of a Future State ; that Death is long'd for with great Impatience ; because this is look'd upon as a Gain and mighty Advantage ; the Seed from whence a Rich Crop shall spring up to a better Life ; the Passage to the Seats of Bliss, and Inlet to Full and Perfect Happiness ; the Storehouse where we and all our Earthly Treasures are safely deposited, to be produced with vast Improvement at the Resurrection. These are Things of that Moment and Infinite Value to us, that a firm Belief and stedfast Hope of them is

** Ubique Mors est ; optimè hoc cavit Deus ;*

Eripere Vitam nemo non homini potest,

At Nemo Mortem. Mille ad hanc Aditus patent.

Senec. Thebais Act. 1.

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Phil. i.

Rom. vii.

very hardly consistent with the Fear and Loathsomeness to die: For sure, if this Principle were pursued through all its Consequences, the Effect must needs be to make us dissatisfied with Life, and weary of being confined here so long, and at so great a distance from our Happiness: Life upon these Terms should be barely supportable, but Death our Choice, and the Object of our Love and Desire: To such Men, Living must needs be a Toil, and a Burden; and Death an Ease and Refreshment, after much Suffering, and hard Labour. St. Paul's Declarations and Wishes would then be in the Hearts and Mouths of all Good Men. *I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ, which is far better. To me to die is Gain.* And, *Oh wretched Man, who shall deliver me from the Body of this Death?* Of such Efficacy, I say, in all Reason must these Expectations be, when duly cherished and enforced: And I cannot but acknowledge those Reproaches upon some Philosophers and Christians, both Ancient and Modern, to have a great deal of Justice in them; whom Men called Hypocrites, and Publick Impostors. For what better Notions can be entertain'd of Persons profuse in the Proofs of an Immortal State, and in the Glorious Commendations of a Bliss inexpressible in the Life to come; and yet at the same time, Pale and Shivering for fear, declining Death by all possible Means, and trembling at the very mention of its Approach; though this very thing, to which they are so exceeding averse, is confess'd to be the Passage into their so much admired Eternity; the only Method of putting them into actual Possession of those Joys, the very Hope and Reversion whereof they pretend to value above this whole World?

18.
Killing
one's self.

The Fifth and last Particular mention'd upon this Occasion, is only a putting in Execution that which was mention'd before; For what is Dying by one's Own hand, but the Gratification and Accomplishment of a Man's Desire of Death? This indeed hath at first blush a good fair Appearance; and seems to proceed from Virtue, and Greatness of Spirit: And certain it is, that the Allowance and the Practice of it hath been both frequent and antient. Many Instances of this kind live in Story, Persons eminently Great and Good; of almost every Country, and every Religion. *Greeks and Romans, Egyptians, Persians, Medes, Gauls, Indians*; Philosophers of all Sects, nay *Jews* too; as is evident from the Fact of old *Razias*, who hath the Honourable Character of *The Father of his Country* given him, and is constantly

stantly mention'd with Commendation of his Virtue: Another Instance the same History gives us likewise in those 2 Mac. vi. Women under the Tyranny of *Antiochus*, who after they had Circumcised their Children, cast Themselves down headlong from the Wall with them. Nay, not only *Jews*, but Christians too; witness those two Holy Women, *Pelagia* and *Sophronia*, Canoniz'd for their Piety and Courage; the former of which, with her Mother and Sisters, cast her self into a River, that by drowning they might escape the Rudeness and Violence of the Soldiers; and the latter stabbed her self, to prevent the outrageous Lust of the Emperor *Maxentius*. And, as if single Persons were not sufficient to justify this Practice, we have whole Cities and Nations giving Authority to it by their Example. Thus did the Citizens of *Capua*, to avoid being taken by the *Romans*; thus did *Astapa* and *Numantia* in *Spain* upon the same account. Thus the *Abideans*, when hard pressed by *Philip*; and a City of the *Indians*, when *Alexander* had encamped against it. This hath likewise had the yet more Authentick Approbations of Laws and Publick Sanctions; and several Commonwealths have not only permitted, but recommended, and in some Cases brought it into a Custom; as *Marseilles* heretofore, the Isle of *Cea* in the *Negropont*, and some Northern Nations, in particular; where the Publick Justice regulated the Times, and the Methods of doing this. Nor is it only upon Precedents, that the Favourers of this Opinion do rely, but they think it abundantly supported by Reason; and particularly, that several Arguments of Weight may be deduced from the former Article to justify it. For, say they, if a Desire and Willingness to die, be not allowable only, but commendable too; if we may Wish and Pray for a Release; if we may put our selves in the way of it, and be glad when it is offer'd, why may we not give this Relief to our Selves? Is the Desire it self a Virtue, and the Execution of that Desire a Sin? What is permitted in the Will, why do you call forbidden in the Act? That which I may be pleased with from another hand, why should I be condemned for from my own? Indeed why should I wait the tedious Approach of that from other means, which I can at any time give to my self? For is it not better to Act in this Case, than to be purely Passive? Is it not more Manly and Generous to meet Death, than lazily to sit still and attend its Motions? The more voluntary our Death is, the more like a Man of Honour. Again; What Law does this offend against? There are Penalties indeed ordained for Robbers and Pick-pockets, but

but is any Man liable to them for taking his own Goods ? By the same Reason the Laws against Murder do not concern me. * They provide for every Man's Security against the Insults of others ; they tie my Neighbours hands from taking my Life, and mine up from taking his ; because this is supposed to be an Act of Violence, and want of Consent in the Sufferer makes it an Injury ; but what is all this to the purpose, or how does it render a Man guilty, who voluntarily and deliberately takes away his own Life ? These are the Principal, I think indeed, the whole of those Arguments commonly alledg'd in Defence of this Practice ; but then there are others a great deal more Substantial, and more Obligatory, that use to be produced for the Contrary Side of the Question.

* Although the Answers to the Pretences usually alledged in favour of Self-murder be in a great measure taken off in the latter part of the Section ; and the Determination at last be found and good ; yet in regard those Returns are general, and do not reach every Particular, I will so far trespass upon the Reader's Patience, as to run over this part of the Argument, Period by Period, as fresh Matter arises ; and observe to him, what hath been, or may very reasonably be replied upon each of the Excuses produced here (for I rather call them Excuses than Justifications) to give Countenance to that Unnatural Act of Self-murder.

First, It is urged that there are great Examples for it in all Story, and of Persons of all Persuasions, particularly, those of *Razias* and the Women under the Tyranny of *Antiochus* among the *Jews* ; and *Pelagia* and *Sophronia* among the Christians, the Former drowning her self to escape the Rudeness of the Soldiers ; the Latter stabbing her self to get free from the Lust of *Maxentius*.

Now here in the first place I observe by the way, That Example in General is a very insufficient and deceitful Rule ; nor can we always make any sure Conclusions of the Lawfulness or Unlawfulness of a Fact, by the Relation given of it. Because many times the Thing is commended with regard to One Part or Circumstance, and yet not thereby justified as to all the rest ; This, I say, when there is a Commendation positively added to it ; but many, if not most, are barely related, and left for Us to interpret, without any Character at all fixed upon them. Nay, I add farther, that the Circumstances of Person, Time, and several others of the like nature, are so infinitely different, that, as it is exceeding hard for Us, who are not perfectly acquainted with the Reasons and Motives upon which others act, to pass an exact and true Judgment upon their Actions ; so is it much more difficult to find Instances, where Their Circumstances and Ours shall agree so nicely and in every Particular, that we shall deserve just the same Commendation, or Blame,

Blame, which they did, by imitating their Proceedings. Thus much was not amiss to be hinted, concerning the Fallacy of Examples in general, and how very unfit they are to be made a Rule for the Behaviour of other People. I shall now touch briefly upon each of the Particulars above mentioned.

As for that of *Razias*, It is indeed delivered after such a manner, as seems to carry a Commendation with it, but this is only a Commendation of his Valour, and Heroick Greatness of Soul; not of the Virtue of the Action, or any thing which might render it Imitable by others.

St. *Augustine's* Reflection upon it is, *Dictum est quod elegerit nobiliter mori; melius vellet humiliter, sic enim utiliter. Illis autem verbis historia Gentium laudare consuevit, sed viros forte hujus seculi, non Martyres Christi.* His Character (says he) is, That he chose to die Nobly; it had been much better if the Commendation had been, that he chose to die Modestly and Humbly; for This had been a profitable way of Dying. But those are Pompous Terms, usual in Prophane Story, such as are counted an Honour to the Men of this World, but not to Martyrs for Christ.

Cap. xxiii. contra 2. Epist. Gaur. dent.

The Account in the *Maccabees* expresses his resolute Detestation of Idolatry, and that is commendable; but certainly had he been taken, and suffered Torments and Death under *Nicanor*, his Praise had been much more just, and his Character clear and indisputable. For even Persecution it self is not a Reason sufficient for our making this Escape; according to that of St. *Ferome* in his Comment upon *Jonah*: *Non est nostrum Mortem arripere, sed illatam ab aliis libenter excipere. Unde & in persecutionibus non licet propria perire manu.*

It is not our business to bring Death upon our selves, but to receive it willingly, when inflicted by Others; and for this Reason even the Case of Persecution will not warrant a Man's dying by his own hand. But in truth, *Razias* his Case, as the Historian describes it, was none of this; for his Account at the 42^d Verse is very remarkable. He fell upon his Sword, chusing rather to die manfully, than to come into the hands of the Wicked, to be abused otherwise than becomed his Noble Birth.

2 Mac. xvi. 37, &c.

So that *Razias* at this rate was what the World vainly calls a Man of Honour, and his Life was sacrificed to that Principle: Had he done this Act to avoid offending God, it had had a fairer Pretence at least, though neither would That have excused it; but to kill himself for fear of Indignities, and Affronts not fit for a Man of his Quality to submit to; this was far from a Religious Principle; and we cannot wonder that the Commendation it receives hath given so strong a Prejudice to the Church against the Book of *Maccabees*, as not to admit it into their Canon of Scripture.

I add too upon this occasion, that some have thought this whole matter a Fiction; and I confess the Circumstances are very Odd and Romantick; That a Man should fall upon his Sword first; then leap down from a Wall into the midst of his Enemies; That they should make way for him, where he fell among the thickest of them; that he should rise up again in anger, but withal in such a Condition, that his Blood gushed out like Spruts of Water, and his Wounds were very grievous; but he ran through the midst of the throng notwithstanding, and standing upon a steep Rock,

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Spanhem. de Author. Lib. Apo. cryph. in Disp. Theol. Ver. 41. 43. 41.

45.

46.

When his blood was now quite gone, he pluck'd out his bowels, took them in both his hands, cast them upon the Crowd; and yet for all this, his Senses it seems were not lost at the last Gasps, but after all those wonderful Exploits this was not the least wonderful, that he should have the Use of his Understanding so perfect, as to call upon God to restore him those Bowels again; and so die. This I thought not amiss to hint; and let them look both to the Truth of the Story, and the Justice of the Commendation, who have entitl'd these Books to an equal Authority with the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.

That Instance of the Women under the Tyranny of *Antiochus*, I do not understand, for if it refer to those mentioned, 2 Macc. VI. 10. they seem to have been thrown headlong from the Wall, by the hands of Executioners. But if they had done it themselves, their Case had been somewhat more Pitiable, but not more Imitable, than that of *Razias*.

Epist. ad
Marc.

Those of *Pelagia* and *Sophronia* are indeed extolled, but yet St. Jerome, who in one place makes the preserving of Chastity an Exception, and the only reserved Case from what I quoted out of him just now against Dying by one's own hand in Persecutions; says in another place without exception, That God receives no Souls who come without his orders. *Deus non recipit Animas quæ se nolente exierunt à corpore.* And whether this Case of theirs was a Call, notwithstanding the Advocates and Applauses they have found, is greatly to be questioned. For what is the Chastity God requires? Is it not that of the Mind? Could not God have restrained even those lascivious Intentions? Does not *Eusebius* in the very same Chapter, wherein he relates this Act of *Sophronia* delivering her self from *Maxentius*, particularly tell of a Christian Lady at *Alexandria*, who not being any way to be conquered by *Maximin*, he would not so much as Kill her for her obstinacy, nor indeed Force her Person, but in the Conflict of Rage and Lust, at last only Confiscated her Goods, and sent her into Banishment? But supposing God had permitted the foul Act, yet so long as the Mind was unblemish'd, here had been no Guilt, but rather a double Martyrdom. If you say, they might possibly suspect, that they should in the Commission of the Fact, have been polluted with sinful Inclinations. 'Tis easie to Answer, That this is but a Fear, but a bare Possibility; and if an Act be, Otherwise, and in the general, Unlawful, the bare avoiding a possible Sin, cannot make it lawful to break a Command, and by going against God and Nature, commit and chuse a certain Sin. He has promised, That he will not suffer his Servants to be tempted, above that they are able, and declared that our Weakness can never be so great, but that his Grace is sufficient for us; with many other gracious Promises, which it is a great fault in us to distrust, even in our greatest Straits and Necessities. And to deliver our selves by Methods, contrary to his Laws, is to distrust them, for we are to expect the Assistance of his Grace, and the Protection of his Providence in the use of those

Euseb. Ec-
cles. Hist.
Lib. VIII.
Ch. XIV.

1 Cor. x.

13.

2 Cor. xii.

Means,

Means, and observance of those Rules he hath given us. And therefore I cannot conceive how the fear of falling into Sin only, can possibly render that Action Lawful, which otherwise, and generally speaking, is it self a Sin and Unlawful. Methinks therefore we should do well in this Case to distinguish with our Saviour in the Parable of the Unjust Steward; and as he commended the Wisdom of that Man, without approving his Injustice, so we may allow all possible to Praise the Gallantry, and Constancy of these Female Martyrs; without allowing, that the Course they took to preserve their Virtue, was strictly regular and good. And thus St *Chrysostom* seems to have done, who, notwithstanding the great *Encomium* given of *Pelagia* in one place, yet speaks of this Act of dying by one's own hand in very severe Terms in another; and declares without exception, that the Christians had all such Persons in Abhorrence; and that they were more guilty before God than any other Murderers. And some of those Instances, which were thought hard to Condemn, the Vindicators have not well known how to acquit, otherwise than by a presumption of a particular Impulse of God, which was for that Time and Action a Dispensation to the General Law. So St. *Augustin* of *Sampson*, *Spiritus latenter hoc jusserat, qui per illum miracula faciebat.* The same Spirit which wrought Miracles by him, gave him a Secret Command to do this thing. And *Lipsius* speaking of these very Women, says, *Monitum aut Fuffio Dei hic quoque præsumenda*; That a Command, or at least some Instinct and Direction from God, is to be presumed in their Case, as well as *Sampson's*; and he had St. *Augustin's* own Authority, he says, for this presumption. All which, when duly considered, as it will not warrant us to censure these Persons as to their Eternal State, so neither will it warrant our Imitating such Actions, or arguing from thence in defence of such Behaviour, or for the Extenuating the Sin of Self-murther. For whatever they might be in themselves, 'tis sure they are no Pattern to us; and if God see fit to Allow, or the Church to Commend their Zeal, it will still become us to observe, and beware of the Irregularities of it.

The Examples which follow of Cities destroying themselves, rather than they would lie at the Mercy of the Conquerors, whatever appearance they may have of Fortitude and Gallantry, yet as to the point of Conscience, and Lawfulness, they are certainly blameable, and fall under the same Censure, which is afterwards given of *Cato*, and others. Page 294. N. 3, 4.

The Custom of *Marseilles*, and the Isle of *Ceo*, where Persons willing to Dye made no scruple of doing it, having first obtained the Judgment and Approbation of the Senate, and by Poison kept on purpose, and prepared at the Publick Charge, is only a Permission and Allowance, and does by no means take off the Guilt and Injustice of making our selves away; except only in that single Point, that here the Publick is not injured, having expressly consented to the loss of that Member. But in all other respects the Fact was Wicked and Abominable, and is reported to have had no other foundation, than Affliction, or Extreme old Age, or in general a Weariness of Life.

Tom. I.
Front. Duc.
ca. 628.
compared
with Comment on
Gal. i. 4.

Lip. Manu-
duc. ad
Philos.
Stoic. Cap.
XXIII.

Valer.
Maxim.
Lib. II.
Cap. VI.
F. 7, 8.

Nor will the next Argument hold, concerning the Desire of Death; for supposing, that whatsoever a Man is allow'd to desire, he is likewise allow'd to procure to himself (which yet is not universally true) yet this Desire it self is faulty, when it grows into Impatience, and is not content to wait God's methods, and God's leisure. And there is great difference between meeting Death gladly, and running into it; between receiving our Release with Satisfaction, and breaking Prison. So far therefore as this Desire is consistent with Patience, and Resignation to the Divine Will, so far it is truly Magnanimous and Commendable, and no farther.

To that Question, What Law does this offend against, it is easie to answer, Against the Laws of God, and of Nature, against the Condition of Mankind, against our Duty to the Publick; against the Sixth Commandment in particular, which no more argues us Guiltless when we Kill our Selves, because chiefly design'd to restrain us from Killing Others; than it can be proved from the Seventh, that we do not Sin against our own Bodies, when we Invade another's Bed. The Love of our selves is proposed as the standard of our Love to others; and the Rule must be supposed as perfect at least, as the thing to be regulated by it. If there be no Prohibition against this in express words, it was because none was thought needful; and sure it is no excuse to say, That no Law is violated in Terms, when the Case was such as needed no Law. As to the other part of the Argument, That Men may dispose of themselves as they please, and a willing Person can receive no Injury; it supposes an Absolute Right to dispose of our selves, such as no Creature hath with respect to God and Providence, and no Man can have with regard to the several Relations and Dependencies in which he is engaged.

And if so little can be said for this Horrid Fact, when the most favourable Cases are put; How detestable and impious must it needs be, when Disgrace, or Poverty, Disappointments and Crosses, Raging Passions, and Repining at Providence, prevail with Men to commit it? For these are such Motives as no body ever undertook to justify, and the Stoicks themselves, who went the farthest in this matter, yet stopp'd short of these, and, to speak the Truth, even wavered in all the rest. A more full account whereof I refer my Reader for to *Lipsii Manuduc. ad Stoic. Philosoph.* Lib. III. Cap. XXIII, XXIV. and for a larger discussion of this whole matter, to *Spanhem. Disput. Theolog. De Lib. Apocryph. Autoritate.* Disp. XIII, XIV. and *Bishop Taylor, Ductor Dubitant.* Book III. Chap. 2. Rule 3. From all which compared, *St. Augustin's* Determination I doubt not will seem most reasonable; *Hic exceptis, quos vel Lex justa, vel ipse Fons Justitie Deus jubet occidi; quisquis Hominem, vel seipsum, vel quemlibet occiderit, Homicidij crimine innectitur.* Those only excepted, whom either a just Law, or God himself, who is the Fountain of all Justice, shall command to put to Death; whosoever shall kill any Person, be it himself, or any other Man, he becomes thereby guilty of Murder; and is answerable for his Blood.

1. De Civ.
Cap. 26.

First then. As to Authorities, This Practice, however countenanced by some, but very few States in comparison, hath yet been absolutely disallow'd, and condemn'd by the Generality of Mankind; and not only by Christians, but *Jews* too, as *Josephus* shews at large, in the Oration he made to his Officers in the Cave, at the Taking of *Jotapata*. By the generality of Philosophers and Great Men, as *Plato*, and *Scipio*, and others; who all impute this manner of proceeding to a Defect, rather than any Sufficiency of Courage; and reproach it, not only as an Act of Cowardice, misbecoming a Brave Man, but of Heat and Impatience, unworthy of a Good Man. For what can we say better of it, than that this is skulking and running out of the way, to hide one's self from the Insults of Fortune? Now a Virtue that is vigorous and stanch, will be sure to stand its ground: Distress and Pain are so far from making it flinch, that they feed and cherish, and exalt it; it lives, it grows, it triumphs by them. There is certainly greater Firmness of Mind express'd in bearing and making an Advantage of ones Chain, than in breaking it to pieces, because it keeps us confined, and ties us fast to some Uneasinesses: And all considerate Men must allow, that *Regulus* shew'd infinitely more Gallantry than *Cato*.

* *The Base, when wretched, dare to Die; but He
Is Brave indeed, who dares to Live in Misery.*

† *If the Crack'd Orbs should split and fall,
Crush him they might, but not Appall.*

Sir. R. Fanshawe.

Nay, these Men ought to be counted Infamous, and treated as Deserters. For no Man can answer quitting the Post he is order'd to, without the express Leave, and fresh Orders of the Superior Officer, who placed him there. We are by no means put into the World upon our own account alone; and therefore Personal Calamities must not put us upon an Act of so great Injustice, as the squandering away that, in which others have a Right, as well as We; nor yet are we Masters of our selves, but under the Disposal and Direction of a Lord who hath a Right Paramount.

* *Rebus in Adversis facile est contemnere Vitam :*

Fortiter Ille facit, qui Miser esse potest. Marcial Lib. xi. Ep. 57.

† *Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidum serient ruinae.*

Horat. Od. 3. L. 3.

R 2

Thus

Thus you see what Arguments are generally brought on either side ; but if we set the Considerations of Duty and Religion aside, and take the Liberty to speak the Sense of mere Nature in the Case, the Resolution she would come to seems to be this; That Men ought not to enter upon this Last and Boldest Exploit, without some very extraordinary and most pressing Reason to induce them; that so it may be, what they call, making a Decent and Honourable *Exit*. Every slight Occasion, every little Pett, or cross Accident, will not justify Mens falling out with the World; and therefore they are certainly in a great Error, who pretend that a small Excuse will serve to quit Life, since there are no very weighty Arguments to persuade our keeping it. This is highly ungrateful to God and Nature, when so Rich a Present is so much slighted and undervalued; It is an Argument of great Levity, and betrays a great deal of Moroseness and ill Humour, when we quarrel and break Company upon every slender Provocation. But indeed there is something to be said (though that something is not enough) for a very urgent and weighty Occasion; such as renders Life a perpetual Torment, and the Thoughts of continuing in it insupportable; such, for Instance, as I mentioned formerly, Long, Acute, Excessive Pain, or the certain Prospect of a very Cruel and Ignominious Death. And upon this account, the several Persons that I am going to name, how favourably soever Story hath represented their Behaviour, do by no means seem to have a Plea sufficient to justify, no, not so much as to Excuse a Voluntary Death. Such are

1. *Pomponius Atticus*, *Marcellinus*, and *Cleanthes*, who after they had begun the Process, resolved to finish it, merely because they would avoid the trouble of having the whole Course to begin and go through again: For, what Apology soever might be made for the delivering themselves from a painful Distemper, yet when that Pain and the Cause of it were removed, they lay under no farther Temptation to be out of love with Life; and a bare Possibility of the Disease returning, was a Consideration much too remote.
2. The Wives of *Patus*, and *Scaurus*, and *Labeo*, and *Fulvius* the intimate Friend of *Augustus*, of *Seneca*, and a great many more, were as fantastically Fool-hardy; when they killed themselves, either to bear their Husbands Company out of the World, or to invite them to go with them. So likewise
3. *Cato* and others, who were discontented with the Event of their Undertakings, and the Chance of War; and chose rather

ther to die by their own hands, than to fall into their Enemies; notwithstanding these Enemies were such, as gave them no just ground to fear any barbarous or dishonourable Treatment from them neither. The same Censure will fall upon them, who murder'd themselves, rather than they would be beholding to one they hated, for their Lives; or lie at the Mercy of an Ill Man; as *Gravius Silvanus*, and *Statius Proximus* did, after *Nero* had given them his Pardon. Nor are they less to blame, who run into the Shades of Death, to hide themselves from Shame, and cover the Reproach of some past Dishonour or Misfortune; such as *Lucretia* after the Injury she had suffered from *Tarquin*; and *Spargopises*, Son to *Tomyris* the *Scythian* Queen, and *Boges* Commander under *Xerxes*; the former because he could not bear being Prisoner of War to *Cyrus*; the other for the Loss of a Town taken by *Cimon* the *Athenian* General. Nor they, who could not endure to survive a Publick Calamity, tho' nothing extraordinary had befallen them in particular; such as *Nerva* the great Lawyer, *Vibius Virius* at the Taking of *Capua*, and *Jubellius* at the Death of the greatest part of their Senators, inflicted by a *Roman* Officer. And least of all can those Nice and Delicate People excuse themselves, who chuse to die, because they are cloyed with Life, and weary of repeating the same Things over again. Nay, I must go farther yet. For it is by no means sufficient, that the Occasion be very Important, and full of Difficulty; unless it be Desperate, and past all Remedy too; for nothing less than Necessity ought to be pleaded here; and this should be the last Reserve, the only Escape from Extremity of Misfortune. Upon this Account, Rashness and Despondency, and anticipating one's Fate, and giving all for lost is always exceeding blameable; an Instance whereof we have in *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who, before there was any occasion for it, put an End to their own Lives, and with them to all the languishing Remains of the Liberty of *Rome*, which was committed to, and depended entirely upon their Protection. For, as *Cleomenes* truly said, Men are under an Obligation to use Life frugally, and to make it go as far as possibly they can; nay, not only to contrive, that it may last as long as is possible, but that it may be useful to the very last. For a Man may discharge himself of this Trust at any time; and when Things are at the very worst that they can be, this Remedy is what no Man can be at a loss for. But we should wait for better Days, and try whether

ther the hand of our Fortune will not mend upon us.
 * *Many a Man*, as *Seneca* observes, *bath outlived his Executioner*. *Josephus*, and a great many besides, have follow'd this Advice to excellent good purpose; and Matters, when in all human probability desperate and lost, have wheel'd about, and taken a quite different Course, to the mighty Surprize, as well as Advantage, of all that were concerned in them.

† *Good unexpected, Evils unforeseen,
 Appear by Turns, as Fortune shifts the Scene:
 Some rais'd aloft, come tumbling down again,
 Then fall so hard, they bound and rise again.*

Mr. Dryden.

In this Case a Man of Honour and Virtue ought to act toward himself, as he should in fighting, toward his Adversary; to be always upon his Guard; to parry and ward off the Blows with all the Art and Skill one hath, to weary him out, and make good one's own Party; but never to Kill, except the necessary Defence of one's self require it, and till Matters are brought to the very last Push.

Secondly, There is no Question to be made, but it is infinitely more Virtuous, and more Commendable, to endure patiently, and support our selves with firm and immoveable Constancy to the very End, than to sink under the Load, and tamely flee before the Calamity. For such a Yielding betrays Weakness and Cowardice. But, because Perseverance, like Continnence, is a Grace not given equally to All, nor is every Man alike able to receive it; the Question before us at present will be, Whether upon Supposition of some great Evil, Insupportable for the Quality, and past all Hopes of Remedy or Recovery; such as is likely enough to subvert and beat down all our Resolution, and Irritate our Minds to some very wicked Passion; such as Discontent, Despair, Murmuring against our Great Lord; Whether, I say, in such a Case, it might not be more expedient, or at least more excusable, to deliver one's self by one Resolute Act, from such Dreadful, such Vicious Consequences, while our Understanding is perfect and undisturb'd; than by a Cowardly Delay to expose our selves to the danger of being

* *Aliquis Carnifici suo superstes fuit.*

† *Multa Dies variusque labor mutabilis ævi
 Rettulit in melius,*

Virg. Æneid. II.

vanquish'd

vanquish'd by the Temptation, and so ruined to all Eternity? Is it not better to quit the Field, than to Sacrifice one's self by obstinately standing one's ground? This perhaps is a Course, which in some very nice and difficult Exigencies, Reason and merely Human Prudence might advise; and accordingly some, who pretended to be great Philosophers, have practis'd it in different Countries; so that the Opinion seems to have been pretty favourably received. The *Stoicks* do not stand upon so much Ceremony, but give Men leave to dislodge and pack off, whenever they are disposed to it; as we may collect from *Seneca* and others. The other Philosophers are somewhat more reserved, but they allow it too; provided a Man can give a good reason for his proceeding thus. These are the Notions, and Determinations of the Schools of Philosophy and Human Reason; but that of Christ teaches us much otherwise. For the Christian Religion admits no reason to be sufficient in this Case, nor ever dispenses with any Circumstances whatsoever. The Truth and Wisdom of God absolutely condemns all such officious and voluntary Abandoning of our Post; and never suffers us to stir from our Duty, till we are regularly dismiss'd by the same Authority which placed us in it. No Man's own Inclinations are sufficient, nor can the doing it of his own Head bear him out in this matter. So that whatever hath been said in this Chapter, which may seem in any degree to advise Men to Patience and Perseverance, and to propose this, as the better and more eligible; though, in the Philosophical Sense, it be only recommended as good Counsel; yet in a Religious one, it hath the force of an absolute and indispensable Command.

Besides we may add, That it is an Argument of very great Wisdom, for a Man to know and distinguish rightly, which is the proper Season for Dying; and to lay hold on that Opportunity, when put into his hands. For every Man hath a Critical Juncture of this kind, in which Virtue and Honour call; which some by being over hasty Antedate, and others as much too slow let slip through their Hands. Both these Defects, though so contrary in the Operation, yet proceed from the same Principles; which are a mixture of Weakness, and of Courage: But the Misfortune is, That even Magnanimity it self, without Discretion to temper and direct it, will not secure a Man's Character. How many Persons of just Renown, and once unblemish'd Honour, have yet had the Unhappiness of surviving their

Reputation ; and from an Intemperate Fondness of Life, for the sake of some poor little addition to their Days, have absolutely Sullied and Eclipsed their former Glories, followed all their Credit to the Grave, a good Name Murthered and Buried by their own Hands ? The wretched remainder of their time hath retained not the least Tincture or Resemblance of what went before ; but the Scandal of their Age, compared with the Honours of their earlier Years, looks like some wretched old Clout, tack'd to some very rich and beautiful Garment. And who would patch up Life at this odious Deformed rate ? It is with this, as with Fruit ; there is a Critical Season of gathering it from the Tree. If you let it hang too long, it putrifies and grows Insipid ; and the longer you spare it, the worse it is ; and if you pluck it too soon, the loss is as great in the other Extreme ; for then it is Green and Sowr, and good for nothing for want of kindly Ripening.

Many eminent Saints have with great Industry declined Dying, upon consideration of their great Usefulness, and the mighty Advantage the Publick would receive from their Surviving ; and this too, notwithstanding the certain Prospect of their own Private Gain in leaving the World. And when a Man can exchange so much for the better, it argues great Charity, to be content to Live. This *St. Paul* describes to be his own Case, (*Phil. I.*) and there is more than Men commonly think of Resignation in that old Saying, *If my longer Continuance be for the Benefit of thy People, I refuse not the toil of Living. Si Populo tuo sum necessarius, non recuso Laborem.*

Death appears to us under divers Shapes ; and the manner of Mens undergoing it, is vastly different ; some of the ways of Dying are more easie, and accordingly the Figures and Idea's of it much less dismal and frightful, than others. But when all is done ; the difference of these Forms is like that of Faces ; and the preference given to them, depends chiefly upon Humour and Fancy. So far as I am capable of Judging, Of all Deaths which are usually termed Natural, That is the Gentlest and most Supportable, which proceeds from a gradual Weakness, and Stupefaction of the Parts : And of all that are Violent, that sure is most eligible, which is quickest in Execution and Dispatch, and is least thought of before-hand. Some indeed are fond of making their last Act Exemplary, a Pattern to others, and a Commendation to themselves ; by the Proofs they give the

the World of Courage, and Wisdom, and Steadiness of Mind at their last Hour ; But this is rather to have a regard for other People than one's Self ; and a Symptom of a Vain-glorious Humour, which is greedy of Fame, even at the Moment we Expire, and reproaches us with Vanity, rather than brings any real Advantage to Mankind in common. Now Dying is not an Act of Society, but of one single Person ; and therefore the Rules for Regulating our Behaviour in it are personal. At such a time a Man hath enough to do, to mind his own Business ; and the Thing he is chiefly obliged to attend, is to Comfort and Support himself in this last great Conflict, without troubling himself with the Affairs, or the Censures of other People ; for he is that very Moment putting himself out of the Dominion of common Fame, and going to a Place, where what the surviving World says will neither reach nor concern him. That, in a word, is the best Death, which is most Private ; where a Man hath greatest Opportunities of Recollecting himself, and going out of the World quietly, without any troublesome Attendance or Observation. The usual Ceremonies of our Friends and Relations being by, and giving their Assistance in the last Struggles of Life, is exceeding Troublesome and Inconvenient ; One disturbs your Sight with an Object that had better be away ; Another your Ear with some impertinent Discourse ; a Third your Mouth by forcing upon you some fruitless Medicine or Sustenance ; and All together croud, and confound, and perfectly Stifle the dying Man. Then their Tears, and Groans, and Lamentations, are more Tormenting than all the rest ; if they be Real, and proceed from Affection and Concern, they melt one down, break one's Courage and Resolution, and cut one to the very Heart : If they be Formal only, and put on for Decency or Design ; they raise one's Indignation, and provoke a very unseasonable Passion in the very midst of Agonies and Convulsions. Several very Considerable Persons have been so sensible of this Inconvenience, that they have contrived industriously to die at a distance from their Relations, on purpose to be out of the way of it. And sure that which moves many People to desire the contrary, is very ridiculous. For what can be more Childish and Senseless, than to please one's self with moving the Compassion of Friends and Acquaintance ; and be proud that a great many People express a tender Concern for what we endure ? We cannot but commend Firmness of Mind,
and

and a hardy Virtue in encountering Misfortunes ; We exhort our Friends to it, when it is their own Case, and upbraid them with Weakness, if they take it too tenderly ; and yet this very Virtue we hate, and accuse as inhuman and wanting in Affection, when the Calamity is ours. Then they who were formerly chidden for resenting their own, are reproached, if they are not afflicted, and do not perfectly sink under our Sufferings. We condemn their Complaints for what they feel ; and yet we cannot allow them so much as to be patient under what they only see. This is unjust, unreasonable, and foolish to the last degree. And certainly a Wise Man when sick, should be very well content at least, if not much better pleased, with the composed Countenances, and resigned Behaviour, of all the Friends that assist in his Extremities.

C H A P. XII.

The maintaining a true and uninterrupted Tranquility of Spirit, which is the very Crown and Glory of Wisdom : And the last Head of this Book.

A Quiet and Contented Mind is the Supreme Good, the utmost Felicity Man is capable of in this World. This is that Rich and Noble, indeed that inestimable Treasure, which the Wise Men of old with so much Labour and Application sought after ; the Fruit of all their Travels, the End of all their Studies, the Sum and Complement of all their Philosophy ; and this is the very Reward of all the Pains, and the Crown of all the Wisdom, to which I am now Instituting my Scholar in this Treatise. But this, like other Excellencies, is frequently misunderstood ; and therefore to prevent any such Errors at present, I must first acquaint you, That the Quiet I now speak of, does by no means consist in a Retreat from the Noise and Clutter of the World, Leisure from Business, Time at Command, no Cares to disturb one ; a delightful, nice, and uninterrupted Solitude, full of Ease and Plenty ; or in a profound Neglect and Oblivion of what is done Abroad : Were this the Case, what an infinite Number of happy Persons should we have ? Careless and Idle Women, Slothful and Insigni-

Insignificant Fellows, Cowards and Coxcombs, the Sensual and Luxurious, would have this Blessing at Command. For if want of Thought and Business give a Title to it, theirs is indisputable; and what the Wise aspire after, and think a Prize sufficient for a whole Life's Study, these attain to by a much easier way. This then is the first Principle we are to go upon, That Multiplicity of Business, or Having nothing to do, neither of them constitute or destroy, take from or contribute to, the Tranquillity we are now speaking of. But this is a Decent and Beautiful, a Gentle and Mild, an Equal and United, a Firm and Pleasant Composure of Temper. Such a Steadiness of Mind, as neither Business nor Leisure, neither Prosperous nor Adverse Fortune, no Turn of Time or Chance can disturb or change, exalt or depress. For this is the Property and * *Character of true Tranquillity, Never to be shaken*; but to continue immoveable, and unconcerned; always in humour, and always the same.

The next Consideration upon this Occasion, is, By what Methods a Man may rise up to this Sedateness and Elevation of Soul; how we shall attain; and when attained, how we shall preserve, and maintain our selves in it. And for this we need only refresh our Memories, with what hath been already delivered in this Second Book: For they are the Rules, by the Observation and careful Practice whereof we may hope to gain our Point. And therefore, for the Reader's Ease and better Convenience, I will here very briefly repeat the Substance of them. They consisted, you remember, of two sorts. First, Such as either carry off, or prevent all those Qualities, that are Obstructions to our Improvement in this Happiness. And 2dly, Such as furnish and adorn the Mind, with such Virtues as tend to the Increase and Conservation of it. Those Things that are aptest to hinder, or to disturb the Ease and Quiet of the Mind; are Popular Opinions, and Common Prejudices, which, notwithstanding they have made themselves almost Universal, are yet, for the most part, False and Groundless; and a Man would wonder, which way Notions could get so much Credit, which have so very small a Stock of Argument to set up upon. The next Impediment to be removed arises from our Passions and Desires, for these indulged quite

* *Vera Tranquillitas non concuti.*

spoil and break our Temper; they make us Nice and Squeamish; Humoursome and Difficult; and these are Qualities utterly inconsistent with Contentedness: Now these Passions and Appetites are kindled and put into motion, by the two contrary sorts of Events, which we call Prosperity and Adversity; for they are the Winds and Storms, that swell and disorder the Soul, and make all within foul Weather, and a troubled Sea. The last thing to be remedied is that mean and narrow-spirited Captivity of Thought, by which the Mind (that is, the Judgment and the Will) is Chained down like a Slave to his Galley, or cramp'd up like a Beast with his Yoke, to set Forms, particular Opinions, and Local Customs. Now the first thing a Man hath to do, is to knock off all these Fetters, and break through such unreasonable Tyranny and Confinement; to set one's Mind at large, assert our native Liberty, and resolve to be at our own disposal. To entertain free, extensive Notions of Things; and be Open and Universal, Inquisitive and Discerning, enlarging our Studies and our Idea's, and ranging through all the spacious Plains of the World and Nature in general. For a Wise and Happy Man must answer that Description; ** Born for the Publick, considering this whole World as one Common House and Family, concerning himself with all the parts of it, and employing his Contemplation upon every thing that passes there.*

3.

When the Platform is thus cleared of Rubbish, and the Ground prepared, and ready to begin upon, the next thing in order is to lay the Foundations; and those are Two, An entire substantial Probity of Mind, and The Fixing one's self in such a Calling or Condition, as our Nature, Circumstances, and other Qualifications have fitted us for. The Materials, with which this Building must be carried up, and wherein both the Strength and Beauty of it will consist, are these that follow. The First and Principal is, True Piety; whereby a Man Contemplates Almighty God, not with a Soul full of Horror and Amazement, but with a Mind full of Purity, with Freedom and Delight, with profound Respect, and fervent Devotion. For God is the Absolute, the Universal Lord and Governor of all Things; and, though his Nature and Essence be neither visible to our Senses, nor

* In commune genitus, mundum ut unam domum spectans, totum se inferens mundo, & in omnes ejus actus contemplationem suam mittens.

fall within the Comprehension of our Understandings, so that we are not able to give our Selves, or Others, an exact and perfect Account what He is in Himself; yet it is our Duty to Acknowledge and Confess Him; to pay Him all possible Honour, and Homage, and humble Adoration; to Serve Him Zealously, and with our whole Heart; to entertain becoming Thoughts of his Providence and Perfections; to Hope and Trust in Him for all manner of Good, from the Being who is Goodness in the Abstract; to apprehend nothing of Evil or Injury from Him; but be assured, if any thing we resent as such, happen to us, it is the Effect of our own Provocations and Follies, and most justly inflicted. In the next place, Simplicity and Integrity in Conversation must be added, Conformity without troublesome and unnecessary Scruples to the Laws and Customs of the Place where we dwell; Living without Hypocrisie or Dissimulation, dealing Fairly and Above-board, no Crafty Reservation or Disguise, but to let our Words and Actions speak our Heart; and the inmost recesses of our Soul be thus laid open to God and the World. This is another Character given of a Wise Man; That he ** Spreads his Conscience, as it were, and exposes it to Publick View; Lives and Acts constantly, as if all Mankind were Conscious of what he does, and hath a greater Reverence for Himself than for the Observation of Others.* He that Manages himself thus, can never want Encouragement to do well, nor powerful Restraints from doing otherwise. Then follows Moderation, which must extend to all Persons and Things; our Selves, and All that can be any way concern'd or converse with us; our Thoughts and Words, our Designs and Actions, must All be regulated by it. For Moderation is the Original and Source, the Nourisher and Cherisher of Tranquillity; by this we learn to lay aside and to despise all Pomp, and Shew, and vain Superfluities; to bring our Desires within their proper compass; to keep them under Government, and to content our selves with a competent Provision, such proportions of every thing as our Occasions require, when really and rightly consider'd, without any of those Imaginary Wants, which we are apt to form to our selves: And thus disposed we come to like, and be very well pleased with our present Condition, not envious of other Peoples Enjoyments, not

* Conscientiam suam aperiens, semperque tanquam in publico vivens, se magis veritus quam alios.

fond of Change. How much all this conduces to Happiness and Tranquillity, a very slight Reflection will serve to convince us: For when Moderation hath thus furled the Sails, the Storm, when it blows hard, hath less to fasten upon; and cannot do us any Damage comparable to that we should suffer, if our Desires were enlarged, and the Sheet let fly to the Wind. By thus contracting our selves, we are fortified against every Accident that might Shock or Injure us; we bear our Minds up above all manner of Fear; despise all the Assaults of Fortune, and the Malice of Death it self; looking upon that, as the period of all our Sufferings; a kind Friend which takes us out of the way from infinite Calamities, but creates not, nor exposes us to any one. Thus also the Wise Man is described. * *One that despises all those things which are the Plagues and Torments of Human Life; above the reach of Accidents, without Anxiety, without Fear, without any kind of tender or troublesome Concern.* Thus a Man must secure Steadiness of Mind, and a good Agreement with himself; he must look for his Satisfaction in his own Breast; live Easily, and have no Disputes, no Trouble within; but keep all there Peaceable, and Cheerful; Rejoycing and Congratulating with one's own Mind; and Dwelling, as we call it, at Home, with full Contentation, and a sort of Self-sufficiency; such as is highly Necessary and Commendable, such as nothing but Wisdom can give, and without which neither it, nor the Happiness it proposes for our Reward, can possibly subsist. † *No Body but the Wise Man is pleased with his own Condition. All Folly in a little time grows sick of it self; No Man is Happy, who does not think himself so.*

In a word. To this Composition of an Easy and Quiet Mind, two Ingredients are indispensably requisite. The First, and indeed the Chief, is a Clear and a good Conscience; which does inspire Men with wonderful Strength and Assurance, and is a mighty Stay, and Defence, and Support in all manner of Contingencies. But yet this, as mighty as it is, will not singly be a sufficient Defence; for sometimes the Tempest is so exceeding fierce and strong, that all the Innocence in the World is not able to bear up against it.

* Contemptor omnium, quibus torquetur Vita: supra omnia quæ contingunt acciduntque eminens. Intrepidus, Imperturbatus.

† Nisi Sapienti sua non placent. Omni Stultitia laborat fastidio sui. Non est beatus, esse se qui non putat.

How often do we see very good Men in very grievous Calamities, dejected and at a loss? Nay, our Blessed Saviour himself mentions some Tribulations of his foretelling, which should endanger even seducing the very Elect. To this therefore we must add one more, which is Strength of Mind, and natural Courage; and of this too it must much more be allow'd, that it alone is by no means sufficient for our purpose. For the Force of Conscience is prodigious, and almost unconceivable; It stares us in the face, haunts and dogs us with guilty Remorse, makes us betray, accuse, and turn Enemies to our selves; and for want of other Evidence to convict us, it compels us to inform, and give Testimony of our own Crimes.

** For why must those be thought to 'scape, who feel
Those Rods of Scorpions, and those Whips of Steel,
Which Conscience shakes, when she with Rage controuls,
And spreads amazing Terrors through their Souls?
Not sharp Revenge, nor Hell it self can find
A fiercer Torment, than a guilty Mind.*

It draws our Indictment, Arraigns, Tries, Condemns, and puts us to Death: So different are the Parts it acts, and yet so dextrous and powerful is it in supplying the place of Adversary, Witness, Judge, and Executioner, that we need no other. No Covert can do the Ill Man's Business, says *Epicurus*; for let it be never so close, yet he can never think himself safe; for Conscience will be sure to discover him to Himself, and that Discovery will always represent, and sometimes create Danger.

*† Though Bribes or Favour shall assert his Cause,
Pronounce him guiltless, and elude the Laws,
None quits himself, his own impartial Thought
Will damn, and Conscience will record the Fault.
This first the Wicked feels ———*

So that upon the whole matter, let a Man be hever so Holy and Good, yet at the same time, if he be in his own Temper Timorous and Faint-hearted; and again, let a Man be naturally never so stout, and a stranger to Fear, yet if he be not a good Man, and his Conscience cannot speak Peace

** Occultum quatiente Animo tortore flagellum. Juv. Sat. 13.*

*† ——— Prima est hæc Ultio, quod se
Judice nemo nocens absolvitur.*

Ibid.

to him; neither the One, nor the Other of these Persons will ever be capable of this happy Tranquillity of Spirit, this Perfection and Fruit of Wisdom, which we are at present treating of. There must be a Friendly Correspondence, a Mutual Assistance of both; and they, in whose Souls both meet together, are qualified to do Wonders; and such are the most Eminent Persons, which we find renown'd in Story for Great and Noble Actions, and Intrepid Behaviour in Times of greatest Trial. Such were *Epaminondas*, *Cato* and *Scipio* in particular, whose Unconcernedness in Danger and Death is admirable. These two *Romans*, when publickly accused, put those very Persons, who preferred the Complaint against them, to the blush; and made them betray their Shame to the whole Assembly. They gained over the Judges to their side, and struck all the Audience so, as not only to win their Favour, but to raise their Admiration. And all this only with that astonishing Unconcernedness, and equality of Mind, which appeared in their Carriage; for the Character *Livy* gives of *Scipio*, and the reason of his voluntary Exile assigned there, is, *That he had a Heart too big, too generous, to know how to be treated like a Criminal, or descend so low as complying with the Custom of defending his own Innocence by a formal Apology.**

* Major animus ac Natura erat, quàm ut Reus esse sciret, & submittere se in Humilitatem causam dicentium.

Tit. Liv. Hist. Lib. 38.

29 MR 59

The End of the Second Book.

OF W I S D O M.

The Third B O O K.

In which, Particular Rules are laid down, and Directions for the several Parts and Offices of Wisdom, branched out under Four General Heads, as they have relation, and are reducible, to the Four Cardinal Virtues.

The P R E F A C E.

OUR Design in this Last Part of the present Treatise, being to give the Reader the most particular Instructions we can possibly, and so to follow and compleat the General Rules of Wisdom, touched upon in the Book foregoing; the most Convenient and Methodical way of proceeding seemed to me, to range all I have to say under the Four great Moral Virtues; of Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance: Since these are of a comprehension so large, that it is almost impossible to instance in any Duty of Morality or Practical Religion, which is not directly contained, or may very fairly be reduced within the compass of them. Prudence supplies the place of a Director and Governor, it instructs Us in other Virtues, and is the Guide of our Life, and all the Actions of it; tho' indeed it be more peculiarly concerned in matters of Dealing, and good Conduct, and its strict, proper Notion is Dexterity in the Management of Business. Now, as this regards Actions, so Justice, which is the next, is chiefly concerned about Persons; for the Province of Justice is, to render to every Man his due. Fortitude and Temperance have respect to the Events of Human Life; the Prosperous and Adverse, such as move our Passions, and are matter of Joy or Grief, of Pleasure or Pain to us. Now it is plain, that these Three, Persons, and Actions, and Contingencies, extend to all the parts of Human Life; and our Condition and Dealings in the World cannot possibly oblige us to be conversant with, or employ'd about any thing whatsoever, which is not comprehended under One or Other of these Considerations.

A CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Of Prudence in general.

1. *Its Excellence.* **T**Here is great Reason, why Prudence should have the first and most honourable place allotted to it; because it is really the Queen of Virtues; the general Superintendent, that presides over, and gives directions to all the Rest. Where this is wanting, there can be no such thing as Goodness or Beauty, Propriety or Decency. It is the very Salt of Life, the Lustre and Ornament of all our Actions; that which recommends them to the Eye, and gives them that Seasoning and Relish which is necessary; 'tis the Square and Rule, by which all our Affairs ought to be measured and adjusted; and, in one Word, This is the Art of Acting and Living, as the Science of Physick is the Art of Health.

2. *Definition.* Prudence consists in the Knowledge and the Choice of those things, which it concerns us to desire or to decline: It is a just and true Valuation first, and then a picking and culling out the best: It is the Eye that sees every thing, and conducts our Motions and Steps accordingly. The Parts or Offices of it are three, and these all naturally consequent, and in order after one another. The First is Consulting and Deliberating well; the Second, Judging and Resolving well; the Third, Managing and Executing those Resolutions well.

3. *'Tis Universal.* It is very deservedly esteemed an Universal Virtue; because of a Comprehension so general, so vast, that all manner of Actions and Accidents belonging to Humane Life are within its Extent and Jurisdiction; and this, not only considering them in the gross, but each of them singly and in particular; so that this is as infinite, as all those Individuals put together.

4. *Difficult.* You cannot wonder, if the next Property I assign to it be that of Difficult; the infinite Compass I have already mentioned must needs make it so: For Particulars, as they cannot be positively numbred, so they cannot be fully understood. It is a standing Rule, * *That whatever is infinite, exceeds the Bounds of Wisdom.* But that which adds yet more to the Hardship, is the great Uncertainty and Inconstancy of Human Affairs; which is still render'd

* Si quæ finiri non possunt, extra sapientiam sunt.

Ch. 1. Of Prudence in general.

3

more intricate and unaccountable, by the inexpressible Variety of Accidents, Circumstances, Appurtenances, Dependencies, and Consequences; the Difference of Times, and Places, and Persons. And each of these is of so considerable importance, that the Change of one single Circumstance, even such as may seem least and of no account, produces a very great Alteration, and sets quite another Face upon the whole Matter. This Difficulty is likewise greater and more evident, upon the account of the Office, in which this Virtue is employ'd; which consists in mustering together Contraries, and then tempering them in just proportions with one another, so as to qualify the whole at last, in the best manner the Case will admit. Another part of this Office, is Distinguishing aright between things that are like, and making a wise Choice by discerning Real from Seeming Good, and preferring a Greater to a Less of the same Kind. Now all these things are puzzling, and full of Confusion; for Contrariety and Resemblance both agree in this, that either of them is a great Impediment, and creates Doubt and Irresolution.

And, as the Executive Part of Prudence is exceeding difficult, so the Discerning part is subject to great Obscurity; by reason the first Causes and Springs of Things, from whence they arise, and by which they are moved and carry'd on, are secret and unknown; and, like the Seeds and Roots of Plants, lie deep in the Ground, and far out of sight; so deep, that Human Nature cannot dive to the bottom of them; and some of them so mysterious too, that it is as criminal to enquire into them, as it is impossible to satisfy our selves by such Enquiry. * *Providence hath thought fit to conceal the Seeds of these things; and it often happens, that the Causes of Good and Bad Effects lie hid, and disguise themselves under very different Appearances.* And besides all this, there is that strange Turn of Chance, that unaccountable Fatality, (call it what you please) that Supreme, Secret, Unknown Power, which always maintains its Authority, and gives the finishing stroke, in despite of all the properest Methods, and wisest Precautions we can use. From hence it comes to pass, that the best-laid Designs, and most regular Proceedings, are very frequently most unfortunate in the Event. The

* Occultat eorum semina Deus, & plerunque bonorum malorumque causa sub diversa specie latent.

very same Course taken by One Man succeeds according to his Heart's Desire; and with Another crosses all his Expectations; and yet the Case, to all Human appearance, is the same in both, and no reason can be given for such contrary Issues. Nay, the same Man found those very Methods successful yesterday, which, when he tries again to day, baffle all his Designs and Dependencies; and he who was a Winner but just now, plays the same Game over twice, and the second time loses all. This Lottery of Fortune gave just occasion for that received Rule, That no Man's Counsel, or Capacity, can be rightly measured by his Success. And He was certainly in the right, who told some of his Friends, that stood amazed at his ill Fortune, when they observed a more than common Wisdom in all his Discourse and Behaviour: "Look you, Gentlemen, this does not mortifie me at all; I am Master of my Methods, and capable of judging what is proper and convenient; but Events are what no Man alive can govern, or ensure to himself: This is Fortune's doing, which seems to take a kind of envious Joy, in defeating our subtillest Projects, and diverts herself with our Disappointments; She in an instant blasts our Hopes, and overturns the most regular Schemes, which have cost the Study and Care of many Years, to draw and design; and when all the matter is duly consider'd and resolv'd; when we have advanced so far, that nothing remains but the last Act; when all is brought to bear, (as we call it) she nails up all our Cannon, and puts a full stop to all the Execution we intended. And in truth, This is the only way Fortune takes to make herself great, and maintain her Credit in the World; thus she exerts her Power over the Affairs of Human Life; or, to speak more truly, and in language more befitting the mouth of Christians, 'tis thus, that Providence takes down our Pride and mortifies our Presumption: Fools cannot be made Wise by Chance and of a sudden; but then, to check the Vanity of those who have the Advantage in Parts, they are frequently successful, even to a degree that may provoke the Envy of Virtue and Wisdom it self. Accordingly we may often observe, that Persons of very indifferent Capacities, and small Attainments, have been able to accomplish vast Undertakings, both publick and private; while others of more Masterly Judgments have been defeated in matters of less difficulty. From all which Reflections my Reader plainly perceives,

that

Ch. I. Of Prudence in general.

that Prudence is a boundless and a bottomless Sea ; never limited by positive Precepts, or reduced to certain and standing Rules ; because the Subject it is concerned with is fickle and inconstant, like the Sea too ; and all our Measures must be changed, all are liable to be broke, as oft as the Winds change. One cross Blast blows us back again, or dashes us to pieces upon the Rocks ; and neither the best Vessel, nor the best Pilot can be proof against this Stress of Weather. All then, that Prudence can engage for, is to be circumspect, and consider every Circumstance in the several lights it is capable of ; but still the most discerning Man is in the Clouds ; the greatest Judgment and Application finds all its Endeavours frivolous and vain, and that, when he thought he saw all things clearly, he was all the while groping and blundering in the dark.

And yet, notwithstanding we cannot arrive to a commanding and infallible Certainty, this Virtue must be acknowledged of exceeding great weight, and absolute Necessity. For thus much is her just due ; that what is possible to be effected must be compass'd by her Assistance ; that tho' she cannot do all, she can do a great deal ; and that however Men are not constantly successful with her, yet without her all their Attempts are frivolous and perfectly insignificant. Not only Riches, but Power, and Opportunities, and Strength for Action, are impotent and vain, if destitute of Wisdom to use them.

Obscure,

* *Rash Force by its own weight must fall :
But prudent Strength will still prevail,
For such the Gods assist and bless.*

† *One good Head is better than a great many Hands. ∴ Many things that Nature hath made intricate and difficult, are made easie and very feasible by good Consideration and Advice.* Nor does what I urged in the former Paragraph at all invalidate the Truth of these Observations ; because, though Prudence be not the never-failing Cause, yet it is the usual Cause of Success. God does not always prosper Mens wisest Projects ; to convince us, that the World is not govern'd without him : But he for the most part prospers fit and proper means, to

* *Vis consilii expers mole ruit sua, &c. Hor. Lib. 3. Od. 4.*

† *Mens una sapiens plurium vincit manus.*

∴ *Multa, quæ naturâ impedita sunt, consilio expediuntur. Liv.*

encourage our Industry, and as a proof, that the World is governed regularly by him. Now, that which principally requires our Prudence, is, that we have to do with Men, and the corrupt Disposition of the Persons we deal with, their perverse unmanageable Temper makes Address necessary in all our Transactions. For of all Creatures in the Universe, there is not any so hard to be subdued and brought to compliance, as Mankind; * *They who cannot bear so much as Equity, and Neighbours fare, must needs be much less contented with Subjection and Slavery.* And therefore nothing less than great Art and Industry is sufficient to reduce and keep them in order. For tho' we are always disposed to mutiny against them that are in any respect our Superiors, and to fall foul upon People of all Conditions; yet we never do it with so much Zeal, and such eager Malice, as when we make Head against those who pretend to Authority and Dominion over us. Now Prudence has the knack of managing Mankind, and keeping this Factious Principle under; a slack and gentle Rein, by which the Skillful Rider keeps this Skittish Horse in the Road, and Ring of Obedience.

Now, altho' Nature hath implanted this, as well as other Virtues in us, and more or less, in proportion to every Man's Capacity and Parts; and, though it be from those Original Seeds, that Prudence takes its beginning; yet is this more acquired, more learned and improved, more the Effect of Study and Application of Thought, than any other Virtue whatsoever. And this Acquisition is in some measure the Fruit of wise Precepts, and good Advice; which we commonly call the Theory or Speculative part of Prudence; but the best and principal Instrument and Help toward it, is Experience, (though this require much more Time, and Pains) which is term'd therefore the Practical Part. And this again is of two sorts. The one truly and properly so, because it is Personal, learnt by what happens to, or is done by our own selves; arising from Observations of our own making; and to this in strict speaking the Name of *Experience* is appropriated; the other is not our own, but the result of other Peoples Judgment or Practice; and such is *History*, which informs us by Hearsay and Reading. Now our own proper Experience is much the firmer, more assur'd, and may with better reason be depended upon; for *Use*, as *Pliny* says, *is the best Master*, the Author and

* *Impatiens æqui, nedum servitutis.* Senec. de Clement.

Teacher of all Arts and Sciencies; the perfectest, tho' the most tedious and expensive way of Learning *; it is the result of many Years and Gray Hairs, exceeding hard to be mastered, very laborious, and very rare. The Knowledge of History, as it is less satisfactory and assured, so it is likewise more easie, more frequently to be met with, more obvious and in common to all sorts of People. A Man indeed is more resolute and confident, when he learns Wisdom at his own Cost; but it is much easier and cheaper to grow wise at the Expence of other People. And from these two, Experience, properly so call'd, and Historical Prudence is deriv'd; according to that common Saying, † *Experience is my Father, and Memory my Mother; or rather History, which is the Life and Soul of Memory.*

Now Prudence may, and in order to the giving us a clear Notion of the thing, 'tis necessary it should, be distinguished in several Respects; both with regard to the Persons, concern'd in the use of it, and the Affairs, about which it is employ'd. As to the Persons, we are to observe, That there is first that which we may call private Prudence; and that is either solitary and individual, wherein a Mans single Person only is concern'd; this is something so low and narrow, that it scarce deserves the noble Title of Prudence; or else it is Social and Domestick, confin'd to some small Company, and lesser Societies; and then there is Second, publick Prudence, which is commonly known by the Name of Policy. This is the more Sublime, more Excellent and Useful, and more difficult to be attained; and to this it is, that all those lofty Characters and large Commendations in the beginning of this Chapter do of right belong; which is again subdivided, according to the different Subjects and Occasions that call for it, into Civil and Military Prudence.

With regard to the Affairs it is conversant about, These are of two kinds; Some Ordinary and Easie; others Difficult and Uncommon. There are also several Contingencies, by the interposition of which some new Difficulties spring up, which were not in the nature of the things; and consequently Doubts and Perplexities not foreseen at the first setting out; and accordingly that Prudence, whose business it is to manage all these, may be termed either Ordinary,

* — *Seris venit Usus ab Annis.*

† *Usus me genuit, peperit Memoria,
Seu memoriæ anima & vita Historia.*

when it proceeds in the plain easie way, and governs its self by known Rules, established Laws, and Customs in common Use ; or else Extraordinary, when it is obliged to go out of the beaten Road, and have recourse to difficult Stratagems, and unusual Methods.

There is still one Distinction more behind, which extends both to the Persons, and to the Affairs ; or, as the Schools speak, the Subject and the Object of this Prudence. But it is such a one, as regards not so much the several Kinds, as the different Degrees of this Virtue. I mean that Prudence, which is truly and properly a Man's own, and gives him the Denomination of Wise ; when one acts upon his own Judgment, and trades with his own Stock ; the other a borrowed and precarious Prudence, when we follow the Advice of others. And thus it is, that all Philosophers agree in allowing two sorts of Wise Men. The first and Highest rank, are those, who walk by their own Light, that penetrate and see through all Difficulties, and always contrive Remedies and Expedients, by the force of their own Judgment, and happy Forecast. But where shall we find these Able Men ? They are certainly Prodigies in Nature. The Other of Inferior Condition are such, as understand how to Judge, and take, and make the best advantage of good Counsel, when it is given them. Now all Persons whatsoever, that make any manner of pretence to Wisdom, must be included in this Division ; for they who neither know how to give good Advice, nor how to take it when others give it, are by no means fit to come under this Character, but the contrary of Stupidity and Folly.

The General Rules, which concern Prudence at large, in it's most comprehensive Signification, as it relates to Persons and Affairs of all Sorts and Qualities, have been already handled, and some short account given of them in the Book that went before. And those you remember were Eight. First, The true understanding of the Persons and Business we are engaged with. Secondly, Estimating things according to their real worth. Thirdly, The choosing in consequence of such Valuation. Fourthly, Asking Advice upon every Undertaking. Fifthly, A just Temper between the two Vicious Extremes of Confidence and Making sure of all on the one hand, and Fear and Despondency on the other. Sixthly, Taking things in their due season, and laying hold on Opportunities, when they offer. Seventhly, Managing one's self rightly between Industry and Fortune, ascribing to each the

Efficacy

Ch. I. Of Prudence in general.

9

Efficacy that belongs to it, and discharging Our part accordingly. The Eighth and Last is, Discretion in the practice and ordering of all the rest; for this must go quite through, and no one part can be what it ought without it. These were sufficient for my purpose at that time, but now I am engaged in another Method; and the design of this Third Part cannot be answer'd, without descending to Particulars. Here therefore I shall treat of Prudence according to the Distinctions just now specified; and First of All, of that which is Publick, or Policy, as it relates to Persons, and then as it concerns the Affairs, that come under its Care.

Of the Policy fit for a Sovereign Prince in the Administration of Government.

The Preface.

THE Instructions I am here about to give, are design'd to be useful to Sovereign Princes, and Governors of States. Their Transactions and Methods are indeed in their own Nature Uncertain, Unlimited, Difficult to be known and practis'd, and the Rules necessary for their high Station, next to impossible to be cast into any certain Form, or prescribed and determin'd in particular Precepts. But however, we must try, if we can a little clear this matter, and make it in any degree more easie and practicable. What is proper to be said upon this Subject may be reduc'd to two General Heads, wherein the two Great Duries of a Sovereign consist. The First comprehends under it all these principal Pillars, by which the State is supported, and treats of Parts of Governments so essential to the Publick, that they are the very Nerves and Bones of this Body Politick; its Sense, its Motion, its Form is lost with, or preserved by them; and these the Prince is in a special manner concerned to take care, that Himself and the State be constantly well furnished with. The Chief of them, I think, are these Seven, 1. A true Understanding of his Government, the People, and their Constitution. 2. Personal Virtue. 3. Behaviour and Address. 4. Counsellors. 5. Publick Treasures. 6. Men and Arms. And 7. Alliances. The Three first are in his own Person; the Next in himself and those near his Person; and the Three last are more at a distance from him. The Second General Head consists in Action, in carefully employing, and making the best Advantage of the fore-mention'd Means; that is, in one Word, but that a very comprehensive

hensive one, in Governing well, and keeping up his Honour and Authority; yet so, as at the same time to secure the Affection and good Understanding both of his own Subjects and Strangers. But to speak more distinctly and particularly, this Part is Twofold, Civil and Military. Thus you have, in a very summary and general way, the whole Scheme of Government laid before you at once; Thus is the Work cut out, and the first rude Lines drawn, of what the following Chapters must attempt to finish and fill up. For the better Convenience then of my Reader, and my self, I will, according to what hath been here propos'd, divide this Subject of Policy, or Prudence in Government, into Two parts. The First shall be the Provisionary Part, or the Care of being furnish'd with those seven Necessary Advantages; The Second, and That which presupposes the former already to be done, shall be the Administration, or Management of the Prince. This Subject hath indeed had great Right done to it by Lipsius already; who wrote an excellent Treatise, in a method peculiar to himself, but the Substance of it you will find all transplanted hither. I have not at all bound my self to his Order, as appears by this general Division already laid down, and will more plainly be seen in the following parts of this Discourse; nor have I taken the whole of him; but have left part of what was his behind, and added to it what I thought fit besides.

CHAP. II.

*The First Branch of Policy, or Prudence in Government,
which is the Provisionary Part.*

I. **T**HE First thing requisite upon this occasion, and That
Knowledge. which must lead the way to all the rest, is a due Knowledge of the State or Government: For in all manner of Prudence, the leading Rule is Knowledge; and He, who is defective in this Qualification, is thereby rendred utterly incapable of all besides, as hath already been intimated in the Second Book. For, whoever undertakes any sort of Action or Management, must begin with informing himself, what his Business is, and with whom it lies. And therefore this Prudence, which undertakes to order and dispose whole Nations and Kingdoms; and whose peculiar Excellence and Commendation lies in the dexterity and skill of Governing and Administ'ring the Affairs of the Publick to the best advantage, is manifestly a Relative Virtue; and the Terms of this

Ch. 2. Of Prudence in general.

11

this Relation, whose Concern in this case is reciprocal, are the Sovereign and his Subjects: The first step then toward discharging this Duty, is a right understanding of the Parties; that is, of the People and their Subjection on the one hand; and the Supreme Authority of the Prince on the other; for both these I include in the Knowledge of the Government.

First then, A Man in that elevated Post should apply himself to study and understand the Humour and Complexion of the People. For this Knowledge will be a very great direction, and model to the Person, to whose Governancethey are committed. What the Disposition of the Common People is in general, hath been at large explain'd in the First Book, and their Picture drawn at full length. There we observ'd that their Reigning Qualities are, Fickleness and Inconstancy; A Spirit of Faction and Discontent; of Impertinence and Folly; Love of Vanity and Change; Insolence and insupportable Pride in Prosperity; Cowardice and Dejection of Mind in Adversity. But besides these Characters, which are common to Persons of that Condition every where, a Man must be still more particularly instructed in the Temper and Complexion of that Country, and those Subjects, where himself is concern'd. For the Dispositions of Men differ extremely, and are almost as various as the Towns wherein they dwell, or the Persons that inhabit them. Some Nations are in a peculiar and distinguishing manner, Passionate or Cholerick, Bold and Warlike, Cowardly or Luxurious, addicted to Extravagance, to Wine, to Women, Laborious or Slothful; Frugal or Expensive. And of those who agree in these Qualities, there is a difference in the measure; in Some they are more, and in Others less predominant. So necessary is that Rule, * *That The Common People must be Studied, first to know what they are, and then what is the best method of dealing with them.* And in this Sense it is, that we are understand the Old Philosophers, when they pronounce Subjection and Obedience a necessary preparation to the Art of Ruling; † *No Man (says Seneca) ever Governs well, who hath not first liv'd under Government, and known what it is to be Commanded himself.* Not that we are to infer from hence any Necessity, or indeed so much

* *Noscenda Natura Vulgi, & quibus modis temperanter habeatur.*

† *Nemo bene imperat, nisi qui ante paruerit imperio.*

as a Possibility, that all Princes ought to be rais'd to that Dignity from an Inferior Condition ; for several of them are born Princes ; and a Great many Governments pass on in a Line, and come by Succession, and Proximity in Blood. But the true Importance of that Maxim is, That whoever is desirous to be a good Governour, must inform himself of the Humours and Inclinations of his Subjects, and understand, which are the reigning Qualities in them, as perfectly well, as if he had been one of the same Rank himself, and had felt, and been acted by them in his own Person.

But then it is no less necessary, that the Condition of the Government should be likewise thoroughly understood ; and that not only What Sovereignty and Power is in general, according to the description formerly given of it in the First Part of this Treatise ; but the Frame and Temper of that Government and that State in particular, where this Person himself presides, what the Form and Constitution of it is, how it was fix'd and adjusted, and what Extent of Power is vested in him ; Whether it be an Old or Later Establishment ; whether it descend by Inheritance, or whether it be conferred by Election ; whether it were obtain'd by Regular and Legal Methods or whether acquired by Force of Arms ; how far his Jurisdiction reaches ; what Neighbours are about him ; what Strength and what Conveniences he is provided with. For according to these, and a great many other Circumstances, too tedious to be specified here, a different sort of Conduct will be found necessary. The Scepter must be swayed, as such Considerations shall dictate ; One and the same Method will not serve all alike ; but the Rules and the Administration must be suited to the Temper of the Beast, and as this proves to be harder or softer mouth'd, so the Rider must take care to keep a slacker or a stiffer Rein.

2.
The second
Head.
Virtue.

After this Knowledge of the State and Government, which, as I said, is in the Nature of a Preface, or Introduction to all the following Heads ; the next both in Order and Dignity is Virtue. And no Man can wonder that so honourable a Place is assign'd to This, among the necessary Qualifications of a Governour, who at all considers, how absolutely and indispensably needful it is to a Prince, and that, both upon his own Account, and for the Benefit of the Publick. First for all, it is highly reasonable, as *Cyrus* well observes, That he, who is above all the rest in Honour and Authority, should be so in Goodness too ;
This

This is no more, than what such a Great and Elevated Station may justly seem to require of him. Then his own Reputation is nearly concerned in it; For Common Fame makes it one great part of its Business to pick up and disperse every thing that our Governours do or say: The Prince stands expos'd to the Publick View; every Eye is upon him, and he is curiously watched. There is no such thing in Nature, as Privacy for Princes; They can no more be conceal'd, than the Sun in the Firmament. They are the constant Subject of Discourse in every Company; and so are sure to have a great deal of Good, or a great deal of Ill said of them. And it is of exceeding great Consequence to any Governour; both with regard to his Personal, and the Common Interest and Safety, what Opinion the World have of him. Nor is it enough, that the Supreme Governour be Virtuous in his own Temper and Conversation, but he is likewise obliged to take good care, that his Subjects be like him in Goodness. And how deeply This concerns him, I appeal to the Universal Consent of all Good and Learned Men, who with one Voice declare it impossible for that Kingdom, or Nation, that City or less Society of Men to prosper, nay, so much as to subsist long, who have banish'd Virtue from among them. And those nauseous Flatterers prevaricate much too grossly, who pretend that it is for the Advantage and Security of Princes, that their Subjects should be abandon'd to Wickedness and Vice: Because say they, This emasculates their Minds, and renders them more tame and servile in their Dispositions; so *Pliny* in his Panegyrick, says, **They are more patient under Slavery, who are fit for nothing but to be Slaves.* For, quite contrary, we find by unquestionable Experience, that the more Vicious Men are, the more do they flinch, and grow unruly under the Yoke: The Good and the Gentle, the Meek and Sweet-temper'd Men, these are much better qualified to live in Fear and Awe of Authority themselves; than to be an Awe or give occasion of Jealousie to their Governours. † *Every Man is more ungovernable, in proportion, as he is a worse Man,* says *Salust*: Mutiny, and Discontent, and perpetual Uneasiness, are the sure Attendants of a profligate Mind. On the other hand, Good Men are very easily kept in

* *Patientiores servitutis, quos non decet nisi esse servos.*

† *Pessimus quisque asperissime Rectorem patitur: Contrà, Facile Imperium in Bonos, qui metuentes magis quam metuendi.*
order;

order ; they give their Superiours little trouble, but had rather submit with Reverence and Fear, than be a Terror or Disturbance to those above them. Now there cannot be a more powerful Motive, a more efficacious Mean of bringing over the People, and forming them into Virtue, than the Example of the Prince. For (as daily Experience shews,) every one affects to be like Him ; and the Court is the Standard of Manners, as well as of Fashions. The Reason is, because Example is what Men are sooner moved, and more strongly wrought upon by, than Laws ; for this is a Law in dumb Show, but hath more Credit and Authority, than the Voice of the Law speaking in Commands. *∴ We do not want Precepts so much as Patterns, and Example is the softest and least invidious way of Commanding ; says Pliny.* Now, if all Example be a mighty Inducement, That of Great Persons must be so in a Degree proportionable to their Quality and Station : For all the Little Ones fix their Eyes and Hearts here, and take their Observations from those above them. They swallow all without chewing ; admire and imitate at a venture ; and conclude, that their Superiours would not be guilty of any Behaviour unbecoming their Character ; and if they do a thing, it must needs be excellent and good. And on the other hand, Governours are so sensible of the Force of this Motive too, that they think their Subjects indispensably obliged to those Rules which they are content to be governed by themselves ; and that their own doing what they would have done by others, is singly a sufficient Inducement, to bring it into Practice and common Vogue, without the Formality of a Command to enforce it. From all which it is abundantly manifest, that Virtue is exceeding necessary and advantagious to a Prince, both in point of Interest, and in point of Honour and Reputation.

3.
Four Principal
Virtues.

All Virtue is so in truth, without Exception, though not All equally neither ; for there are four Species of it, which seem to have greater and more commanding Influence, than the rest ; and those are *Piety, Justice, Valour and Clemency.* These are more properly Princely Qualities, and shine brightest of all the Jewels that adorn a Crown ; of the Excellencies, I mean, that even a Prince's Mind can be possibly endued with. This gave occasion to that most il-

∴ Nec tam Imperio nobis opus quam Exemplo ; & mitius jubetur Exemplo.

lustrious

lustrious of all Princes, *Augustus Caesar*, to say, That Piety and Justice exalt Kings, and translate them into Gods: And *Seneca* observes, that Clemency is a Virtue more suitable to the Character of a Prince, than to persons of any other Quality whatsoever.

Now the Piety of a Prince consists and must exert itself in the Care and Application, which he ought to use for the Preservation and Advancement of Religion, of which every Sovereign ought to consider himself, as the Guardian and Protector. And thus indeed he should do for his own sake; for this Zeal and pious Care will contribute very much to his own Honour and Safety. For they that have any regard for God, will not dare to attempt, no not so much as to contrive or imagine, any Mischief against that Prince who is God's Image upon Earth; and who plainly approves himself to be such, by his zealous and tender Concern for the Glory and the Institution of his great Original. And in effect, this tends to the Security of the People too, and the Quiet of the Government in general. For, as *Lactantius* frequently urges, Religion is the common Band, that links Communities together; Society could not be supported without it. Take off this Restraint, and the World would be quickly over-run with all manner of Wickedness, Barbarity and Brutality. So great an Interest hath every Government in Religion; so strong, so necessary a Curb is the Sense, and Fear, and Reverence of it to unruly Mankind. Thus on the other hand even *Cicero*, who does not appear to have been any mighty Devote, makes it his Observation, That the *Romans* owed the Rise, and Growth, and flourishing Condition of their Commonwealth, to their Exemplary respect for Religion, more than any other Cause whatsoever. Upon this account, every Sovereign is very highly concern'd, and strictly oblig'd to see, that Religion be preserv'd entire, and that no Breaches be made upon it: That it be encourag'd and supported, according to the establish'd Laws, in all its Rights, Ceremonies, Usages, and Local Constitutions: Great Diligence should be used to prevent Quarrels, Divisions, and Innovations; and severe Punishments inflicted upon all who go about to alter, or disturb, or infringe it. For, without all Controversie, every Injury done to Religion, and all rash and bold Alterations in it, draw after them a very considerable damage to the Civil State; weaken the Government, and have a general ill Influence
upon *Dion.*

upon Prince and People both; as *Mænenas* very excellently argues, in his Oration to *Augustus*.

4. *Justice and Fidelity.* Next after Piety, Justice is of greatest Consequence and Necessity; without which Governments are but so many Sets of *Banditti*, Robbers, and Invaders of the Rights of their Brethren. This therefore a Prince ought by all means to preserve and maintain in due Honour and Regard; both in his own Person and Conversation, and in the Observance of those under his Jurisdiction.

1. It is necessary to be strictly observed by the Sovereign Himself: For nothing but Detestation, and the utmost Abhorrence is due to those Barbarous and Tyrannical Maxims, which pretend to set a Prince above all Laws; and to complement him with a Power of Dispensing at Pleasure with Reason, and Equity, and all manner of Obligation and Conscience; which tell Kings that they are not bound by any Engagements; and that their Will and Pleasure is the only Measure of their Duty; That Laws were made for common Men, and not for such as They; That every thing is Good and Just, which they find most practicable and convenient: In short, that their Equity is their Strength; and whatever they can do, that they may do. * *No Man ever presumes to prescribe to Princes, or include them within the Verge of any Laws, but their own Inclinations. In the highest Post, Justice is always on the stronger side: That which is most profitable, can never be unlawful. Holiness and Piety, Faith and Truth, and common Honesty are the Virtues of private Men: Princes may take their own Course, and are above these vulgar Dispensations. So say Pliny and Tacitus. But against this false Doctrine, too apt to be liked by Persons in Power, I entreat my wise Prince, to oppose the really Excellent and Pious Sentences and Directions of Grave and Good Philosophers: "They tell you, That the greater Power any Man is invested with, the more regular and modest he should be in the "Exercise of it; That this is one of those Things which "must always be used with a Reserve; and the more one "could do, the less it will become him to do. That the "more absolute and unbounded any Man's Authority is, the "greater Check, and more effectual Restraint he hath upon*

* *Principi Leges nemo scripsit. Licet, si libet. In summa fortuna id æquius quod validius; nihil injustum quod fructuosum. Sanctitas, Pietas, Fides privata bona sunt; quæ juvat Reges eant.*

hinc

"him. That every Man's Ability should be measured by
"his Duty; and what he may not, that he cannot do. † *He
that can do what he will, must take care to will but a very lit-
tle. And Great Men should never think they have a Liberty
of doing what ought not to be done.*

The Prince then ought to lead the way, and be first and
most eminent for Justice and Equity; and particularly he
must be sure to be very punctual to his Word; and to keep
his Faith and his Promise most inviolably; because Fide-
lity and Truth is the Foundation of all manner of Justice
whatsoever; whether to all his Subjects in general, or to
each Person in particular. How mean soever the Party,
or how slight soever the Occasion be, still his Word must
be Sacred. When he hath thus provided for his own Beha-
viour, his next Care is, to see that others are Just too. For
This indeed is the Fundamental Article of all Government,
the very End of its Institution, and the particular Trust put
into the Hands of every Sovereign. He hath his Power
committed to him for this very Purpose, To take care that
Justice be equally distributed, and Wrongs and Oppressions
redress'd, by interposing his Arbitration and the Power of
the Sword, Therefore he ought in Person, or in Authori-
ty and Deputation, to hear and decide Causes; to let eve-
ry one have a fair Tryal, to award to each Party what by the
Letter of the Law, or by the equitable Construction of
it, belongs to him; and all this without Delays, or Quirks,
or Trickings; without Perplexing the Case, or Counte-
nancing Foul and Litigious Practice: And in order hereunto
it were very well if that Way of Pleading now in use, could
be either reformed, as it ought, or quite turn'd out of
doors; which is at present become a most vile, most de-
structive Trade, a perfect Market, † *A Robbery and Picking
of Pockets Countenanc'd by the Law,* and upheld under the
Pretence of a Learned and Honourable Profession. It
will also be advisable, to avoid, as much as may be, Mul-
tiplicity of Laws and Decrees, which only breed Confusion
and are ∴ *A Symptom of a sick and corrupt State,* as sure as
taking much Physick and wearing many Plaisters are Signs
of gross Humours and ill Health. For unless some Care of

† Minimum decet libere, cui minimum licet,
Non fas potentes posse, fieri quod nefas.

† Concessum Latrocinium. Columel.

∴ Corruptissimæ Reipub. plurimæ leges.

this kind be taken, that which is established by Good and Wise Laws, will be defeated and quite overturned again by too many Laws.

One thing, by the way, ought not to be omitted upon this Occasion; which is, that the Justice, and Virtue, and Probity of a Prince is not in all Points ty'd up to the same Methods, and manner of Proceeding with that of Persons in a private Capacity. It hath a larger Range, and freer Scope allow'd; and all the Latitude is Indulgence little enough; no more than is absolutely necessary for the Weighty and Hazardous Office our Governours are engag'd in, and the Infinite Unconceivable Difficulties the arise in their Administration. This makes it reasonable for Them to go in a Way by themselves; the common and direct Tract is too Narrow; they are oblig'd to shift, and dodge, and wheel about, and whatever Censures People, who understand not the Nature of the Case, may pass, as if every thing that is unusual and indirect, were presently Wicked and Unjust; yet those, who are capable of considering, and comperent Judges of the Matter, must admit it to be lawful and allowable, as well as prudent and needful for them to do. For Prudence must be mix'd with Justice; some Feints and Stratagems, and little Sights made use of; and (as they commonly express it) when the Lion's Skin is not big enough of it self, it must be eked out, by tacking a Fox-Skin to it.

Nor would I be so mistaken here neither, as to be thought a Justifier of these crafty Dealings at all times, and in all Cases indifferently. By no means. This is not a standing Rule of Action; But must be reserv'd for special Occasions and particularly, there must be three Conditions to warrant it. The first is absolute Necessity, or at least, some evident and very considerable Advantage to the Publick (that is, to the Prince and the State, who are to be look'd upon as One and the Same, and their Interests altogether inseparable) and this must by all means be consulted, and made the chief Aim. This is a natural, an indispensable Obligation: For the Publick Good is a Consideration Paramount to all others; and the Man that is procuring it, cannot but be doing his Duty.

** The Safety of the People must be the Supreme Law.*

** Salus Populi Suprema Lex esto.*

The

The Second Qualification which these Methods must have to recommend them, nay indeed to acquit them of Blame, is, That they be used Defensively only, and not Offensively; with a Design to preserve a Prince or a State, but not to aggrandize Them, and oppress Others. For this Reason they should seldom or never be begun with, but only returned back again; and then are they in proper time and Place, when employ'd to save the Publick from Snares and Subtle Designs, and not to contrive, but to discover and defeat, mischievous and wicked Practices. For one Trick may be answered with another; and it is reasonable to play the Fox with a Fox. The World is exceeding full of Malice and Cunning: And *Aristotle's* Observation is most true, That the Subversion of States and Kingdoms is usually owing to Treachery and Deceit. What then should hinder? what forbid? Nay, in such Exigencies, what can excuse the Conservators of the publick Safety, from preventing and disappointing such Calamities and Villainous Intentions by countermining? Why may not the State save it self by the same Methods that were practis'd to ruine it, and retort the Artifice of Faction and Wicked Male-content back upon their own Heads? For a Man to be too Squeamish in these Cases; to play constantly above-board and upon the square; and deal with these Men according to the Rules of that Rigorous Equity and Plain-dealing, which Reason and Conscience require from us in private Affairs, is inconsistent with the Nature and the Measures, nay, with the very End of all Government; and the Event would often be the betraying and losing all, and Sacrificing the Publick to an Unreasonable Scruple.

The Third Qualification is, That these Methods be used moderately and discreetly; As they are not fit for all Times, nor all Occasions; so neither are all Persons fit to be trusted with them. For they are capable of great Abuses: And if abused, will prove of ill Example and ill Consequence by ministring Occasion to ill Men, to practise and justify their Frauds and indirect Dealings, and so giving Countenance to VVickedness and Injustice, even in private Commerce and Transactions: For a Man is never at Liberty to forsake Virtue and Honesty, to follow Vice and Injustice; These things are so far from indifferent, that there is no Possibility of reconciling those distant Extreame, no Satisfaction capable of being made for so ill a Choice. And therefore away with all Injustice and Infidelity, all Treacherous and

Illegal proceedings; and cursed be the Principles and the Politicks of those Men, who (as Instanc'd before) would possess Sovereign Commanders with a Belief that all things are lawful, if they be but expedient for them. There is a vast difference between such an Arbitrary Notion of Right and Wrong, and the Rules and Limitations I have here laid down. Reasons of State may sometimes make it necessary to temper Honesty with Profit, and try if these two can be so mingled together as to make a good Composition. But, tho' we may try to compound and soften the Matter, yet we must never act in opposition to Justice. We may, nay, we must sometimes use Artifice and Subtilty; we may sometimes wheel off a little, and fetch a compass about it; but we must never lose Sight of it, much less turn our Backs upon it, and cast all Regard for so Sacred a Thing behind us. For there is a Cunning very consistent with Virtue and strict Honour, such as St. Basil the Great calls a *Great and Commendable Cunning*, (*Magna & laudabilis Astutia*) such as tends to Good; and may be used, as Mothers and Physicians deal by their Children and their Patients, when they tell them fine Stories to amuse and entertain them, and by degrees cheat them into Health. In short, many things may be transacted secretly and in the dark, which are not fit for publick View, and will not bear an opener Process; Prudence and Stratagem may be added to Courage and Strength. Art and Wit may supply the Defects of Nature and Force, in cases which these are not sufficient to manage: A Governor may, nay, he ought to be, as *Pindar* calls it, a Lion in the Field, and a Fox at the Council-Table; or as that Divine Saviour, who was Truth it self, hath exprest himself upon another occasion; He may be a subtle Serpent, but still a harmless Dove.

6.
Distrust-
ing others.

To say somewhat of this Matter more particularly, and give the Reader a distinct Notion, what sort of Subtlety I mean. I say that Distrust, and the keeping himself much upon the Reserve, is highly requisite in a Prince; and this is to be done, without abandoning Virtue and Equity. Distrust, which is the former of these two Qualifications, is absolutely necessary; as indeed its contrary, Credulity, and easiness, and rash Confidence, is a very great Fault, and of most dangerous Consequence to a Prince: For his Station obliges him to Vigilance; he is accountable for the whole Community, and therefore no Faults of his own can be light and inconsiderable; and where every Action hath so mighty

effect

effect, such universal Influence, great Care should be taken, and every thing done advisedly. If he be of a confiding Temper, he discovers his Intentions, and lays himself open to Shame and Reproach, and a world of dangers; * *He lays himself in the way of being ill used*; nay, he even invites and tempts treacherous and deceitful People to practise upon him; and gives them a power to do a World of Mischief, with very little danger, and great Opportunities of Advantage to themselves. Knaves have always the Inclination to be false; and trusting them gives them Ability of gratifying that Inclination to our Prejudice. A Prince should always retreat behind this Shield of Diffidence; as some of the Philosophers have stiled it, who represent it as a very considerable Branch of practical Wisdom, the very Nerves and Sinews, that impart Strength and Motion. That Diffidence, I mean, which consists in keeping ones Eyes open, ones Mind in suspense, suspecting and providing against every thing. And for all this, he will not need any more convincing Reason, any stronger Inducement, than barely the reflections upon the Temper and Condition of the World would give him. To observe, how all Mankind are made up of Falshood and Deceit, of Tricks and Lies; how Unfaithful and Dangerous, how full of Disguise and Design all Conversation is at present become, but especially, how much more it abounds near his own Person, and how manifestly Hypocrisie and Dissimulation are the reigning Qualities of Princes Courts, and Great Men's Families, above any other places whatsoever. A King therefore must be sure to trust but Few, but very Few; and those should always be such, as long Acquaintance, and many Tryals have given him a perfect Understanding, and good Assurance of. And even these most intimate Confidants must be consulted with so discreetly, that he never commit himself entirely, and without any reserve to them; he must not give them all the Rope, but constantly keep one End in his own Hand; and how long a Range soever he think fit to allow them, yet it will be very necessary to have an Eye always upon their Motions. But yet at the same time, this very Distrust must be concealed, and dissembled too; and in the very midst of his Reserves, a Prince must put on the Air of Openness and Friendship.

* *Opportunus Injurix. Senec. Aditum nocendi Perfido præstat Fides.*

and appear to repose a mighty Confidence in those about him. For nothing is more provoking and offensive, than plainly to see one's self suspected; and this Distance and Jealousie is sometimes as strong a Temptation to Treachery and foul Play, as too Supine and free a Confidence. * *Many Persons, says Seneca, have put it into People's Heads to deceive them, who would never have harbour'd any such thought, if their own Fears of being deceived, had not given the first Hint.* And thus it is sometimes in the other Extreme too; A very great Frankness and declar'd Reliance, oftentimes takes off the Inclination to betray a Secret, and wrong the good Opinion and Confidence you have of them: And many People have been brought over to strict Loyalty and Fidelity, and hearty Affection, by seeing themselves freely dealt with. For † *Every body naturally loves to be trusted; and the reposing a more than ordinary Confidence, sometimes fixes a Man in Your Interests, and engages him to be Secret and Faithful.* So much Ingenuity still remains in the most degenerate Minds, that they see the Odiousness of Treachery and Falshood; and tho' Gain put too many upon doing the thing, yet not one of all those can bear the Imputation, or be reconciled to the Character of Falsifying a Trust.

From that Distrust springs Diffimulation; which is a Branch of the same Stock: For were there no such thing as Diffidence and Reserve, but Frankness and Fidelity, and Good Assurance every-where, there would be no place left for Dissembling; whose Business it is to open the Face, but cover the Heart; and while one's outward Air seems to unlock all, to keep the Thoughts and Intentions close and unseen. Now the same Diffimulation, which in Persons of private Condition would be vicious and abominable, is in Princes highly commendable; there is no discharging their weighty Affairs without it; and the very thing which ruins common Conversation, is the best Security, and necessary Support of Government. Feints and Pretences are absolutely requisite, not in a Military Conduct only, and time of War, to amuse Enemies and Strangers, but even in Peace, and Civil Administration towards one's Subjects; tho' upon such Occasions, I confess, they ought to be practis'd

* Multi fallere docuerunt timentes falli. Sen.

† Vult quisque sibi credi, & habita fides ipsam plerunque obligat fidem.

more sparingly and nicely. The plain, and free, and open, such as we commonly say carry their Hearts in their Faces, are by no means cut out for the Business of Governing; they often ruine and betray both themselves and their People. And yet, as was observed in the former Paragraph, so here again, this Diffimulation requires some Dexterity and Skill. It is not every one whose Temper will let him dissemble, that is Master of this Art; for unless the Part be play'd well, it is absolutely spoil'd; and therefore care must be taken of Over-doing, and Unseasonableness, and awkward improper Carriage: For This is easily seen through, and then you lose your End. For to what purpose do you hide and disguise your self, if the Mask be so plain, that every Body can distinguish, and see you put it on? And how vain are all Pretences and little Artifices, when the Secret is once out, and the Design hath taken Air? Their very Nature then is changed, and they cease from thenceforward to be Artifices any more. It is therefore fit for a Prince to pretend to Simplicity and Sincerity, the better to cover his Address of this kind; and convenient for him to court, and caress, and commend Men of open Tempers and free Carriage, and all that profess themselves Enemies to Diffimulation; nay, it is expedient for him, in matters of less Consequence, to act so, and gain the Reputation of such a one himself, that so he may be more at liberty to use Art and Reserve in Affairs of greater Moment, and be safe from Jealousie when he does so; under the shelter of a contrary Character.

8. What hath hitherto been exemplify'd, is chiefly on the Omitting side; and the Exercise of it consists not so much in Action, as in forbearing, and seeming not to act. But some Occasions require a great deal more; and therefore a Prince must be qualify'd for bolder Strokes, and advance to actual Deceit; of which there are Two sorts necessary to be understood, and sometimes to be practis'd.

The First is That of settling a private Correspondence, and getting Intelligence underhand: The engaging the Affections and Services of Officers, Attendants, Counsellors, and Confidants to Foreign Princes; or, if occasion be, contriving to have secret Information, not only how one's Enemies, or Brother-Kings, but even one's own Subjects behave themselves, and what Designs are brewing. This is a sort of Subtiery much in request, and every where made use of, between one Prince and another; and *Tully* recommends it

as a very considerable Point of Prudence. Sometimes this is effected by the power of Persuasion only ; but, generally speaking, there are more sensible and moving Arguments made use of, than bare Words can pretend to, Presents, I mean, and Pensions ; whose Force is so irresistible, that not only Secretaries of State, Presidents of Councils, particular Friends, and intimate Favourites, have by this means been prevailed upon to communicate, and so prevent and defeat the Designs of the Master, whose Bread they eat, and to whose Countenance and Bounty they owe all their Greatness ; not only Commanders have assisted their Enemies in time of Action ; but, which is still more prodigious, and proves the Almighty Power of Bribery, to the Eternal Reproach of treacherous corrupt Nature, even Wives themselves have been hired to discover the Secrets, and betray the safety of their own Husbands. Now this corrupting the Confidants of others, is what a great many make no scruple of approving : and indeed, if it be practiced either against a declared Enemy, or a Subject of one's own, who hath ministred just Grounds of Suspicion ; or if it be against any Stranger in general, with whom we are under no particular Engagements of Alliance or Friendship, or mutual Trusts, there seems to be no great difficulty in allowing it to Princes : But certainly it can never be justify'd against Confederates and Friends : for where any such Obligations intervene, these very Attempts to debauch these, upon whose Secrecy and Advices they rely, is a piece of Treachery never to be indulged them.

The other sort of necessary Deceit, is the Address of gaining Advantages, and compassing one's Design by cunning and unseen Methods ; by equivocating and ambiguous Terms ; by refin'd Subtleties, and deep Intrigues ; by good Words, fair Promises, Complements and Congratulations, the Formalities of Embassies and Letters ; by these outwardly fair Pretences, and amusing Stratagems, bringing Matters about, and securing Advantages, which the want of Time, or Opportunity, or the Difficulty and Perplexity of a Prince's Affairs had cut him out from effecting any other way : And so he must work like a Mole, under-ground, and do that unseen and behind the Curtain, which will not bear the open Stage. There have been several great and wise Men of Opinion, that these Proceedings are lawful as well

as expedient. * Governours ought to make no scruple of having Plato. frequent recourse to Lies and Tricks, when the Advantage of Pliny. their Subjects is concerned; (says one). And another, That it Valer. is a part of Prudence to deceive, as occasion and the present po- Maxim. stance of Affairs shall require. I must confess for my own part, these seem to me very bold Assertions; And I think the pronouncing such Practices generally and in themselves lawful, savours of too much Positiveness, or too great Latitude. The furthest I dare stretch in favour of them, and that possibly one might venture to say, is, that where the Case is almost desperate, and the Necessity exceeding urgent, when it is a Season of Perplexity, and Confusion, and general Disorder; when the End proposed to be attained by it, is not only the promoting the Interest or Greatness of a Commonwealth, but the averting and shifting off some very great and threatening Mischiefs; and when the Persons, against whom we take these Advantages, are profligate, and of no Principles themselves; I say, all these Circumstances concurring, a Man perhaps might venture to say, that such Tricks of State are either no Faults; or if they be, very moderate and pardonable Faults.

† But there are other Instances still behind, of much greater difficulty; such as minister very just ground of Doubt whether they are allowable upon Reasons of State, or not, because they have a strong Tincture of Injustice, and border hard upon Oppression. I say they have a strong Tincture, because they are not totally unjust; for there is a Mixture of Justice at the same time, to temper and allay the Injustice that is in them. For were there not so, there could be no scruple. That which is altogether unjust, and manifestly so, all Men agree in condemning; even the vilest Wretches

To
Injustice
for the
Publick
Good.

* Crebro mendacio & fraude uti Imperantes debent ad Commodum Subditorum. Decipere pro moribus temporum Prudentiæ est.

* The Reader is desired to observe how cautious and tender the Author is at the End of these Cases, which is the more remarkable, because he lived under an Absolute and Arbitrary Government, where many things were practised and allowed, which can by no means hold, or be drawn into Precedents in limited Constitutions. And generally speaking, no doubt that Prince governs best, who brings his Measures nearest to those of Common and Private Justice. The Reader will find an excellent Remark to this purpose, made by one who was himself an Emperor, in *M. Antonin. eis iavlov, lib. ix. S. 24.*

alive

alive have not yet put off all Distinctions of Right and Wrong, all Sense of Guilt and Shame: But what they allow themselves in the practice of, even that they disallow in Profession and Pretence. But the Case is otherwise in mixt Actions; there are Arguments and Appearances of Reason at least, Examples and Authorities on both sides; and a Man, that enters into the Disquisition, does not find it easie what Resolutions to take. At least he finds somewhat to give Countenance to what his Convenience persuades; and that which hath divided Men's Judgments, and made it a moot Point, he thinks will be sufficient for his Vindication. Abundance of Cases of this nature might be specify'd; but at present I shall content my self with a few, that now occur to me, and leave it to the Reader, to put others like, or parallel to these, as he sees fit.

What shall we say first to the ridding one's Hands of a troublesome pestilent Fellow, that propagates Faction and Disorder, and is eternally breaking the publick Peace, by getting him taken off secretly, without any legal Process? This Man, take notice, is supposed to deserve Death, but the Circumstances of the Offender, and of the Prince, are such, that without manifest Danger to the State he cannot be brought to Justice, nor made an Example in the common way. Here is, they tell you, no material Injustice in all This; the Offender hath but his Due; and, as Matters stand, the Publick is better served by his having it in this way, than it could be, by punishing him after the manner of other Offenders of the like Nature. So that the most you can make of this, is a Breach of the Forms and Methods prescribed by Law; and surely, they tell you, the Sovereign Prince is above Forms.

The next is Clipping the Wings, and giving a Check to the Wealth and Power of some Great Man, who is growing Popular, and strengthening his Interest; and both from his Ability and Inclination to do Mischief, becomes formidable to his Prince. The Question here is, whether a Prince may not lower and cut such a potent Subject short in time, without staying so long for a fair Provocation, that he shall be grown too big to be dealt with; and if any Attempts be made, either against the publick Peace in general, or the Life of the Prince in particular, it will not then be possible to prevent or to punish them, though we would never so fain.

Another is, In an extreme Exigence, and when no other Sub-
plies are to be had, seizing upon private Stocks, and so compelling

selling some of the wealthiest Subjects to furnish the Publick Necessities, when the Nation is not able by all its Publick Funds to support it self.

A fourth is Infringing and Vacating some of the Rights and Privileges which some of the Subjects enjoy, when the Authority of the Prince is prejudiced and diminished, and his Grandeur eclipsed by the Continuance of them.

The Last is, a Point of Prevention, when a Fort, or a Town, or a Province very commodious to the Government is seiz'd, and got into a Prince's Hands by interposing first; and to keep it out of the Possession of some other powerful and very formidable Neighbour, who by making himself Master of this Pass, would have been in a Condition of doing great Injury, and giving perpetual Disturbance to this Prince and his Country, who are now the first Occupiers.

All these things, I know, sound harsh, and are hardly, if at all, to be reconciled with the common Notions of Justice. Matters of State are neither fit nor safe for me to give a Judgment in; thus much only, I think, may not misbecome this place to say, That, as on the one hand the indulging and having frequent recourse to such Actions is very dangerous, gives just matter of Jealousie to the Subject, and will be apt to degenerate into Tyranny and Exorbitant use of Power; so on the other, it is plain, Subjects ought to be modest and very sparing in censuring the Actions of their Prince, and the Steps he makes for the publick Safety, however bold they may seem, and beyond the Lengths which are commonly gone. And this suspending at least of our Judgments, in matters of another and very distant Sphere, will appear the more reasonable, when I have shewed you that very eminent Men, Persons of acknowledged Virtue as well as vast Learning and Wisdom, have approved all those Practices already mention'd, and think them not amiss, provided the Success be good, and answer their Intentions. And to this purpose I will quote you here some of those Sentences and Remarks which they have left us upon such Occasions.

In order to preserve Justice in greater and more important Matters, there is sometimes a necessity (says Plutarch) of deviating from it in those of less Moment. And in order to doing Right to the generality, and in the gross, it is allowable to put some Hardships, and be guilty of some Wrong to particular

particular Persons. * Commonly speaking, (says Tacitus) the bravest Exploits, and most celebrated Examples, carry somewhat of Injustice in them: But in this Case, what Private Men suffer is abundantly compensated by the Benefit which the Publick receives from it. † A Prudent Prince, says Plutarch again, must not only know how to govern according to Law; But, if a necessary occasion require it, he must learn to govern even the Laws themselves; When they fall short of their End, and cannot do what they would, he must stretch and correct, and give a new Power to the Laws, where they happen to be defective; that is, if they are not willing he should do what is fitting in that Juncture, he must make them willing. ∴ When the State is in Confusion, and things brought to a Plunge, the Prince (says Curtius) must not think himself obliged to follow that which will look or sound best to the World, but that which the present Extremity calls for. And again, * Necessity, (says Seneca) That great Refuge and Excuse for Humane Frailty, breaks thro' all Laws; and he is not to be accounted in fault, whose Crime is not the Effect of Choice, but Force. Aristotle's Rule is, If a Prince cannot be good in every part of his Government, 'tis enough that he be so in the greater, or at least an equal part; but let him be sure not to be bad in every part. And Democritus, That it is impossible for the best Princes in the World not to be guilty of some Injustice.

Thus much however, I presume to add, that let these Actions of theirs find never so favourable Interpretations, never so just Allowances; yet, for their own Justification, and the softening, as much as may be, the Odium of such irregular Proceedings: There is not only a Necessity that they should be reserved for the last Extremities, but that when Princes are perfectly driven to make use of them, they should go about it with a real Unwillingness and great Regret. They should look upon This necessity to which they are reduced, as a very particular Misfortune, and Mark of an angry Providence; and all their Behaviour

* Omne magnum Exemplum habet aliquid ex iniquo, quod adversus singulos utilitate publicâ rependitur.

† Οὕτως ἡγεμονικὴν οὐσίαν ἔχων, ἔκαστὰ τὰς νόμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν νόμων ἀρχὴν ἡπιστασθεὶς τὸ συμφέρον, &c. in fine Flamin.

∴ Non speciosa dictu, sed usu necessaria in rebus adversis sequenda esse. Q. Curt. Lib. 5.

* Necessitas magnum imbecillitatis humanæ patrocinium, omnem Legem frangit; non est nocens, quicumque non sponte est nocens, Senec.

and

and Resentments upon such Occasions, must be like those oftender Parents, when, fore against their Will, a beloved Child is to have a Limb fear'd, or cut off; Methods which nothing but the hope of saving his Life by this only Remedy, could ever prevail with them to submit to; or as a Man in extremity of Pain goes about the drawing a Tooth, when nothing else will ease or assuage the Anguish. And now I have related the Opinions of very eminent Philosophers and Politicians, and observed what Abatements they are content to make for Cases of necessity. I must once more solemnly avow, that as for any Passages, or Politick Maxims, which pretend to greater Liberties, such as set a Prince above all Consideration of Law or Justice, that make Profit and Greatness the only End worthy his prosecuting; and either place Advantage upon the Level with Honesty, or set it higher, every Good Man must abominate them; and every good Governour will be so far from taking his measures according to this Standard, that he will reject them with Detestation and Disdain.

I have insisted so much the longer upon this Branch of a Prince's Virtue; because of the many Difficulties and Doubts, which arise upon this Point of Justice; the regular Exercise and Administration whereof must needs be very much interrupted and perplexed by the infinite Emergencies, and sudden and extraordinary Changes, and the Necessities that the Publick happens to be involv'd in. And these oftentimes are so very intricate and pressing, that they may very well be allowed to puzzle the Wisest, and to stagger the bravest, and most resolute Commanders.

After Justice follows Valour: by which I mean particularly that Virtue which is Military; The Courage, the Conduct, the Capacity, which go to the making a Compleat General. For this is a Qualification absolutely necessary for a Prince, for the Defence and Security of his own Person, and the Publick both. The Welfare of his Subjects, the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, the Rights and Liberties of a Nation. All lie at his Charge; He is their Conservator, and they depend upon his Ability, to assert, and protect, and maintain them. All which Valour only can enable him to do; and by the very little said already upon it, That appears to be so essential a part of the Royal Character, that a Man who hath it not, scarce deserves the Name of a Prince.

Let us now proceed to the Fourth Princely Virtue, which is Clemency. By which I mean such a Habit and Disposition

11.
Valour.

12.
Clemency.
of

of Mind, as inclines the Prince to Mildness and Gentleness; to Gracious Allowances, and large Abatements from the Rigour of the Law, and Extremity of Justice; and all this temper'd with Judgment and Discretion. This moderates, manages, and sweetens all; it spurs the Guilty, relieves the Poor and dejected. and rescues those that are ready to perish. Clemency in the Ruler answers to Humanity in common Men; it is contrary to Cruelty and excess of Rigour, but not to Justice; for with this it is very reconcilable, and all its Care is to soften, and to moderate its Determinations. Nothing can be more necessary, more seasonable, considering the many Infirmities of Humane Nature; how great a part of Mankind offend wilfully, and do what they should not; and how often do even the best intending Men, fall short of what they should? Extreme Rigour, and * severe Usage, without any Intermission, any Abatement, spoils all, it hardens Mens Tempers, and brings Authority into Contempt. Punishments lose their Force, and their End, when made common, and executed every Day; they provoke Mens Indignation and Malice, (for indeed Men are often Wicked out of mere Rage and Spight,) and many Rebellions have been rais'd by the Thirst of Revenge. There is something in Fear, which is even destructive of Duty, if it be not tempered, and kept within Bounds by Lenity and good Nature; and if turn'd into Horror by sharp Usage, and too strong Impressions, it grows Furious and Desperate, Malicious and Bloody. Thus the Author hath observ'd very truly, *∴ That Fear which secures Peace and good Order, must be moderate; if once it become continual and extreme, it spurs Men on to Mutiny and Revenge.* Clemency is likewise of great Advantage, both to the Prince and the Publick, as it gains the good will of the Subjects, and binds them in the straitest and the surest Ties to the Government; even those of Affection and Kindness, for these are always the strongest and most lasting Security; and † *A Prince never sits so fast, as when his Subjects are easie, and take a pleasure in their Obedience,* as I shall have Occasion to shew hereafter. For in such a Case the People will look upon their Governour, as a sort of Deity incarnate; they will honour and

* Severitas amittit assiduitate Authoritatem.

∴ Temperatus Timor est qui cohibet; Assiduus & acer in vindictam excitat.

† Firmissimum Imperium, quo obediētes gaudent. *Tit. Liv. ad ore*

adore him as such ; they will respect and love him as their Guardian, their Common Father, their Friend ; and instead of any uneasie Fear of him, they will be in perpetual Fear for him ; tender of his Life and his Person ; and in mighty Pain and Solitude, lest any Ill should happen to either ; consequently they will be Zealous in his Defence, firm to all his Interests, averse and implacable to his Enemies. This then is the Lesson, in which all Princes should be perfect ; to get themselves well inform'd of all that is done ; not to prosecute every Crime they know ; nay, many times to act, and manage themselves, as if they knew it not ; to be better satisfied with the Character of having found their Subjects made good to their Hands, than that of having reform'd and made them so by any Rigours of their own ; readily to extend their Grace to small Faults, and where such Easiness may be inconvenient, to render heinous Offenders very exemplary, and make them smart severely for their Insolence and bold Contempt of the Laws. To consider, that frequent Executions are an Aspersions to their Government ; and bring as great Scandal upon their Reign, as the Death of many Patients doth to the Practice of a Physician ; and therefore not to be fond of taking Men off upon every Provocation, but to content themselves oftentimes with a Malefactors Repentance ; and esteem the Sense of his Guilt, his Shame, and Remorse, and Self-condemnation a Punishment sufficient.

† *Relenting Misery inclines the Brave ;
Conquerours are most triumphant, when they save ;
Justice and Mercy may suspend their Strife,
He suffers for his Crime, who yields to beg his Life.*

Nor is there any just Ground of that Apprehension, which some People very inconsiderately pretend, upon these Occasions ; that such Mercy will be taken for Tameless or Impotence ; that it makes a Prince despicable in the Eyes of his People ; gives his Enemies Advantage, provokes turbulent Spirits to insult, and loosens the Nerves of Government : For the Effect is really quite contrary. Such Mildness is a mighty strengthening to a Prince ; adds Vigour and Efficacy to his Commands, and wonderfully rai-

† ——— Ignoscere pulchrum,
Jam misero, poenaeq; genus vidisse precantem,

ses his Reputation. A Prince that is well belov'd, shall be able to do more with the Hearts of his Subjects, than all the Awe and Terror in the World ; this may put Men into trembling and astonishment, but it gives them no true Principle of Obedience ; and, as *Salust* argued in his Oration to *Cesar*, such Governments are never Stable and of long Continuance, because they are built upon an ill bottom. Whoever he be, that is feared by a great many, hath a great many whom he hath reason to be afraid of too. The Fear, which he sheds down upon all about him, dashes back again upon his own Head. Such a sort of Life is full of Anxieties and Misgivings ; and a Man is surrounded with Dangers, that threaten him continually from every Quarter. It is true indeed, this Clemency ought not to be extended without any Distinction ; Judgment, as was said in the beginning of the Paragraph, must direct and determine it. For, as it is a Virtue, and that which attracts the profoundest Veneration, when judiciously managed ; so is it a Vice of most pernicious Consequence, when degenerating into soft and easie Tameness.

13.
Liberality.

After these Four Principal Virtues, which are the brightest Jewels in a Prince's Diadem, there follow some others of a Second Form ; and these, though inferiour to the former in Lustre, have yet their just Value, and are necessary and useful, though not so absolutely, and in so high a degree. Liberality, for instance, which is so much more suitable to a Prince's Character, as it is a greater Reflection upon him to be vanquish'd by Bounry and Magnificence, than to be worsted in the Field. But here too, there is great need of Discretion ; for, where That is wanting, this Quality will be apt to do more Hurt than Good.

Of two
Kinds.

There are two Kinds of Liberality. The one consists in Sumptuousness and Shew ; and this is to very little purpose. It is certainly a very idle and vain Imagination, for Princes to think of raising their Character, and setting themselves off by August, and Splendid, and expensive Appearances : especially too among their own Subjects, where they can do what they please, and are sure to have no Rival of their Grandeur. This seems rather a mark of a little Soul ; an Argument, that they want a due Sense of what they really are, and is both beneath Them to do, and very unacceptable to their People to see. For, however for the present Subjects may gaze at their Poms with Delight, yet as soon as the Entertainment is over, they presently be-

gin to reflect, that Their Princes are thus enrich'd and adorn'd with Their Spoils; that This is no better than being sumptuously feasted at Their Cost; and that the Money, which now feeds their Sight with Triumphs and Gaudy Greatness, is pinch'd from more necessary Occasions, and wou'd have been much better sav'd to feed their Bellies. And besides all this; a Prince should be so far from Lavish, and Profuse, that he should make a great Conscience of Frugality; for indeed he should think nothing he enjoys strictly his own; since engag'd in a Trust, that requires his All, his very Life and Person to be devoted to the Good of others.

The Second sort of Liberality is that which consists in distributing Gifts, and making Presents: Of this indeed there is considerable Use, and a just Commendation due to it. But then this must be discreetly manag'd too; and good Care should always be taken, to what Persons, in what Proportions, and after what Manner this is done. As to the Persons, They ought to be well chosen, such whose Merits recommend them to their Bounty; such as have been serviceable to the Publick; such as have hazarded their Fortunes and their Persons, and run thro' the Dangers and Fatigues of War. These are such Persons, as none but the Unthinking or the very Ill-natur'd can grudge any thing to, or envy the Favour, so as to represent the Prince as Partial or Undistinguishing in his Liberality. Whereas, quite otherwise, great Gratuities distributed without any regard to Merit, and where there really is none, derive Shame and Odium upon the Receiver; and are entertain'd without those due Acknowledgments, and that grateful Sense, which the Favours of a Prince ought to find. Some Tyrants have been sacrific'd and given up to the Rage and Spite of an incens'd Rabble, by those very Servants whom they had rais'd from Nothing; while these Creatures of theirs have been as much diverted with their Masters Misfortunes, as any of their Enemies, and have taken this Course to ingratiate themselves with the Mob, and for securing their own Fortunes, by giving Demonstrations of the Hatred and Contempt to the Person, from whom those Fortunes were entirely deriv'd.

Nor is it less necessary, that the Proportion of a Prince's Liberality should be strictly regarded; for otherwise this may run out into such Squandering and Excess, That both the Giver and the Government may be impoverish'd and brought to Ruine by it. For, to give to every body, and upon every Occasion, is to play with a losing Hand, and till

all's gone. Private Men are for making their Fortunes, and it is not possible to satisfy them; they will soon grow extravagant in their Requests, if they find their Prince to be so in his Favours; and the Rule they Measure by, is not Reason, but Example; not how much is fit to be granted to Them, but how much hath already been granted to Others. However, by this Means the Publick Treasures will be exhausted; and a King be necessitated to seize other Peoples Rights, that * so *Injustice and Oppression may heal and reimburse those Wants, which Ambition and Prodigality have created.* Now, it were infinitely better to give nothing at all, than to take away from one to give to another. For after all our Kindness, the Gratitude and Affection of those that are obliged by us, never makes so deep Impressions, nor sticks half so close, as the Resentments of them, that have been injur'd and plunder'd. Besides, This Profuseness is its own Destruction, for the Spring cannot run always; if you draw too fast, it will soon be drain'd dry. † *By being Liberal, says St. Jerom, Man makes it impossible to be so.* For a farther Prevention whereof, as well as upon other very good Considerations, it will be convenient to spin out ones Liberality; to let it come gently and by degrees, rather than to give all we intend at once. For that which is done on the sudden, and at a heat, be the thing never so considerable in it self, yet passes off, as it were insensibly, and is quickly forgotten. All things that have a grateful Relish should be contriv'd to be as slow and leisurely in the Passage, as can be; that so the Palate may have time to taste them: but, on the contrary, all those Dispensations that are harsh and severe, (when Occasions call for any such) should be dispatch'd with all possible Convenience, that so, like bitter Potions, they may be swallow'd at once. Thus you see, that the Giving as becomes one, is an Act of Prudence, and the Exercise of Liberality to the best Advantage, requires great Address and Skill. To which purpose Tacitus hath this notable Remarks. ‡ *Those Persons (say he) are under a mighty Error, who know not how to distinguish between Liberality and Luxury; abundance of Men know how to squander, that do not know how to give.* And to speak

* Quod Ambitione exhaustum, per Scelera supplendum.

† Liberalitate Liberalitas perit.

‡ Falluntur, quibus Luxuria Specie Liberalitatis imponit, perdere multi sciunt, donare nesciunt.

the very Truth, Liberality is not a Virtue peculiar to Kings and milder Governments only, but very consistent even with Tyranny it self. And surely the Tutors and Governors of young Princes are much in the wrong, when they labour to possess their Minds with such strong and early Impressions of Giving; of refusing nothing that is ask'd of them; of thinking nothing so well employ'd, as what they give to their Friends. This is the Jargon usual in such Cases. But either This seems to proceed from some Advantage these Instructors design to make of such a Principle hereafter, or for want of due regard to the Person they address themselves to. For a too governing Notion of Liberality is of very ill Consequence, in a Person, whose Fortunes are so plentiful, as to supply the Expences of others, at what rate himself shall think fit. And of the Two Extremes, though either of them are very far from Good, yet a Prodigal or a Giving Prince, he that spends upon his own Vanities, or he that feeds those of his Servants and Favourites, without Discretion and due Measure, is a great deal worse than a Stingy One, that keeps his Hand shut to all. And, whereas these frequent Boons are pretended of Use to make Friends, and secure the Service and Affection of those who are obliged by them: There is very little or nothing of Substance in this Argument; For immoderate and undistinguishing Liberality encourages every body to ask and to expect, and so for One Friend, makes Ten Enemies, in Proportion as the Repulses must needs be more frequent than the Grants. But indeed, if it be wisely and well regulated, it is undoubtedly, as I said before, exceeding Graceful and Commendable in a Prince, and may prove of Excellent Advantage, both to Himself and to the State.

Another very becoming Virtue is Magnanimity. That, I mean, more peculiarly, which consists in a Greatness of Spirit not easily to be provoked, such as despises and can pass over Injuries and Indecencies, and moderate his Anger when it begins to fly out. * *A Great Fortune and Dignity should have a Noble Mind; such as can look down upon Wrongs and Provocations, as Matters a great way below it, and not worth its Notice; and Majesty should consider that there are not many Offences which will justify a Prince's being angry.*

*Magnum Fortunam magnus Animus decet. —Injurias & Offensiones superne despicere. —Indignus Cæsaris ira.

Besides, to fret and be concerned, is often interpreted for Consciousness of Guilt; and that which a Man makes flight of, blows quickly over, and seldom sticks long. So says the wise Roman, † *If Reproaches put you in a Passion, the World will look upon this as a sort of Confession: But if you disregard them, they vanish and die without doing any manner of Prejudice.* But then, if any Provocation be given, which ministers just and sufficient Cause to be angry, let those Resentments be express'd openly without labouring to conceal or to dissemble them; that the People about him may have no reason to suspect any thing of a Secret Grudge, or a Mischievous Design in him. For these are Qualities for the meanest and basest sort of People, and Symptoms of a Malicious, Devilish and Incurable Disposition. ∴ *Pitiful Fellows and Unreclaimable Wretches keep Malice in their Hearts,* (says Tacitus) *and to feed upon a Grudge is an evident Mark of Baseness and Barbarity.* Of the two, the giving Offence and doing an Ill thing is less disagreeable to the Character of a Great Man, than the hating and maligning of others for doing so to Him. And thus I have done with this Head of Virtue; the other Branches of it in general being not so properly distinguishing Properties and peculiar Ornaments of the Royal Dignity, as Excellencies lying in common between Princes and the rest of Mankind.

15.
The third
Head.
Behaviour.

The next thing that comes under our Consideration, after the Prince's Virtue, is what they call his *Manner*, that is, his Behaviour and Way of Living; the Mien, the Port, the Address, that sure with the Majesty of a Prince; and all those profound Respects so necessary to be kept up. Upon this I shall not insist at all, only, by the way as it were, touch upon it. Now, though Nature contribute a great deal to this in the Form and Temper of the Person, yet all that Nature does is capable of Amendment and Improvement both, by the additional Helps of Industry and Art. Under the Head we are now upon, may be reckoned the Air of his Face, the Composure of his Countenance; his Fashion and Behaviour, his Gait, his Tone, and manner of Speech, his Clothes and Dressing. The general Rule to be observed in all these particulars, is such a Mixture of Sweetness and Moderation, of Staidness and Graviry, as

† Convitia si irascere, agnita videntur; spreta exolescunt.
∴ Obscuri & irrevocabiles reponunt odia. Sæva Cogitationis indicium secreto suo satiari.

may win upon Men Minds, and move their Affections pleasingly; such as may keep the middle Way between Familiarity and Fear, engage their Love, and yet command their Honour and Respect. His Court and Conversation are likewise worth taking notice of. For the former, it is convenient that it should be very publick, that the Palace he dwells in should be Noble and Magnificent, fit for Resort and Correspondence; and if that can be well contriv'd, not far from the Middle of his Country, or, at least, the most significant Part of it; that so his Eye may command all the Quarters; and like the Sun in the midst of the Firmament, pierce, enlighten and warm all round about him, with the Influence of his Beams. For when a Prince resides in some very remote Corner of his Dominions, this Distance emboldens those in the contrary Extremity to behave themselves insolently, and grow Tumultuous and Unruly. As for his Conversation, That should be very reserved, his Confidants and familiar Friends but few, his Progresses and other Appearances in publick but seldom; that the People may always be eager and glad to see him: For the shewing himself often, and giving too easie Access to his Person, will mightily lessen the Majesty of his Character. * *The being always admitted to the Sight and Presence of Great Persons, does mightily impair and diminish our Respect, by Glutting our Curiosity*, says one of the Roman Historians: And another to this purpose: † *Majesty is always most reverenc'd at a distance: for Nature forms all our Idea's bigger than the Life; and what we are not acquainted with, is always fancy'd to be very Great and Stately.*

After the Three Things already treated of, The Knowledge of his People and Government, the Virtues of his Mind, and the Fashion and Address of the Prince; all which are inseparable from his own Person; The next things we are led to consider, are such as are near and about his Person. And therefore in the fourth place, let us say somewhat concerning his Counsel, which, in truth, is the main point of all this Head, which relates to his Politicks, and of Consequence so vast, that it is in a manner All in All. For Counsel is the Soul of any Go-

16.
The fourth
Head.
Counsel.

* *Continuus Aspectus minus verendos magnos homines ipsa satietate facit. Liv.*

† *Majestati major ex longinquo Reverentia; quia omne ignotum pro magnifico est.*

verament ; the Spirit that infuses Life and Motion, Energy and Vigour into all the rest. And upon the Account of this it is, that the Management of Affairs consists in Prudence ; because Hands are of no Significance at all, till the Heads have cut them out their Work, and prescrib'd their Methods. It were indeed to be wish'd, That a Prince were enrich'd with so great a Stock of Prudence and Consideration, as to be able himself to govern, and dispose, and contrive every thing, without calling in Help from abroad ; this is such a Sufficiency, as the first Chapter of this Book observed to be the noblest Perfection and highest Degree of Wisdom ; and no question can be made, but that Matters would be better order'd, and more successfully dispatch'd if it could be so. But this is an Accomplishment meerly imaginary, no Instance of it is to be found in Nature ; whether it be, that Princes want the Advantage of good Temper, or good Instruction. And indeed, let Nature be never so bountiful, and Education never so proper, yet it is scarce possible to suppose, that all the Parts, and all the Improvements in the World could ever qualify one single Head for the Comprehending and Direction of such infinite Variety of Business. * *No Prince, says Tacitus, can have a reach so great, as to be Master of all his Concerns : no one Mind is strong enough to carry so great a Burden.* A single Man hears and sees but very little, in Comparison ; But King's have need of abundance of Eyes and Ears to assist and give Intelligence. Great Weights and great Undertakings can only be made light by a Multitude of Hands. And therefore it is absolutely necessary for a Prince to provide himself with good Advice, and with Persons every way capable of giving it ; for, as the Case stands, and the Intrigues of Government are perplex'd, he that will take upon him to do all of his own Head, shall much sooner fix upon himself the Character of Pride and Conceitedness, than gain the Reputation of Wisdom. A Prince then, of all Men, hath most need of faithful Friends, and diligent Servants, who may assist him in his Difficulties, and *ease him of part of his Cares.* These are the real, the most valuable Treasures of a King, and the most useful Instruments to the Publick : And therefore the first and great Care must be, to make a wise Choice of Assistants, and employ the utmost Ap-

Liv.

Tacit.

Plin.

* *Nequit Princeps snâ scientiâ cuncta complecti ; nec unius Mens tantæ molis est capax.*

plication,

plication, and bend all one's Judgment to have such as are excellent and proper for a post of such vast Importance. Now of these Assistants, there are two sorts ; One that contribute their Advice, and project only ; and these employ Xenoph. their Wit, and their Tongue ; and are, in strict propriety of Speech, Counsellors ; the Other are concern'd in the executive part, they lend us their Hands, and their Pains, and these are more properly styled Officers. Of these the former sort are in much the more Honourable Character : For thus two great Philosophers have declared their O- Plato. pinion, that it is a most Sacred and Divine Accomplish- Aristot. ment, to consider Judiciously, and be able to advise well.

Now in Persons thus to be chosen and employed, several Qualifications are necessary : As, first of all, It is necessary to choose such as are Faithful, and fit to be trusted ; ^{17.} Qualifica- that is, in one Word, Men of Virtue and good Principles. ^{tions of} Counsellors: * I take for granted, (says Pliny) that the better Man any one is, the more stanch and true he is, and more safe to be depended upon. Secondly, They must be Persons of Ability, and proper for this Office, not only in regard of their Knowledge and Learning in general, but upon the Account of their Skill in Politicks, and that express Form of Government in particular ; such as have been used, and try'd before, and have come off with Honour and Success, versed in Business, and accustom'd to Difficulties : For Hardships and Adversities are the most useful and improving Lessons. † Fortune, says one, in the room of many advantages which she hath torn from me, hath given me the Faculty of Advice and Persuasion. And in one Word, They must be wise and discreet, moderately quick, not too sprightly and sharp ; for such Men will be always projecting. And ∴ Men of Fire are more for Change, than steady Management. Now in order to these Qualifications, it is necessary that they should be Men of ripe Years, to give them Staidness, Experience, and Consideration ; nay, I may add, to inspire them with Caution too ; for it is one of the many Unhappineffes attending Youth, that Persons then are easily imposed upon ; of which the Tenderneff and Softneff of their Brain

* Optimum quemque fidelissimum puto.

† Mihi Fortuna multis rebus ereptis, usum dedit bene suadendi. *Mithr. in Salust.*

; Novandis quam gerendis rebus aptiora ingenia illa ignea, *Curtius*

may perhaps be one reason, as that may dispose them the more easily to receive any Impression, and consequently to Credulity and Easiness of Temper. It is for the Convenience of a Prince to have notable Men of all sorts about him ; both those, who are called so upon the account of their Wisdom, and those that excel in Subtlety and Cunning. The former indeed ought to be more numerous, and are more especially requisite, because they are more for the Honour of their Master, and of more constant use ; for these are the Managers of all regular and ordinary Proceedings. The Men of Art are for Cases of necessity and extraordinary Emergencies, to help at a pinch, and to countertermine a Danger.

A Third Qualification necessary for Counsellors, is Openness, and Freedom, and Courage in all their Behaviour, when consulted with. They must use their utmost Care, that all their Proposals be for the Honour and Advantage of their Prince ; and, when once they have secured this Point, that the Advice be wise and good, all Flattery and Disguise should be laid aside ; all Equivocations, and Reservations, and Craftiness of Expression detested and despised, by which they may seem to aim at ingratiating themselves, or to contrive that what they say may be acceptable to their Master. These are the Men *Tacitus* describes, who accommodate all their Language as they see occasion, and do * *not so properly discourse with their Prince, as with his present Inclinations and Circumstances*. They consider him as a Great Man, as one able to make their Fortunes ; they observe what he would do, not what is best and fittest for him to do. Whereas indeed all these Regards ought to be utterly banished their Thoughts ; they should have a constant Eye upon the Sacredness of their Office, and the Importance of the Trust reposed in them ; and, looking no farther than the Reason, and Justice, and Convenience of the thing, speak the Truth and spare not : For however harsh and distasteful this Liberty, and Openness, and honest Blunt-dealing may be at the present to those Persons, whose Opinion and Inclinations it happens to cross ; yet there will soon come a time, when it will obtain Respect and Esteem. † *Opposition is offensive just at the In-*

* Ne cum Fortunâ potius Principis loquantur, quam cum ipso.
† In præsentia quibus resistis, offendis ; deinde illis suspicatur laudaturque.

stant; but upon cooler Thoughts, the very Persons you opposed, will commend and admire your plain-dealing. A Man should likewise take care to be consistent with himself, firm to his Principle, without veering and wheeling about perpetually, as oft as other People's Humours shift into a fresh Quarter. But as he must not be changeable and obsequious in a base compliance with the Passions or Pleasures of others, so neither must he be stiff and peremptory in his own Opinions. There is always a Decency to be observed, and great Difference to be made, between Constancy and Contradiction. For Opiniatrety and Fierceness confounds all manner of Deliberation; and therefore I am far from desiring my good Counsellor to be inflexible; as knowing very well, that hearkening to other Men's Reasons, and changing our own Opinions upon them, is so far from deserving the Reproach of Rashness or Inconstancy, that it ought rather to be lookt upon as a Testimony of Modesty and Ingenuity, and great Prudence: For * *although the wise Man always walk in the same Way, and by the same Rule, yet he does not always go the same pace, nor tread in the same Steps; Change he does not then, so properly as accommodate and mend himself;* Like the skilful Sailor, who plies to every Wind, and whose Excellency lies in trimming the Sails that way that the Gale blows freshest. Thus a Man must oftentimes go about to make the Port he designs, when there is no coming at it by a streight Course. And it shews the Dexterity and Address of a Counsellor, to be able to change his Methods, when those which were first chosen are either disapproved, or by some Accident rendred useless and ineffectual.

Another necessary Accomplishment for this Post, is the making a Conscience of Revealing any Debates he shall be privy to. For Silence and Secrecy as exceeding necessary in the management of all Publick Affairs: Inso-much that a great Author hath pronounced it impossible for that Man to manage any matter of Consequence, who is not so much Master of himself as to keep his own Counsel. † For how should he support the weight of Publick Business, to whom even Silence is a Burden; But upon this Occasion the concealing what one knows is not sufficient, I must likewise caution him against knowing too much.

* Non semper it uno gradu, sed unâ viâ: non se mutat, sed aptat.

† Res magnæ sustinere nequeunt ab eo, cui tacere grave est.

A Curious and Inquisitive Temper, which loves to be busy, and inform it self of other Peoples Actions and Concerns, is no commendable Quality in any case; but to pry into the Affairs of Princes, and value one's self upon knowing Their Secrets, is as dangerous as it is unmannerly: And as *Tacitus* hath well observed, * Nothing is more hazardous, nothing more unfit for us, than officiously to dive, and be bold with their retired Thoughts and Intentions. And therefore, whatever a Man knows of this kind should come freely and without his seeking; nay, I make no difficulty to affirm, that it is commendable in a Man to decline the Opportunities of having such things imparted to him, and to know as little of them as possibly he can. This argues Reverence and Modesty, prevents all Jealousie, and sutes the distance between a Prince and his Subjects.

Thus I have given my Reader a short Account of those good Conditions which seem necessary for the qualifying Men to be Counsellors of State. And by these he will be able to tell himself, what are those ill Qualities, which incapacitate a Man for such a Trust. That a Prince, in making his Choice, should be sure to reject all such as are of Confident, Assuming, Presumptuous Tempers; because these Vices make Men hot, and arrogant in Debates, positive and bold in their own Sense: And a Wise Man, quite contrary, will be content to allow Second and Third Thoughts; to examine every thing over and over. It is the Character of such a one to suspect himself, to be jealous of the Consequence, fearful in advising and resolving, that so he may afterwards be more vigorous and assured, when he comes to execution. † *For the Mind that knoweth how to be afraid, and undertakes warily, will act more securely, and go upon surer Grounds.* Fools, quite contrary, are eager and assured, blind and bold in Debate; but when they come to Action, cowardly and tame. ∴ Advice given with heat and confidence, looks fair and gay at first sight; but the execution of it is hard and desperate, and the Event full of Grief and Disappointment. Next to this presumptuous Vanity and Heat, Passion is improper for such Ministers of

* Exquirere abditos Principis sensus, illicitum & anceps. *Tac.*

† Nam Animus vereri qui scit, scit tuto aggredi.

∴ Consilia calida & audacia primâ specie lata sunt, tractatu clara, eventu tristia.

State ; All Anger and Envy, Hatred and Spite, Avarice and Ambition, all selfish Narrowness of Spirit, and private Interest ; for these are all of them Corrupters of the best Sense, the very Bane of all sound Judgment ; Integrity, and faithful Discharge of a publick Character, cannot dwell in the same Breast with these personal Piques, and private Affections. * *Private Advantage ever did, and ever will, obstruct and confound publick Counsels ; and each single Man's profit, is that which Poisons all good Sense, and kind Inclination to the Common Good.*

One Thing more remains absolutely Necessary to be avoided, and that is Precipitation ; An irreconcilable Enemy to Prudence and good Counsel ; and fit for nothing but to put Men upon doing amiss, and then being ashamed and unfortunate upon that Account. And thus much shall suffice, at present for a Description of those Qualities, which ought to concur, and the Vices and Defects which must be declin'd, in order to the accomplishing Men for Counsellors of State.

Now, such as these it is the Prince's Business to employ ; and those are the Rules, by which his Choice ought to be directed. For his own Personal Knowledge of Persons so qualified will be the Greatest Security he can have ; but if he be not capable of making the Distinction himself, nor can with safety rely upon his own Judgment in the Case, then Reputation and common Fame is what he must be contented with. And upon such Occasions a general Character seldom leads us into great Mistakes ; for which Reason one desir'd his Prince, *That he would look upon him and his Brethren in Office to be such, as the World esteem'd them.* For Hypocrisie is but a particular Thing, and of a very limited extent, † *Single Men may deceive and be deceiv'd ; but never did any Man deceive all the World, nor was ever any Man mistaken in all the World.* Great Care should be taken, upon this occasion, that a Prince do not trust himself with Flatterers and fawning Parasites, with particular Favorites, Court-Officers, and mercenary Wretches, whose Confidence is a Reproach to their Master ; and will be his Ruine, when they can have a good Price for betraying him. For after all ; the Cabal,

17.

* *Privatæ res semper offecere officientq; publicis consiliis ; Pessimum veri effectus & judicii venenum sua cuiq; Utilitas.*

† *Nam singuli decipere & decipi possunt ; nemo omnes, neminem omnes fefellerunt.*

and the Cabinet is the Foundation of most Monarchs undoing : We see it not, till it comes upon the open Stage ; but there it begun, and from thence it moves and works under Ground, long before the World can discern it. Now, when a Prince hath made this Choice, and found Persons for his Purpose, the next thing incumbent upon him is to make a Wise Use of them. And That is to be done, by consulting them early and in a Season proper for Deliberation ; not driving all off, till the very Instant of Action, when the Time is too short for Debate, and cool Consideration ; nor, on the other Hand, Trifling and losing Time in hearing their tedious Disputes, when his Affairs require a speedy Resolution. Again, This Advice of theirs must be attended to with a Judicious Reserve ; he must not give himself blindly up to it, and follow their Determinations Right or Wrong, as that very weak Emperor *Claudius* is said to have done : And he must likewise temper this Discretion with Moderation and Gentleness, without being too stiff and inflexible in his own Sense : Since, generally speaking, that Remark of the wise *Marcus Antoninus* holds good, who says it is better for one Man to come over, and to comply with the Advice of a great many good Friends, than that all their Opinions should be set aside, and they forced to truckle to his single Arbitrary Pleasure, I cannot but apprehend it of great Advantage in this Case, to keep a Man's self pretty loose, and use ones Counsellors, with a sort of Authority mix'd with Indifference. My Meaning is, Not immediately to reward Men for their good Counsel ; because such present Pay will be a Temptation to ill Men to thrust themselves forward in advising ; and so that which is really bad, will be put upon him in hopes of a Reward, Nor, on the other Hand, to discountenance or use Men roughly for counselling amiss ; Because this will create a Shyness in all about him ; and no body will dare to advise freely if the delivering their Opinion shall expose them to Danger and Disgrace. And besides, The Judgment of good and bad Counsel is very uncertain, because it usually proceeds upon the Issue. Whereas the most injudicious Counsels have often succeeded as well or better than the Wisest, by a strange over-ruling Power of Providence, thus asserting its Government of us, and all our Affairs here below. And again, It ought to be remembred, that They, who give the best, that is, the safest and most prosperous Counsel, are not upon that Account to be concluded our faithful-

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left Friends, nor best affected to our Interest; for many times They who love us best, may be mistaken in their Measures; and they who wish us no Good, may yet put us in the way of a great deal. Nor ought a Prince to resent Freedom and Plainness upon these Occasions. For This in all Reason ought rather to be acceptable; and a wise Man will keep a Jealous Eye upon Flattering and Timorous Fellows, such as make it their Business to sooth his Humors, and had rather see him perish by false Measures, than disgust him to his own Advantage. And sure if there be a Miserable Creature upon Earth, it is that Prince, to whom no Body about him dares tell the Truth; he that must live by the help of other Peoples Senses, and yet all who see and hear for him, are under a necessity of dissembling and disguising in their own Defence, and dare shew him nothing as it really is. A Man * *whose Ears, as Tacitus expresses it, are so odly contriv'd, that all Sounds are harsh and grating, which tell profitable Truths; and they never think themselves entertain'd, but with such pleasing Words as are sure to do Mischief.* The last Caution necessary for the making a good Use of proper Counsellors, is, To conceal his own Opinion, and not determine Publickly what he approves most, or what he resolves to do; for when all is done, Secrecy is the very Life and Soul of Counsel; and † *That Advice is always best, which your Enemy knows nothing of, till the Execution declare what it was.*

As for the Officers, which come now to be next considered; by these I mean such as serve the Prince and the Government in some publick Trust. And They ought to be made Choice of with great Discretion; Persons of Honour and Virtue, Well-descended, and whose Families are of Quality and Reputation in the World. It is reasonable to believe, that Men of this Character will approve themselves best in their respective Stations; and That of Birth particularly is so considerable a Qualification, that it is by no Means for the Honour of a Prince, or the Decency of his Court, that People of mean Extract should be admitted near his Person, and commissioned to preside over others, except some very great and remarkable Merit, give them

* Cujus Aures ita formatae sunt, ut aspera quæ utilia; & nisi jucundum & læsurum recipiant.

† Nulla meliora consilia, quam quæ ignoraverit adversarius antequam fierent.

a just and visible preference, and make amends for the want of Quality and Descent. But Men of Infamous Lives, False and Base; Men of no Principles, or of such as are Dangerous and Worse than none; in short, Men under Circumstances, which either fix an odious Character, such as the World have reason to hate, or to despise, to be ashamed of, or to suspect, should not upon any Terms be admitted to any Office or Trust. After these Conditions, as to their Morals, we must not forget, that as great a Regard is due to their Understandings. And that, not only to see, that they be Men of Parts and Judgment in general, but that each Person be dispos'd of to such an Employment, as best agrees with his own Genius and Attainments in Particular. For some are Naturally fittest for Military, and others for Civil Trusts. Some have thought it a general good Rule for Officers of all sorts, to choose Men of a mild and gentle Disposition, and moderate Character; for your violent and topping Spirits, that are full of themselves, and cannot be prevail'd upon to yield to any, or quit the least Punctilio, commonly speaking, are not at all fit for Business. * Let the Persons you employ be therefore a Match for their Business, and able to deal with it; but not too much above, and able to play with it; Men that know how to give and take their Due, but not such as will sacrifice the Publick to a Nice Point of Honour, and their own Unseasonable Vanity.

20.
The Fifth
Head, Treas-
ure.

Next after Counsel, we may very well be allowed to place Treasures; for certainly these must be confess'd a very great Point; a useful, necessary, and powerful Provision. If Advice be the Head that sees and directs, Money is the Nerves, the Hands, the Feet of the State, by which it moves, and acts, and is strongly knit together. For when all is done, there is no Sword cuts deep, nor makes its own way through, like that with a Silver Edge. No Master is so Absolute in his Commands, so readily obey'd; No Orator so Eloquent; no Persuasive, so Winning upon the Wills and Affections of Men; no Conquerour so Successful, or so great a Gainer by Storms, and Sieges, and force of Arms, as a good Purse. This is serv'd with Zeal, and obeyed without Grudging; this gets Possession of Hearts, and draws the World after it; this takes Towns and Castles, without the Expence of Blood, or Time, or Hazard.

* Ut pares negotiis, neque suprâ; sint recti, non erecti.

And therefore a Wise Prince will always think himself oblig'd to take care, that his Treasury be in good Condition ; and that he never be disabled in this so very necessary, so vital a Part of his Government. Now, the Art and the Care of effecting and securing this, consists in Three Particulars. The First whereof concerns the providing good Funds; The Second in employing the Money arising from them to the best Advantage ; and the Third in keeping a constant Reserve, that he may never be destitute of a necessary Supply, upon any sudden Accident, or pressing Occasion. And in all these Cases, there are Two things, which the Prince must by all means look upon himself bound to avoid ; which are Injustice, and sordid Frugality ; for how Necessary and Advantageous soever the Observation of these Rules may be, yet he must never purchase this Convenience at so dear a Rate, as the Invasion of other Men's Rights, or the loss of his own Honour.

For the First of these, which relates to laying the Foundation as it were, and amassing together a sufficient Treasury, there are several Methods of doing it. Many Springs, which, like so many little Streams, contribute to the filling up this common Cistern ; but, though all of them pour in some, yet they do not all supply the same Proportion, nor are they all perpetual, or equally to be depended upon. For Instance, One Fund is the Crown Lands and Demesnes, and other standing Revenues appointed to the Use of the Prince, for the Support of his Grandeur and Government. And these ought to be husbanded to the best Advantage, and kept up to their old Rents, and put into good Hands : They should by no means be alienated without some very urgent Exigency require it ; but look'd upon as things Sacred, and such as in their own Nature are not transferrable to any other Owner. Another is, the Conquests made upon Enemies, which should be so ordered, as to turn to good Account ; and not squandered, and prodigally wasted, because they a sort of additional Wealth, and when they are gone, the Prince is but where he was before. The Power of old Rome is in great Measure owing to their good Management in this Point : They always took Care to bring in vast Sums, not only to pay the Charge of the War, but to enrich and swell their Exchequers with the Wealth transferred thither from the Towns they took, and the Countries they vanquished. This their Historian *Livy* tells us, was the Practice of their Bravest and most Renown'd Generals,

III.

IV.

nerals, *Camillus*, *Flaminius*, *Æmilius Paulus*, the *Scipios*, *Lucullus*, and *Cæsar* : and not only so, but after this first drawing over their present Treasures, they constantly imposed a Yearly Stipend to be paid, either by the Natives left upon their own Soil, under these and certain other Conditions ; or by those Colonies of *Romans*, whom they transplanted thither. But still every Conquest brought some substantial Advantage to the Common-Wealth, and was more than an empty Name, and the meer Glory of the Thing. The Presents, Free-Gifts, Pensions, Donations, and Grants, Tributes, Taxes, arising either from Friends, or Allies, or Subjects Legacies, and Bequests of the Dead, Deeds of Gift from Owners, yet surviving, or any other manner of Conveyance : Tolls, and Imposts, Customs upon Goods imported or exported, Commodities Foreign or Domestick, Duties upon Docks and Havens, Ports and Rivers ; which hath been a general and very ancient Method of raising Money, as well upon Strangers as Natives ; and a very just, lawful, and beneficial Method no doubt it is, when limited with these Conditions ; That no Provisions or other Goods, that are Necessaries of Life, shall be transported, so as to impoverish the Country, and reduce the Subject to Streights ; nor any raw Wares ; but Materials of home-growth should be likewise wrought up and finish'd at Home ; to find the Subjects Employment, and keep the poor and labouring People at Work, upon their own Manufacture ; that so the Profit and Wages, as well as the Stuff, might centre and circulate among Natives ; and the Growth of one Nation not to be transferr'd to the enriching of another. But now, when these Commodities are wrought and dress'd, there is good reason for carrying them to foreign Markets ; as it is likewise Policy to import all the raw and unwrought Commodities they can, and to prohibit all foreign and finish'd Manufactures ; because in all these Cases there is greater Encouragement, and Opportunity given for Labour. And it is also highly reasonable in all Matters of Traffick, that a heavier Imposition should be laid upon Strangers who trade among us, than the natural Subjects of the same Country. For all foreign Impositions bring large Summs in the Treasury, and are a great Ease to the Subject, which is a Consideration always to be regarded ; and for that Reason the Customs which are laid upon all such Necessaries of Life, as are imported from abroad, should be moderated, and brought as low, as possibly they can.

These

These Four Methods already mention'd, are not only allowable, and convenient, but strictly Just, and Equitable; Honourable and Fair. The Fifth, which, I confess, is not altogether so agreeable to Decency, and the Dignity of a Prince, is That of Trade, which is carried on for the Profit of the Sovereign by means of his Factors, and hath several Methods of turning to Account, which are some less, and some more liable to Scandal; but the most Infamous and most Destructive of all, is the setting to sale Offices and Honours, Preferments and Places of Trust. There is indeed a Course not yet mention'd, which I think will come within the Notion of Trade; and therefore I choose to name it under this Head, for the sake of the Resemblance it bears to the Subject now in Hand. This hath no great Matter of Indecency in it, and hath the Example of several very wise and eminent Princes to give it Countenance; It is the letting out the publick Money in Bank, upon a moderate Interest, (as Five in the Hundred Profit, for instance) and securing the Principal, either by an Equivalent in Pawns, or Mortgages, or else such Personal Security, as is sufficient and of unquestionable Credit. And these Loans are of great Advantage in Three Respects: For First, They add greatly to the Wealth of any Government, by taking Care, that it shall always turn to fresh Account, and no part of it ever lie dead. Then Secondly, It is a mighty Convenience to private Men, who by this means are sure of a Fund to trade upon; and cannot fail of being furnished in any Proportion which their Occasions shall require, or which they can find such Security as is fit to be accepted for. But the Third and greatest Benefit of all is, That it keeps this Money out of the Paws of Sharpers, and saves that to the publick Use, which would otherwise become a Prize to the Importunity, and nauseous Flattery of hungry Courtiers, and be thus extorted from the good Nature of a King, wearied into giving. And upon this last Consideration singly, to save the Trouble of being importuned, and the Difficulties of denying; some Princes have found it advisable to lend out their ready Cash without any Interest to be paid upon it; purely for the sake of securing the Prime Summ, which they took Care to do by binding the Debtor in a Penalty of paying double, if he were not Punctual to his Day. The Sixth and Last Method is That of Loans and Subsidies extraordinary levied upon the Subject; and this

I.

shou'd be a Reserve for times of Necessity, a Remedy always to be made use of with Reluctancy, and such as is properly applyed, when other stated Methods fall short, and the Exigence of Affairs calls for a larger Supply, than the former Particulars can furnish out. In the Circumstances of this Kind, no doubt can be made of the Justice of the thing: But then to make this still more eatie and gentle to the Subject, it is not only requisite, that the Necessity of such Supplies be evident, and the Publick Safety highly concern'd in them, but these following Conditions should likewise concur to the softning them. First: That whatever Moneys are advanc'd upon Loans for the serving a present Occasion, should be afterwards punctually and honestly paid back again, as soon as the Difficulty is over, and the Occasion serv'd. This we find practis'd by the Common-Wealth of *Rome*, when driven to Extremities by *Hannibal*. And at this rate the Prince will never want Money; for while the Exchequer keeps Touch and Credit, private Men will be pleas'd, nay proud to lend; not only because they think their Cash deposited in safe Hands, and can depend upon their own again with Advantage; but for the Honour and Reputation of having assisted the Publick, and served their Prince in a time of Distress. And this to generous Man is a Valuable, and will always be a Powerful Consideration, where the Hazard and Fears of a Loss do not check it. But Secondly, If the Publick Stock be drawn so low, that the Debt cannot be satisfied from thence, and some fresh extraordinary Imposition be necessary, this should by all Mans be adjusted and charged, with the Consent of the Subjects, who are to contribute toward it; The present Defects of the Treasury fairly stated, the Occasion that exhausted it fully represented, and the People made truly sensible of the necessity they are under; so pressing upon them that Passage of the Blessed Saviour, the Gracious King of Kings, *The Lord hath need of them*; for thus He in marvellous Condescension was pleas'd to express himself. And in such Circumstances, if the Case require it, and the Satisfaction of the People can be effectually consulted upon those Terms, it may be very advisable to lay an Account of the Receipts and Expences before them. Persuasion and fair Means are always best employed in Matters of this Nature; and to be driven to use Power and Constraint, is the last Unhappiness that can happen to a Governor. *Themistocles* was

certainly

Ch. 2. Of Prudence in Government.

51

certainly in the right, when he thought it more for the Honour of a Ruler * *to gain his Point by Request and Exposition, than by Commands.* And, though it be true, that every Word of a King is full of Power and Force; and what he asks, his Character makes in effect a Command; yet still it is more for the Advantage of the Publick, and the Continuance of a mutual Affection and Good Understanding between Prince and People; that this kind of Supply should express the form of a free Gift; that the Subjects should express their Sense of the Publick Necessities; and desire the Prince to accept what Relief they are capable of contributing toward it; at least, it is fit, that these extraordinary Taxes should be limited to a certain Term, that they do not pass into constant Payments, things of Course and Continuance, and that the Subjects never be prescribed to in these Cases, without their own Approbation and Consent. A Third Course to qualify these Impositions, would be, to lay them not upon Persons, but Estates; that Men may pay for what they have, and not for what they are. For a Poll-Tax hath every where been looked upon as the most odious of any; it being indeed by no means just that all should be levelled, where Fortune hath made so vast a difference; and while the Men of Wealth, and Honour, and Noble birth pay little or nothing, that the greatest part of the Duty should rise upon poor Country People, who work hard for their Living. But especially should all possible care be taken in the Fourth place, that such Subsidies should be levy'd fairly and equally. For the being rack't and screw'd above one's proportion, is a very grating and intolerable thing, and breeds more murmuring and Contention, than the Charge it self. Now in order to bring every body in, to bear a part in this common Burden, it will be convenient, to tax such Provisions with it, as all Mankind have occasion for, and must make use of: Such as Salt, and Drink, and the like; for thus the Excise will be universal; and every Member of the Publick Body will be inexcusably obliged to contribute something to the Publick Necessity. Besides these indeed there may, and it is but reasonable there should, be constant and heavy Incumbrances laid upon such Commodities, whether Foreign or Domestick, as are vicious in their use, and tend only to dedauch the Subject; and thus all those things manifestly

* *Impetrare melius est quam imperare.*

do, which serve only for Luxury and vain Pomp ; such as are purchased at dear Rates, merely out of extravagant Humour, or useless Curiosity ; all superfluous State in Diet ; Clothes, Equipage, the Instruments of Pleasure, Corrupters of Manners, and whatever contributes to a Licentious way of Living. And the loading such things with such Impositions as shall make them yet more expensive, may possibly prove the best Method to discourage the use of them. For Men in the midst of Luxury, will sometimes be content to save their Purfes, and abstain upon a Consideration of Tenderness in that respect ; when their Consciences would be so far from being restrain'd by Laws, that a positive Prohibition would rather set a sharper Edge upon their Appetite, and make them but so much more impatient and eager, to come at these things.

12.
II.

*The using
the Treas-
ure well.*

The Second Branch of this Science, relating to the Publick Treasures, is the taking good Care that they be well employ'd. And to this Purpose I will here lay down a short account of the Several Heads of Expence, upon which a Prince must necessarily, and ought in Duty to make use of them. Such are, The Subsistence and honourable Salaries of the Household, the Pay of the Souldiers, the Wages of Officers of all sorts, the just Rewards of such, as by their good Services have merited of the Publick ; The Pensions and charitable Relief extended to those who come well recommended, and are proper Objects of his Royal Bounty and Compassion. These Five are constant and unavoidable Occasions. But then there are others too, very useful and fitting, tho' not so absolutely and always necessary, such as the Reperation of old decay'd Towns, strengthening the Frontiers of his Country, amending the Highways, and making Roads as direct and convenient as the Condition of the place will bear ; keeping up Bridges, and all other necessary Accommodations for Travellers ; founding Colleges for the study and improvement of Learning, and Religion, and Virtue ; Building and Endowing Hospitals for distressed and disabled People, and erecting publick Halls, and other Structures, that are for the Honour and Service of the State. These sorts of Repairs, and Fortifications, and Foundations, are of excellent use and advantage, besides the profit which immediately redounds to the State in general by their means : For by promoting such Designs, Art is encouraged and improved, Workmen are kept in employment, the people are highly contented and

and pleased, and a great part of that Grudging and Repining usual to the Commonalty, is prevented and cured, when they see their Taxes converted to so good uses, and the Benefit comes back to them again: But especially these two great Banes of any Commonwealth are by this means utterly banished, the Plague of Idleness, and the Scandal of Poverty and Beggary. Whereason the contrary, the consuming the Publick Wealth in extravagant Gifts to some particular Favourites, in stately but unnecessary Buildings, or in other vain Expences, for which there is no need, and whereof there can be no use, draws a general Odium and Indignation. For the Subjects cannot bear to think that so many Thousands should be stripped, to cloath and make one Man fine; that another should strut and look big with their Money; and that the great Houses should be built with their Blood, and the Sweat of their Brows: For such as these are the grumbling Terms, in which the Vulgar, when provoked to discontent, murmur out their Resentments; and nothing touches them so near as Money, and a Notion of Extravagance and Wastfulness in the Disposal of their Taxes.

The Third and Last Part of this Advice consists in taking care to have a good Supply in reserve for any extraordinary Exigence that may happen: That so, in Cases of necessity, a Prince may not be driven to sudden and unjust Remedies, nor use Violence upon others to help himself. This Store thus laid up, and frugally managed for the Prince to draw out as he sees fit, is the common Notion of the Exchequer. Now in the management of this Article, there are two Extremes which must be both avoided, because each of them is of very dangerous Consequence to the Person that falls into it. The one is, That of immoderate Greediness in amassing prodigious Sums; for such Treasures, tho' got by Methods never so just and honourable, are not always the most for a Prince's Security, when they are out of measure. They really very often involve him in Wars, either by putting him upon oppressing and invading his weaker Neighbours, in Confidence of his own Strength, and that the longest Purse will be sure to carry it at last; or else they are a Bait to some Enemy to fall upon him. And therefore it is much more for the Safety and Advantage, as well as for the Honour of a King, to convert them to such uses as have been already mentioned, than to let them grow exorbitantly great upon his hand, and so either tempt the Owner to Insolence, or

23

III.

Saving.

expose him for a Prey to those who want such Prize. The other Extreme is spending all, and keeping nothing to help at a Pinch; and this is worse than the former; for such a Government stands naked and defenceless, and like a foolish Gamester, plays away his last Stake. And therefore all wise Governours take care not to fall into this desperate Condition. The greatest Treasures that History informs us of in any Monarchy heretofore, were those of *Darius* the last King of *Persia*, in whose Exchequer, *Alexander the Great*, at the Conquest of his Country, is said to have found Four-score Millions of Gold. That of *Tiberius* amounted to Sixty Seven Millions. *Trajan* had Five and Fifty Millions laid up in *Egypt*. But that of *David* exceeds all the rest; for (which is a thing almost incredible, in so small, and, in comparison, despicable, a Dominion as that of *Judea*) * the Holy Scripture it self takes notice, that he had amassed together a Hundred and Twenty Millions.

Now the Method in use heretofore, for preserving these great Treasures from being spent and squander'd away profusely, or being stoln, and secretly broke in upon, was to melt them down into large massy Ingots or Balls, as the *Persians* and *Romans* were wont to do; or else to lay them up in the Temples of their Gods, as the securest and most sacred Repository, as the *Grecians* frequently did in the Temple of *Apollo*. Though this did not always succeed to their Expectation; for Covetousness often broke through the most superstitious Reverence for their Deities; and plunder'd their very Gods themselves, in despite and defiance of all their imaginary Thunder. Thus also the *Romans* held their Office of *Exchequer* in the Temple of *Saturn*. But that, which of all others seems to be not only the safest,

* What publick Treasure for Civil Uses, this Author refers to, I do not know, for want of his Marginal Quotations, in which he is frequently defective; but the Summ reserved for building the Temple, is yet infinitely more amazing: That in the XXII. of 1 *Chronic*. v. 14. is said to be a Hundred Thousand Talents of Gold; which, at the Rate of Four Pound an Ounce, would be valued among us at Seventy Five Millions Sterling: and a Thousand Thousand Talents in Silver, which at Five Shillings per Ounce, comes to 187 Millions 500000 *l*. computing Seven Hundred and Fifty Ounces of Metal to each Talent. And besides all this, 'tis said the Brass and Iron were unmeasurably great, as also the Stores of Timber and Stone left *Solomon* to begin with.

but the most gainful Course, is what I mentioned before, of lending out these Summs to private Men at a moderate Interest, upon good Pawns, or sufficient Security, Real or Personal. Again, another advisable Expedient for preserving the publick Treasures from Enchroachment and Dishonesty, is to take good care in disposing of the Offices concerned about them. For sure the Management of such a Trust is of too great Importance to be set to sale; and no Fidelity can be expected, where Men are out of Pocket, and must reimburse themselves at the Publick Expence: Nor should Men of mean Quality, vulgar and mechanick People, be admitted to purchase them; but they ought in all reason to be put into the Hands of Men of Birth and Fortunes, such as may be supposed to act upon Principles of Honour, and whose Circumstances set them above any violent Temptations of sordid or foul Dealing: And in this particular the old *Romans* set us a good Pattern, who entred the young Gentlemen of their best Families in *Rome* in this kind of Business: They lookt upon it as the noblest Education; and from this first setting out, their greatest Men were raised by degrees to the highest Honours, and most important Offices in the Commonwealth.

His Army, I think may very fitly be placed after the Council, and the Treasury of a Prince; for Nature it self hath put that Precedence out of dispute, by making it impossible for Forces, either to be well raised, or well ordered, and used successfully, and to good Purpose; or indeed so much as to subsist, when they are raised without the Support and Direction of those two former Provisions. Now a Military Force is absolutely necessary for a Prince, to be a Terror to his Enemies, a Guard and Security to his Person and Government: And for any Man in a Throne to think of sitting quiet there any considerable time, without some Number of Forces, is the fondest Imagination in the World. There is never any perfect Security between the Weak and the Strong; and no State was ever yet so composed, as to be quite void of turbulent Spirits, and free from Dangers and Disturbances, both at home and abroad. Now this Power is either a constant determinate number, such as are always in Pay, the ordinary standing Force; or else it is additional and extraordinary, levied in time of War, and of no longer continuance than the Occasion of raising it. The ordinary standing Forces are confin'd to Persons and Places. The Persons are of two sorts, There

24.

The Sixth
Head.
Military
Force.

are the King's Guards, such as always attend his person, and are of use, not only as they contribute to the Safety and Preservation of his Royal Life; but likewise as they add to his Pomp and Grandeur, in making all his Appearances more august and venerable, and every way becoming so sublime a Character. For that so mighty celebrated Saying of *Agésilas*, That a Prince might always be safe without any Guard at all, provided he commanded as he ought, and used his Subjects as an affectionate and wise Father would deal by his Children. This Aphorism, I say, is far from being always true; and he were a Mad-man, who at this time of Day would venture to make the Experiment, and depend upon the best and gentlest Treatment for his Security. For alas! the Wickedness of the World is not so easily won upon; and Men are too ill-natur'd to be charmed into Gratitude, and Returns of Duty, by all the Tenderness, and Affection, and Desert in the World.

Besides these Guards, it is necessary there should be standing Troops kept in constant Pay, and perfectly well-disciplin'd, which may be ready upon any sudden Accident that shall require their Use and Assistance; for it would be extremely improvident to have no Preparations of this kind, and drive off the raising of Men, and quailifying them for Service, till the very Instant that Necessity calls for them.

As for the Places, in which such Forces are disposed, they are properly the Forts and Castles upon the Frontiers, which ought constantly to be well Mann'd, and provided with Arms and Ammunition, to prevent Surprize, and Incursions from abroad: Instead of which, the Ancients heretofore, and some at this Day, choose rather to transplant the Foreigners and former Inhabitants, and to people all such Towns with new and populous Colonies of their own, as they enlarge their Borders by fresh Conquests.

The extraordinary Forces consist of formed Armies, which a Prince finds himself obliged to raise, and make a plentiful Provision of in time of War. Now, what Methods he ought to govern himself by in this respect; for the undertaking any Military Enterprize, is a Consideration relating to the second Branch of this Politick Prudence, That of Action, I mean, which will be treated of in the following Chapter; and falls not within this first, which is only the Provisionary Part, and such as is requisite by way of a Preparatory to the other. All therefore that I shall say upon this Subject at present, is only, that a wise Prince will

will always take care, besides his own Guards, to have a competent number of Men in actual Pay, perfectly disciplin'd and experienc'd in the Business of their Profession. And that this number ought to be greater or less, in proportion to the Extent of his Dominions, and the Condition of the Government, to secure Obedience and good Order, and immediately to suppress any Seditious Practices and Commotions, which give Disturbance, and threaten any Danger, either from factious Subjects, or busie designing Enemies. Reserving still to himself the Power and Opportunity of making new and greater Levies, when he shall be forced into a formal War, and to take the Field in good earnest; whether that War shall happen to oblige him in acting Offensively or Defensively. And in the mean while, that his Arsenals and Magazines be constantly well stored with all manner of offensive and defensive Weapons, that so both Horse and Foot may be sufficiently furnished, and compleatly equipped without Difficulty or Delay. In which Provision I likewise include Ammunition and Provision of all kinds, Engines and Utenils of War, whether for a Camp or a Siege. Such Preparations are not only necessary in order to making War and sustaining our selves, when Acts of Hostility are committed upon us, and consequently such as every State ought to be beforehand with, because they require a great deal of Time and Expence to have them in readiness for use; but they are excellent Preventions too, and many times put a stop to the Designs of levying War upon us. For few Enemies will tempt a Danger, or venture upon a Government, which is always in Condition to receive, and revenge their Attempts. Surprize, and Advantage, and the being an Over-match, are the Considerations that animate Strangers abroad, or Parties at home, to injure and attack us. The best Security, when all is done, will be for a Prince to render himself formidable; and Men are most likely to be quiet, when they dare not be otherwise for their own sakes. So infallible, so eternal a Maxim is it in Politicks, That * *the Prince who would establish a firm Peace, must be sure to be well provided for War*; and treat with the Sword in his Hand.

After all these necessary and essential Provisions already mentioned, I add in the last Place, that of Alliances; which

* Qui cupit Pacem, paret Bellum.

is by no means an inconsiderable Point, but a mighty strengthening and support to any Government. But then the greatest part of this Advantage is owing to prudent Choice, and good Conduct; and therefore good care must be taken with whom these Alliances are made, and upon what sort of Terms they are established.

The Persons most proper for the Friendship and Alliance of a Prince, are Neighbours, and Persons of Power and Interest. For if they be either weak or remote, what Assistance are they in any Capacity of giving? The only Circumstance that can render such necessary, and engage us in their Interests, is, the being attack'd by a powerful Enemy, so as that by ruining them, he gains an Opportunity to destroy us; and so the succouring them, is the preserving our selves. In such a Case, let the Allie be otherwise never so unworthy our regard, we ought to join Forces, and defend him with our utmost Might. And, if the doing this openly may be a means of involving us in danger, then there must be a good Understanding and Assistance given under-hand; for it is a Master-piece in Politics, to manage a Confederacy with one Prince bare-fac'd, and in the Eye of all the World; and to be well with another all the while, by an Agreement behind the Curtain, and unsuspected. But still my meaning is, that such Secrecie should be free from all Treachery, and Baseness, and foul Dealing: For Wickedness and Falshood are never allowable; but Prudence and good Management are highly to be commended; tho' even these, when they run into Intrigue and Doubling, are more especially to be reserved for acting the Defensive part, and securing the Government from some imminent Danger; Cases that admit a much greater Latitude, than acting Offensively, and where there is no urgent Necessity, will bear one out in.

But it ought to be farther observed, that there are several Sorts and Degrees of Alliance. The lowest and most simple of all, is only that which extends to an Agreement for mutual Trading and Commerce between the Countries concerned; but the more usual kind is that which obliges to Friendship, and reciprocal Kindness; and this is either Defensive only; or else Offensive and Defensive both: And that again, by a League either limited, and with an Exception of some particular Princes and States reserved out of the Treaty; or else general, and without any Restraint or Exception at all. The closest and most perfect Confedera-

cy is that which is Offensive and Defensive, for and against all Persons whatsoever ; this is an Engagement to succour and be a Friend to all their Friends ; and to oppose and be an Enemy to all their Enemies. And this Agreement is of great Convenience to be made with Princes of Power and great Influence, and upon an equal Foot ; so that each side engage upon the same Terms. Again, Alliances may differ in point of Time ; some are prescribed and limited to a certain Term ; others are perpetual. The more common way is to make them without any fixt Term mention'd in the Treaty, and these are called *Perpetual* : But the better and safer Course is to limit it to a number of Years expressly. Because then the Renewal gives liberty for second Thoughts. Some Articles may be added, and others left out. In a word, any Alterations may then be made, as the Circumstances or Inclinations of the Parties happen to vary : Or if occasion be, either of them is freely and entirely at his own Disposol, to break off, and be absolutely disengag'd for the future. Nay, tho' the Condition of these Treaties, and the Persons concerned in them, be such as one would wish to perpetuate them ; yet even thus it is more convenient to repeat the Engagements, and enter into fresh Covenants upon fresh Consideration, than to enter into a perpetual League at once. (Provided always, that in such Cases the Treary be concluded, and all made fast again, before the utter Expiration of the former Term.) For all Compacts of this kind naturally languish and cool in process of Time ; and he that finds it for his Convenience to be off, will be more apt to violate his Faith, if the Alliance be perpetual, and give him no prospect of Redress, than if it be limited, and so he can see to the End of his Grievance. For in this case he will be tender of his Honour, and wait with Patience till he be absolved of Course, and can come off without any Blemish. And thus you have seen what those Seven Heads are, which I thought necessary for the Provisionary part of Civil Prudence.

C H A P. III.

The Second Part of Policy, or Prudence in Government, which consists in the Administration and good Conduct of the Prince.

HAVING thus insisted at large upon the Provision a Prince ought to make, and instructed him, what Ornaments and

and Furniture, what Defence and what Securities, (if I may so term them) are necessary for the Honour and Safety of his person and his Government; and not only so, but likewise what Courses are proper to be taken for the acquiring and furnishing out such Supplies: Let us now proceed to Action, and observe, after what manner these things ought to be made use of, and employ'd to the best Advantage. But, before we come to treat of this Matter distinctly, and with reference to the several Branches of the former Division respectively, we may venture to say in general, That this whole Matter consists in governing well; and again, That a good Administration with regard both to the Welfare and Obedience of the Subject, and the Security of the Prince, will depend chiefly upon such a sort of Conduct as shall acquire him Two things, hearty Good-Will, I mean, and Authority. The former is that Affectionate Concern and Kindness which Subjects should retain for their Sovereign and his Government. The latter is a good and great Opinion, an honourable Esteem of him and his Government. With respect to the Former of these it is, that a Prince is lov'd, and by virtue of the Latter he is fear'd and stood in awe of. Now these two Affections of Love and Fear, tho' they be very distant, yet are they by no means contrary to, or destructive of one another, and consequently neither are those Regards so, which in the present Case flow from, and are the Result of those Passions. Both of them likewise are of general Extent in the Matter before us; and both Subjects and Strangers are concerned in each. Tho' indeed, if we look strictly into the Thing, and speak more properly, the Good-Will seems to be the Quality of Subjects, and the Authority, that which hath the principal Influence upon Strangers. And accordingly Tacitus distinguishes them, when he advises Persons in this Eminent Post, to order Matters so, * *that their own Country-men may be sure to love, and Foreigners and Enemies may be sure to fear them.* And if we would deliver our Judgment freely and fully upon the Matter, though both are of great Efficacy, yet it must be acknowledged, that Authority is the stronger and more vigorous Principle of the Two; the more Venerable and of longer Continuance. But, when there is a just Temper, and exact Harmony of both together, this Matter is then

* Amorem apud Populares, Metum apud Hostes quarat.

brought to its utmost Perfection. A thing not always practicable, because the different Constitutions of Government; and yet more different Humors and Dispositions of People, according to their several Climates, or Countries, or Complexions, make a mighty Difference in the acquiring these; and incline some to the one of these Afflictions of the Mind, and others to the other. So that some are easily brought to Love, and are scarce susceptible of Fear; others as easily awed into Respect, but not without infinite Difficulty to be won over to Kindness and Love for their Prince. What Methods are most proper and advisable for the acquiring both these Advantages; we have already been inform'd; for the several Heads of Provision so largely explain'd, are but so many Means for the compassing this End: Though of them the most effectual and insinuating seem to be those comprehended under the Heads, which touch upon the Virtues, and the Manners or Deportment of a Prince. But however, it may not be amiss, now we are fallen upon the Matter more directly, to say one Word or two more, with regard to each of these powerful Advantages expressly.

This Good-Will and Hearty Affection is of infinite and excellent Use; it is in a manner absolutely necessary; in-^{2.} Good Will, somuch, that this by its own single Strength is able to ^{acquir'd by} do a great deal, and gives a mighty Security; but all the ^{Gentleness} rest without this is very feeble and unsafe. The Methods of obtaining it are principally Three. First, Moderation and Gentleness; not in Words, and Actions, soft Language, and courteous Behaviour only, but also in the very Temper of the Commands issued out, and the whole Administration. For the generality of Mankind are of such a Disposition, as will neither endure to have their Hands ty'd behind them, nor absolutely loose, and at their own disposal. * *They are impatient (says Tacitus of an arbitrary Yoke, and perfect Slavery, and yet at the same time every whit as unable to bear perfect and uncontrouled Liberty.* They make a shift to obey well enough, and are contented to live in the Quality of Subjects; but the Chains and Captivity of Slaves they can never away with; and therefore he says of them, that they are ramed and † *subdued not to serve, but to obey.* And the very Truth is: ∴ Every Man finds himself more inclin'd

* Nec totam servitutem pati, nec totam libertatem.

† Domiti ut pareant, non serviant.

∴ Remissius imperanti melius paretur. Qui vult amari, languida regnet manu: to

to comply with a Superiour who uses his Power tenderly; and the greater the Command, the readier and more hearty is commonly the Observance paid to it. He that will be well carried, must take care not to ride with too stiff a Rein. *Cæsar*, who was very expert, and a perfect Master in Matters of this kind, used to say, that Power, when moderately exercised, kept all safe and right; but when a Man once came to let himself loose, and commanded things without any regard to the Reasonableness or the Decency; when he was set upon making himself absolute, and resolv'd to be obey'd Right or Wrong; such a one could never be belov'd by his Subjects, nor did he sit fast in his Throne. In the mean while, give me leave to add, that by this Gentleness and Moderation, I do not mean such a tame and easie, negligent and effeminate Softness, as lets the Reins of Government perfectly loose; for this will expose a Prince to Reproach and Contempt, and degenerate into an Extreme, ten thousand times worse than that of Fear. In all these Cases therefore a Commander must observe, how far he can go decently,* and what Indulgences are consistent with his Honour. And the proper Province, as well as the Excellence and Commendation of Prudence in Matters of this Nature will be, to make so just a Mixture of Justice and Gentleness, that a Prince may neither seek to be fear'd by methods of Rigour and Extremity, and rendering himself a publick Terror to the World; nor study to ingratiate himself, and become Popular and Belov'd, by Methods so mean and unworthy, as should make him Despicable, and a Jest and Scorn of the World.

3.
Beneficence

The Second Expedient, which I think advisable for gaining the Affections of the World, is *Beneficence*: I mean so general and unbounded a Disposition to do Good, as shall by no means be confin'd to those of the first Quality, or near the Prince's Person; but shed it self all over, upon all Sorts and Conditions of Men, that even the lowest and most distant, the meanest of the People, may taste and rejoice in it. One excellent way of doing this, is by good Management, and provident Care; contriving sufficient Provisions, and setting moderate Prices upon Commodities; seeing that the Markets be well furnished, and Corn and other Necessaries for the Support of Life, sold at reasonable

* Sed incorrupto Ducis honore. *Tacit.*

Rates; that if it be possible, there may always be Plenty, and whatever Nature cannot subsist without, may be cheap; for nothing is so sensible a Grievance as Scarcity, and extravagant Rates; and the Blame of all will be sure to be laid at the Governour's Door. The Common People have no other Notion of publick Good, but what they are sustain'd by; nor can you make them believe that any other, either Duty or Benefit, is incumbent upon, or to be expected from those that sit at Helm, comparable to That of feeding the Subject; as if Society and Government were instituted for no other Purpose, than to see that the vulgar, and poorer sort of Men should never want a full Belly. * And accordingly Tacitus hath observed, That the only Motive which can fasten their Affections to the State is the Convenience of being maintain'd at the publick Care.

The Third Attractive of Peoples Affections is Liberality, which is in Truth a more particular Sort of Beneficence; This is a Bait, nay, a Charm rather; for it does not only allure and invite, but draws, bewitches, captivates Mens Hearts, almost whether they will or no. So Pleasant and Sweet it is to be on the Receiving, so Honourable and Winning to be on the giving Hand: Insomuch that very wise Man laid it down for a Maxim, *That a Government is better secured by Kindness, and Obligations, than by Strength and Force of Arms.* This is an Expedition useful at all Times, but more especially so, at the first entrance upon Government; when there hath been either some late Succession, or some new Establishment. What Persons are the Proper Objects of this Liberality, in what Proportions it ought to be extended, and what Address ought to be observed in manner of giving, are Particulars, which have been largely examin'd and resolv'd already. I only add, that Augustus hath given us in his own Person, an eminent Instance, both of the Practice of these Methods for attaining the Love and Esteem of Mankind, and of the Success of such Measures † *For he (says Tacitus) won upon the Army by Largeesses; the the Common People by Plenty of Corn; and all Degrees of Men by the Sweets of Rest and Universal Peace.*

Authority is the other Pillar, that supports any Government; for, ∴ *The Majesty of the Royal Character is its Safety*

4.
Liberality.

5.
Authority.

* Vulgo una ex Republicâ Annonæ cura.

† Qui Militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine otii pellexit.

∴ Majestas Imperii Salutis Tutela;

and

and Defence. This that impregnable Fort, that keeps the lower and naked World in Aw ; by Virtue whereof the Prince can demand, and force Satisfaction, from any who shall presume to contemn his Orders, or behave themselves insolently to him. Upon the Account of This it is, that the Discontents of People end in Murmurs, that the enraged Mobile dares not storm the Palace, but all desire to be in good Grace with their Great Master. Now, this Authority is a compounded thing, and the Two Ingredients that make it up, are Fear and Respect. By These two, the Prince and his Government become formidable, spread a sort of Awe upon all who behold and consider them, and are secured from Attempts by this Protection. Now, to the acquiring this Authority, besides that all the Heads of Provision insisted upon in the last Chapter must concur, there are Three other Things absolutely necessary to be observed, in the Administration, and manner of Governing it self.

Severity.

The First of these is Severity ; which, commonly speaking, is much more for the Safety, and Advantage of a Governour, and a better and more durable Defence from Enemies and Dangers, than Easiness and Clemency ; because these are so very seldom tempered with Discretion ; and a great Softness and Gentleness of Disposition is exceeding apt to degenerate, and, as was hinted before, to produce very mischievous Effects. Of this several good Accounts may be given ; As First, the Natural Humour of the People, which, as *Aristotle* very truly observed, is not cast in so good a Mould, as to be tractable ; nor will they be contained in their Duty by any Principles so generous, as Love or Shame ; nothing less, nothing better will do it than Force and Fear, Extremity and a Dread at least of Punishment. A Second Reason is the General Corruption of Manners, and that Extravagance and Debauchery, which, like a Contagious Distemper, hath tainted and overspread all the World ; and this by being general, takes Courage, grows Insolent and Presumptuous ; and is so far from any possibility of being reform'd by fair Means, that such Gentleness only inflames the Disease, and makes Vice more Bold and Triumphant. It begets Contempt of Superiours, and strengthens the Wicked with Hopes of Impunity, which is the Plague and Bane of all Law, and all Government. For as *Cicero* says, * *The most Powerful Temptation to offend*

* Illecebra peccandi maxima spes impunitatis.

arises from the Hope of Impunity. And most certain it is, that Rigor upon particular Notorious Offenders, is the greatest Mercy that can possibly be shewn to the Publick, and the whole Body of Subjects in general. There is sometimes a necessity of making signal and solemn Examples, thus at the Expence of private Sufferings to teach other People Wisdom, and to prevent the exorbitant Growth of Villany by cutting it short betimes. The Body Politick is in this Respect subject to the same Dangers, and must submit to the same Methods of Cure, with our Natural Body; where a Finger is many times taken off out of a mere Principle of Tenderneſs; that by this seeming Barbarity, a Mortification may be prevented from seizing the whole Arm first, and then the Vitals. And thus that King of *Thrace* made no ill Answer, to one that reproach'd him with Playing the Part, not of a King, but a Mad-Man; *Aye, Sir, says he, but this Madness of mine keeps my Subjects in their Senses; and they grow Wiser by that which you think my Folly.* Severity keeps Officers and Magistrates strictly to their Duty, and promotes a faithful Execution of their respective Trusts; it discourtenances Flatterers, and turns Parasites out of Doors; the Wicked and Dissolute, the impudent Beggar, and little Tyrants of the Court are not able to stand before it. Whereas on the contrary, Easiness and Excessive Mildness of Temper opens the Gate Wide, and admits all these infamous Wretches; by whose Importunity and Unreasonableness the publick Treasures are exhausted, and squandered away; all manner of Vice is encouraged, the Kingdom is impoverished; all which, and a great many other Miseries, like Colds and Catarrhes, in a Rheumatick and Distempered Body, break the Constitution; and fall and settle, like the Humours, upon the weakest Parts. The Good Nature of *Pertinax*, and the Licentiousness of *Heliogabalus* had like to have lost All, and were very near ruining the *Roman* Empire; and then the strict Discipline of *Severus* first, and afterwards of *Alexander* restor'd, and made all whole again.

But still Extreame must be avoided; and the Severity I recommended should be exercised with prudent Reserve, and just Distinction: It must not be a thing of constant practice, but now and then, upon justifiable and important Occasions; and when it may be seasonable and effectual. For the End of this Dispensation must always direct the Use of the Means; and the Design of all Rigour in the Administration

Deut. xxi

stration of Justice is plainly This, * *That the Sufferings of a few, may work Terror and Amendment in the rest*, Thus the Almighty Law-Giver himself, renders an account of several exemplary and capital Punishments among the *Israelites*; *That all Israel may hear, and fear, and do no more wickedly*. Now, such Executions, when grown daily and familiar, lose their Efficacy; and therefore that ancient Author was certainly in the Right, who affirmed, that some few publick Examples contribute more to the Reformation of the People, than frequent Punishments, which come thick upon one another, can possibly do. The Reason of which is, that the more Surprising and New any Impressions of this kind are, the more Strong, and Terrible, and Awakening they are. But then all this is to be understood of common Cases; for if Vice gather Strength, if the Profelytes and Practisers of it grow Numerous, and Resolute, and Bold, in such a Case Compassion is the greatest Cruelty, Fire and Sword are then the only Remedies, and it is necessary to go thro' with the Cure. And whatever Imputations of a Bloody and Barbarous Temper may in such Circumstances be cast upon a Prince, they are but the Effects of Ignorance and Unjust Censure; for here again it is in the State, as in these private Bodies of ours, where the † *Extremity of a Disease, and the Ungovernableness of the Patient, forces the Physician to be cruel*; and he would betray his Skill, and be false to his Profession, should he relent, and be otherwise.

7.
Constancy.

The Second Expedient for establishing and preserving a Prince's Authority, is Constancy. A Firmness, and Resolv'd Temper of Mind, by which he keeps to his own Methods, treads the same Steps, and without any Fickleness or wanton Love of Change, advances still on, gets ground upon his Subjects; and enforces a due Observance of establish'd Laws, and ancient Customs. To be continually Altering and Reviewing, Abolishing Old, and Enacting New, besides, that it argues a weak and unsettled Mind, which never knows when things are well, nor where to fix; it does unavoidably lessen a Prince in the Eye of the World, and derive a very mean Opinion, both upon his Person, and his Laws; nay, it exposes both to publick Scorn and Contempt. Upon this account, Wise Men have ever shew'd themselves averse to Change, and that to such a Degree, as to dissuade

* Ut poena ad paucos, metus ad omnes.

† Crudelem Medicum, intemperans aeger facit.

and forbid Alterations in Laws and received Customs, even tho' they were to be chang'd for the better. For (besides the Uncertainty and the Danger of such Courses, and that we know the worst of what is practis'd now, but cannot foresee the Consequences of what was never yet try'd;) Take the Matter abstractedly and by it self, and it is certain, that Alteration of an old Law is always more inconvenient, and does greater Mischief, than the Novelty of a thing introduc'd in its Room can possibly do Good. Upon this Account (as I have intimated in a former Part of this Treatise) Busie Fellows and Reformers have all along been look'd upon as very suspicious and dangerous People, and by all means to be discountenanced. And in truth nothing less than either evident or absolute necessity; or else as evident and very considerable Advantage to the Publick; and This a certain, and not merely a possible, or likely Consequence of the Change can never be Argument Strong and Substantial enough, for breaking in upon ancient Constitutions, and altering the Measures of any Government. And when such cogent Motives as these are offer'd to persuade it, yet even then there is mighty Caution and Diligence to be used; the Proceedings ought to be exceeding well advis'd; every Step taken warily and with Deliberation. All must not be done at a push; but the Old laid aside with Decency and by degrees, and the New introduc'd as gently and insensibly, as is possible. For in this, above any other conjuncture of Affairs, is that Proverb of * *Fair and Softly*, a necessary Rule in Politicks.

8.

The Third Expedient for this purpose is to steer this Vessel himself, and not trust the Helm of Government in any other Hand. My Meaning is, that the Honour and Power of issuing out Orders, and giving Commands, should be reserv'd to the Prince in Person; and no other act as superintendent under him; That he should give the last Determinations, and his Will be the Direction, without referring all to his Council, and suffering them to act and order, as they think fit. For this will draw the Eyes, and the Respects of all his Subjects, and make them sensible, that all depends upon his Disposal and good Pleasure. The Sovereign, who gives away, tho' it be never so little of his Authority, is in Danger of losing All; and will quickly grow insignificant and despicable. For this Reason a Prudent King will be sure never to raise any Subject too high, or make him extravagantly

* *Lenitur & lente*

Great, or Wealthy above the Rest. † *The common Safeguard of the Government and Royal State, is to take Care, that no one Subject be made too big by the Favour of his Prince, says Aristotle.* And if it happen that he find such a one already made to his Hands, it is a Maxim in politicks, to lessen and lower him : But then that must be done slyly and smoothly, by some Stratagem not easily seen through, and in the most gentle, inoffensive, insensible Way that can be. Another Rule is, not to give places of great Dignity and Importance, for Life ; much less suffer them to be hereditary and descend in the same Family ; nay, it is dangerous indeed to continue These for any long Term of Years, lest Men by this Means should strengthen their Party, and at last become a Match for their Master. And whoever shall consult Histories, both Ancient and Modern, and there examine the Causes of Powerful Factions, and the most surprising and fatal Revolutions of States and Empires, will find the greatest part of them owing to the Exorbitant Riches and Power of some over-grown Subject ; or the Influence and Interest of some old and important Officer : So that Seneca had good Reason to say, *Nothing is so convenient and advantageous to the State, as the frequent Change of high Offices ; no Trust, no Power, which is Great, ought to be continued long in the same Hand.*

9.
*Against
Tyranny.*

These are fair, and honest Means, agreeable to Justice, becoming the Character of a Prince, and fit for him to use for the acquiring and supporting himself, both in the Good Affections of the World, and in a Venerable Authority with them. Upon these Terms he may be loved and feared both ; and so it is necessary he should be. For tho' a convenient Mixture of these Two be desirable and excellent ; yet either of them singly, and destitute of the other, is neither Reasonable in it self, nor any Security to the Government. Upon which Account it is, that we detest and abhor a Tyrannical Authority, a Fear absolutely repugnant to, and destructive of Affection and Love, such as renders the Person an Object of all Men's Hatred at the same time. † *Let them hate me, so they fear me,* is a brutish and savage Declaration ; no one that is really a Man, would be content with Power and Greatness at that Rate ; and this Authority, if it be fit to allow it so honourable a Name, is such as Bar-

† Communis custodia Principatus, neminem unum magnum facere.

* Nil tam utile, quam brevem potestatem esse, quæ magna sit.

† Oderint dum metuant.

barous,

barous, and Arbitrary, and Wicked Men procure to themselves; not by the Exercise, but by the Abuse of their Power. The Qualities and Character of a good Prince and a Tyrant, have no manner of Resemblance to one another. The Distance is so vast, the Disparity so notorious, that it is scarce possible for a Man not to distinguish between them. In short, they all turn at last upon these Two Points; One is, The observing the Laws of God and Nature, with a Religious Strictness, or the trampling both under Foot, with the greatest Insolence and Contempt. The other, making the publick Good, and true Interest of one's Subjects, the End and Measure of all one's Actions; or the making every Thing truckle to his own Will, and by every Action and Design, serving and aiming at nothing else, but private Profit and Pleasure. Now the Prince, who will answer his Character, and be what so glorious a Station requires, must constantly remember, that as it is the peculiar Happiness and Prerogative of Power to do whatever he hath a Mind to: So it is also the true Prerogative of the Will, and the most certain Mark of real Greatness, to have a Mind to such things only as are Just, and Lawful, and becoming. * *Cæsar* (says *Pliny*) *hath less in his Power than common Men, upon this very account, that every thing is in his Power. For as it is a Happiness to be able to do what you please, so it is true Greatness, to will only such things as you can do; or rather, indeed, to desire and will no more than you ought to do; for in strict speaking, a Man can do no more than lawfully he may do.* The greatest Misfortune that any Prince is capable of, is the being possessed with an Opinion, that his Will is his Rule; and that all that is possible, is lawful for him. As soon as ever he hath given way to this vile Imagination, his whole Temper and Manners presently grow corrupt, and from a good Man, he is transformed into a wicked Wretch, and a Monster. Now this Opinion commonly insinuates its self by Sycophants and Parasites: Flattery infuses and blows it up; for Persons of that Dignity never want enough and too many, to preach up to them the Greatness of their Power, because this is a pleasing Doctrine, and tickles the Ear; but the Obligations of Duty carry a harsh and grating Sound; and there are few, but very few Servants so hardy in their Fidelity, as to

* *Cæsari cum omnia licent, propter hoc minus licet. Ut felicitatis est, posse quantum velis: Sic magnitudinis, velle quantum possis; vel potius quantum debeas.*

entertain their Master upon this necessary Subject. But of all sorts of Flattery, That is the most dangerous, when a Man flatters Himself. In other Cases, a Man may stop his Ears against the treacherous Insinuation; he may enjoy Silence, forbid all Discourse of that kind, avoid the Presence and Company of the nauseous Wretches that use and hope to ingratiate themselves by it: But when the Person who gives, and he who receives the Flattery, are one and the same, What shall he do, or whether shall he run from such destructive Conversation? And therefore a Prince above all other People, is highly concern'd to deal honestly by himself; to decline and despise the fulsom and base Soothings of other People, who hope to make their court this way; and especially to be a severe Inquisitor and Judge of his own Actions, and not to cajole himself into Ruin.

After all that hath been said, (and too much cannot be said against Tyranny and Arbitrary Administration) it is necessary to add, that sometimes such Critical Junctures of Affairs will happen, such Intricacies and Perplexities of Publick Business, with regard to Time, Person, Places, Occasions, or some accidental Circumstances; that a Prince will be driven to a necessity of doing some things, which at first view may look like Tyranny: As for instance; When the Matter depending before him, is the suppressing another Tyranny; the Licentiousness, I mean, of a head-strong, hair-brain'd People, whose ungovernable Fury is the most absolute, most destructive Tyranny in the World; Or when he is to break some close Cabal, or powerful Faction of the Nobility, and Persons of Wealth and Figure in their Country; Or when the publick Treasures are reduced and wasted, the King driven to extream Wants, and knows not where to furnish himself with needful Supplies, and so is compelled, for the Relief of the State in its present Exigency, to raise Moneys irregularly, and borrow from the Rich, by such Loans as they are not perfectly contented with. Of these Extremities, and the Methods and Remedies proper for them, I have spoken formerly; and the only design of renewing the mention of them here, is to persuade People to give the best and most favourable Interpretation to Cases of necessity; and not immediately clamour against them, and represent them in their worst and most odious Colours, but make all the Allowances they can bear. Much less ought we to misconstrue Severity upon particular Offenders, or esteem the number of his Guards, or the Strength of his
 Forts,

Forts, or the Majesty, and Style-Imperial of his Commands to be Tyranny. For all these things are not only useful in a very high degree, but in some Circumstances indispensably necessary. And such Authoritative Methods in Kings, are much better, and more desirable, than the softest Entreaties, and kindest Caresses of Tyrants.

And thus I have represented the two firm Supports of a Prince, and a State; and happy is it for Them. who know how to acquire, and continue these Advantages to themselves; and by so doing, effectually prevent the Two Contraries, which are the very Murderers and certain Undoers of a Prince and Government, Hatred, I mean, and Contempt: Concerning which, I beg the Readers Patience to say one Word, because the brief Consideration of them may be of some Service towards the preventing or defending our selves from them.

Hatred then, which is the direct Contrary to Love and Good-will, is an obstinate, wicked, perverse Affection of the Mind, whereby the Subjects are violently prejudiced, and bitterly set against the Prince and his Government. This commonly springs, either from some Apprehension of future Mischiefs, or from a Desire of revenging some past Injury; or else from a Resentment compounded of both these together. When this Hatred is very rank and fierce, and when it spreads and grows Epidemical, the Danger is extremely great, and the Consequence commonly fatal; and very seldom it is, that a Prince is able to stem, or get over it. ^{10.} *Hatred.* * *No Power (says Tully) is so great as to be a match for a general Hatred; The Multitude have many Hands, and the Prince hath but one Head.* This is it they thirst after, This what they want, to put an End to their Rage; and he is but a Man equal in this regard to any one of his Enemies, but expos'd to the Attempts of them All. You see then, how important, how necessary it is for a Prince to preserve himself from such a dangerous, such an irresistible Mischiefe; and the most likely Course that can be taken for this purpose, will be to avoid the two Extrems of Cruelty and Avarice, so directly opposite to that Gentleness and Liberality, which were observ'd before to be the powerful Instruments, and most powerful Motives to gain the Kindness and good Affection of any People.

* Multorum odiis nullæ opes possunt resistere. Multæ illis manus; Illi una cervix.

II.
Cruelty.

First, he must by all means keep himself clear and untainted from any base and barbarous Cruelty, such as is a Blemish to his Character, scandalous, and abominable, and unbecoming his Grandeur : On the other Hand, let his Mind be strongly armed by Clemency, the Reasons and Necessity whereof have been shewn already, when we treated of the Virtues more peculiar to a Prince. But still, in regard Publick Punishments are necessary and unavoidable ; and these, even when most just, even when most necessary, carry some face and appearance of Cruelty, it concerns a Governour to carry himself very prudently in the management of this Matter ; and perhaps there are not many Cases which require more Dexterity and Address. And therefore I will presume to venture at a little particular Advice upon this Occasion. As first, Let him by no means be too eager and hasty in laying his Hand upon the Sword of Justice ; but shew, that he draws it meerly in his own Defence ; and by his slowness to be provok'd, and loathsomeness to revenge, convince the World, that what he does of this kind, is the effect of meer Necessity, and fore against his Inclination. † *He that passes Sentence speedily, does it willingly, and with a Glee ; whereas there is a Tenderness due, and a King ought to be very saving even of the worst and vilest Blood.* Secondly, Let the Principle upon which he proceeds, be the Prospect of the Publick Good ; and let their making their Faults exemplary, and preventing the spreading and growth of it in others, and a Relapse of the Sufferer himself, be the Motives of Punishment, rather than any thirst of Vengeance, or a desire to torment the guilty Person. Thirdly, Whatever of this kind is necessary to be done, let it be put in execution with all possible Calmness and Temper. A King should be like his Laws, cool and sedate, void of all manner of Passion ; and therefore Anger, and Joy, and any other Emotion of the Soul is highly unbeseeming ; but if any Passion may be allowed, That of Pity is the only one, that can shew it self with a good Grace upon these Occasions. Fourthly, Let the Execution be only what is usual, and according to the Laws and Customs of the Country in such Cases ; for the aggravating of the Pain, and inventing new and more exquisite Methods of Torment, are so many certain Marks of a cruel and remorseless Mind. Fifthly, Let

† *Libenter damnat, qui cito : ergo illi parsimonia etiam vilissimi Sanguinis.*

not the Prince have any hand in inflicting the Punishment, nor so much as be present at the Execution ; for this looks like insulting, and taking satisfaction in the Suffering of the Criminal. Lastly, if there be a necessity of Punishing a great many, let it be done with all convenient speed, and altogether, that it may be over and forgotten, as soon as possible. For the prolonging their Execution, and repeating these Tragical Sightings One by One, looks as if a Man play'd the *Epicure* in Blood. For we naturally contrive, that those things may be lengthened out, or often renewed to us, which give us Entertainment and Delight. And every Body hastens to make an End of That, which is disagreeable, and raises his Aversion.

The next thing which he ought to keep himself free from, is Avarice, than which no Vice whatsoever can possibly be more misbecoming a great Man. Now this may discover it self two Ways ; either in Extortion, and exacting more than is fit ; or in Niggardliness, and in giving less than is fit. The former of these will be sure to disgust the Common People, who are all of them naturally covetous, and esteem their Pocket the tenderest Part ; for Money is their Blood, their Life, their very Soul. And therefore nothing gives them so sensible an Affliction, or raises their Indignation, like the Exactions that rob them of it. The second discontents all that have served the State, who have any Pretensions to Merit, and have spent their Time and Pains, their Strength and Blood, upon the Publick, and therefore think some proportionable Gratuity their due. Now we have already taken Occasion in the last Chapter, to discourse the Matter of the Publick Treasure at large, how the Prince ought to manage himself in this whole Point ; what Methods are proper for the raising of Funds ; what Taxes are fit to be imposed, for the putting his Exchequer into Stock ; what Prudence is requisite in the laying out such Moneys ; and what Frugality necessary for the reserving a convenient Supply for extraordinary Exigencies. And therefore all I shall need to add here, is only thus much, that the Prince ought very diligently to beware of three Things. The first, that he bear no manner of Resemblance to those Tyrannical and Extravagant Impositions, the insupportable Burden whereof have rather made the Leviers of them Devourers of their Country, and common Plunderers, than Fathers and Defenders of it. Such as God describes by the Mouth

12.

Avarice.

Pſalmliiii. of his Pſalmiſt, that *∴ Eat up the People as they would eat Bread; Whoſe Treasuries are enrich'd with the Spoils of their Subjects, and made the common Receptacle of Blood and Rapine.* For theſe Oppreſſions weary out all Patience, and provoke Tumults and Inſurrections; as infinite Examples of Revenge, and Seditiſm, and other deſperate Calamities prove to us. The ſecond Thing to be declined, is Sordidneſs, and that firſt in the gathering part; (** Following the Scent of Gain every where, and balking no occaſion, tho' never ſo vile and unbecoming his Character; or as the common Proverb ſays, Robbing the very Spital*) for which reaſon it will be highly adviſable in him, to be very ſparing in taking the Advantage of Accuſation and Attainders, Confiſcations and Forfeitures, and other Spoils, which have an Air of Hardſhip, even when they are clear of Injuſtice. The other Branch of Sordidneſs is in being cloſe-handed, giving nothing, or giving in little and ſneaking Proportions; making his Favours mercenary, or being ſlow and difficult in granting; ſo that whatever is obtain'd ſhall be dear bought, by importunate Requeſts, and long Attendance; and it is not ſo properly the effect of Generoſity, or a Senſe of Merit in the Receiver, as extorted by dunning, and wreſted out of his Hands by tiring and vanquiſhing his Patience. The third is, Methods of Violence, and unreaſonable Exaction in the levying of Taxes; when the manner of bringing it in, looks more like foraging, or going to plunder an Enemy, than to make a Demand upon a Subject. This Caution, I confeſs, is chiefly aim'd at the Inſolence of Collectors and Receivers, who by their baſe Extortions, and grinding the Faces of the Poor, expoſe the Prince to Hatred and Diſrepute, and breed angry Reſentments, and ill Blood in the People. For his Honour ſuffers for the Mildemeanors of his Under-Officers. Theſe Monſters of Foxes and Wolves, who as one deſcribes them, have Six Hands, and Three Heads apiece. And, as in other Matters, ſo particularly in that of making Seiſures, are barbarous and remorseleſs; eſpecially ſuch Goods as are Neceſſaries of a Man's Life, the Topls of his Trade,

∴ Qui devorant Plebem ſicut eſcam panis; In quolibet quorum ærarium ſpoliarum Civium, cruentarumque prædaram receptaculum.

** Indignum lucrum ex omni occaſione odorari; &c, ut dicitur, etiam à mortuis auferre.*

or Instruments of Husbandry; a Method to be declin'd in common Prudence, as exceeding odious, and what nothing less than Extremity, or very just Provocation ought to put them upon. It is therefore of mighty consequence to a Prince, what sort of People are employ'd in these Offices; for it is highly requisite they should be Men both of Integrity and Prudence: Nor is it less necessary for his Honour, to turn them out with Disgrace when they misbehave themselves: A severe exemplary Punishment, a swingeing Fine, to make them disgorge all their ill-gotten Gains, is what he owes to himself, and his own Defence: For these State-Sponges should be used accordingly, and squeeze'd in their Turn too, till they have given back every Drop of that Blood and Sweat, which they most mercilessly suck'd up, by draining and squeezing the poor Country People before.

Let us now proceed to consider that other, and, if it be possible, still worse Enemy of a Prince and his Govern-^{13.} Contempt, which is Contempt, arising from an ill and mean Opinion both of the one and the other. What is it that can possibly support one single Man, and that sometimes one of great Years and Infirmities, in a Station so much above many Millions of his Brethren, except it be Authority, and a high Esteem? When once this is lost, and sinks into Contempt, all the rest is lost with it, and both Prince and Government fall to the Ground. And therefore, as in this respect, according to what was urged before, Authority is of greater Strength and Efficacy, and carries more Pomp and Majesty with it, than the good Affection of a People; so likewise Contempt is more dangerous and formidable, than even Hatred it self. For Hatred is modest and timorous, it is restrain'd by Fear, and dares attempt nothing, till Contempt let it loose; but this shakes off that Yoke, animates and arms it for the most desperate Undertakings. It is true indeed, Contempt seldom rises very high, especially under the Government of a Rightful Prince, unless he be perfectly insignificant, and degrade and prostitute himself and his Honour to that degree, as only to be * a King of Clouts. But still, since there is a Possibility of its happening, we shall do well to observe what are the Occasions most likely to produce it. Now this, as it is in its own Nature the very Reverse to Au-

* Ut videatur exire de Imperio.

thority, so does it derive it self from Causes directly contrary to those, by virtue whereof a Prince's Authority is procured and preserved: As for Instance, those three that follow;

I. First, as to his manner of Government; a loose, effeminate Softness, Supineness, and Negligence in Business; a tame, heedless, unthinking Temper; or else Fickleness in his Resolution, and perpetual Change and Uncertainty in his Opinions and Methods: For when there is no Attention, no Steadiness, no Spirit or Vigour, this is the mere empty Name of a Government, without the Thing. Subjects under such Princes grow insolent, and bold, and encroaching: They think they may do what they will, and that he will never regard or reckon with them for it: † *It is a great Calamity to have a Prince, under whom no Man enjoys any Liberty at all; but it is still greater to have one, under whom none are subject to any Check or Restraint at all.*

II. Secondly, This is frequently the Effect of his Misfortunes, either with regard to his Affairs when they succeed ill; or in respect of his Family, when there is no certain prospect of Succession, either of his own Issue, or else by a fixt Settlement; for Children are a mighty strengthening to a Prince's Interest; and the not knowing what will become of the Crown when the present Possessor fails, is such a Diminution and Unhappiness, that we find even *Alexander* himself, in the midst of Glory and Conquest, complaining bitterly of it; ∴ *My want of Heirs, says he, is despised, because I have no Children to succeed me. For the Children of a Prince are the Honour and the Strength of a Court.*

III. Thirdly, Princes often draw Contempt upon themselves by their Manners, and way of Living particularly, if they be dissolute and debauch'd, sensual and effeminate; Slaves to Vice, and abandon'd to Luxury and Pleasure; especially to Sottishness, and Drinking, and Gluttony, the lowest and most despicable of all Pleasures: Also their Behaviour exposes them to it, if this be churlish and morose; their Discourse, when childish and impertinent; their Persons, when nauseous and notoriously deform'd.

† *Malum, principem habere, sub quo nihil ulli licet; pejus, eum, sub quo omnia omnibus.*

∴ *Orbitas mea, quod sine liberis sum, spernitur. Munimen Aulae Regii Liberi.*

And

And thus we are got to the End of what I thought convenient to be premised, with relation to the Active part, or Administration of a Prince in general. We proceed now to handle it more distinctly and particularly. But in order hereunto, it must be remembred, that this, (as was observ'd in the beginning of this Chapter) consists of two parts, the one Civil, or that which concerns a State of Peace and publick Tranquillity. The other Military, and proper for a State of War: For by the former I understand the common and ordinary Methods of Government, which are of constant and daily use, whether in a time of Peace or War. By the latter I mean those Methods which are proper to Martial Discipline, and the practice whereof is peculiar to the time of War only.

The peaceful and ordinary Administration of a Government is a Province of such vast Comprehension, and the Accidents and Occurrences of it so various and unforeseen, that it is impossible to reduce it to any general Rules. And besides, the Prudence of it consists oftentimes as much in forbearing to act, as at other times in acting. But however, I will venture to lay down here some few Heads of Advice, which are necessary to be consider'd, and may be of some Advantage perhaps, when the Duties they prescribe are observ'd duly, and improv'd, by applying the Substance of those general Intimations to particular Actions and Circumstances. First then, the Prince is concern'd above all things, to take care, that he be faithfully and diligently inform'd of all Matters which any way concern him to know. The Matters I mean here may be comprehended under two Heads, and consequently the Informations themselves, and the Persons made use of in them, are of two different Qualities. And to render those of each sort what they ought to be, these Qualifications are absolutely necessary, and in common to both; Sincerity and Confidence Secrefie and Prudence. But tho' these be requisite to both kinds, yet they are not so to both equally: For the one have occasion for much greater Liberty, and Openness, and Plain-dealing, than the other. The one of these are the Persons whose business it is to put him in mind of his Duty, what he is obliged to, and what becomes his Character; and not only so, but to make him duly sensible of his Faults and Failings, and to speak bold Truths to him concerning himself. There are no sort of Men in the World, who stand in so great need of such Friends, as Princes

14.
*The Peace-
able Admi-
nistration.*

Princes do ; for they have no Senses of their own, nor any other Direction, but what is receiv'd from seeing with other People's Eyes, and hearing with other People's Ears. They sustain a publick Character, and have a World of People to satisfy ; so that every Word and Action of theirs is the Matter of Censure or Commendation, and expos'd to the critical Malice of all Mankind. And, as they have in this respect more Humours to please, so are they less capable of doing it than common Men, because they are industriously kept in the Dark ; and very little of what concerns them is suffer'd to come to their Knowledge. And thus for want of better Instruction, they do things which prove inconvenient and disgusting ; and so, with all the undesigning Innocence imaginable, expose themselves to the Hatred and Resentments of their Subjects. All which had certainly been prevented, or very easily remedy'd, had they been fairly and freely dealt with in time. But then it must be said, on the other hand, that they are in some degree destin'd to this Ignorance, or accountable for it themselves ; because Matters are so order'd, that Frankness of Humour, and Home-Truths, by way of Admonition or Reproof, (tho' the best Offices, and surest Marks of Friendship and Affection) are yet seldom well taken ; and especially to Princes they are not only unacceptable, but sometimes extremely dangerous to the Person, who hath Courage and Honesty enough to venture at them. And yet this cannot in reason but appear a very criminal Nicety, and an Argument of great Weakness ; when such Persons cannot bear having their Ears grated, and made to glow a little, for their Good : For this Harshness of the Sound is all they can endure ; they are above Compulsion or Restraint ; and have the whole Management of themselves left still entirely in their own Disposal.

The other sort of Informers are such as are employ'd to bring what we properly call Intelligence ; by representing all the considerable Actions and Occurrences, not only within the Compass of his Dominions, and by his own Subjects ; but by discovering the Projects and Intrigues of Neighbouring Courts : I say of all that is doing at home or abroad, wherein either his own, or his Allies, or Borders Government is either immediately, or but remotely concern'd. These two distinct kinds of Correspondents do in some degree answer the Character of those two Friends to *Alexander*, *Hephestion* and *Craterus*. One of which is
said

said to have loved the King, and the other *Alexander*; That is, One of them was fond of his Person, the Other of his Government; One regarded him in his Private, the Other in his Publick Capacity; * but the tenderer Friend dealt most freely with him.

In the Second place, The Prince should always have by him a private Book of *Memorandums*, consisting Principally of Three Heads. First, An Abridgement of all Matters of Publick Concern then depending: That by recourse to This, he may inform himself at one View, what is fit to be done in the present Juncture of Affairs; what Matters are already in Motion, and want to be compleated; that to every thing may be attended to in its proper Season, and nothing done out of time, or by halves. The Second is a List of Persons Names, whose Merits may recommend them to his Favour, either upon the Account of past Services, which call for Rewards and Gratifications; or of extraordinary Abilities, which qualifie them for Preferments and Places of Trust. The Third, A Memorial of Gifts and Grants already conferred, to whom, and upon what Considerations: For without a distinct and particular account of these Three things, it is scarce possible to avoid the being frequently at a loss, and making a great many false Steps. And accordingly we find, that Princes of the justest Renown, and most celebrated in Story for their Wisdom and Policy, have constantly taken this Method, and felt the Convenience of it; *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, (for instance) *Vespasian* and *Trajan*, *Adrian*, and the *Antonines*.

A Third Rule may be This; That in regard One of the most material Parts of the Royal Character consists in distinguishing the deserts of Men, and assigning Rewards and Punishments accordingly; and in consideration, That the One of these is extraordinary grateful, and recommends him to their Affection; The Other naturally disgusting, and what will be sure to draw a great Odium upon the Instrument of it: Therefore the Distribution of Rewards should be reserved to himself. Honours and Estates, Offices and Preferments, Privileges and Pensions, Exemptions and Immunities, Restitutions and Pardons; and, in a word, every

* The Description given of this personal Dearth betwixt *Alexander* and *Hephestion*, hath that among other Circumstances mention'd in it. *Secretorum omnium arbiter; Libertatis quoque in admonendo non alius jus habebat.* Qu. Cart. Lib III. 12.

thing of Grace and Favour should come immediately from his own Hand : But every thing that is grievous and grating, should be turn'd over to some other Hand : And therefore inferior Officers are more properly made use of, for pronouncing Sentences of Condemnation, imposing Fines, levying of Forfeitures, making Distresses, and executing all manner of Penalties : For tho' it be true, that all Matters of this Nature depend upon the same Authority, and it is virtually the Prince that does them ; yet it is certain from Experience, and the common Sense of Mankind, that This is not so duly considered, but that it leave a particular Grudge behind, and creates angry Resentments against that very Person, who is the next and immediate Actor, though he be in reality never so passive in the thing.

In the Distribution of Rewards and Gratuities, and other Marks of Favour of the like Nature, this farther Intimation may not be unseasonable. That a Prince, upon such Occasions, should shew himself forward and free ; he should if it be possible, even prevent the Receiver's Expectations, and give unasked ; and not defer the matter so long, till he bring himself under a necessity of denying any Applications made to him for them : He should likewise give in Person, when that can be done conveniently ; or order them to be given in his Presence, and with some particular Expressions of his Favour and Esteem. For all these Circumstances are wonderfully engaging ; they add to the intrinsic value of the Gift ; make it more welcome, and more effectual to all the purposes it can be capable of serving. Besides, that in observing this Method, Two mighty Inconveniencies will be avoided, which do really diminish in a great measure, if not quite, defeat absolutely the Acknowledgments due to Persons of Honour and Desert ; One is that of a tedious Attendance ; the Difficulty and intolerable Expence they are forc'd to be at, in obtaining the Advantages which are really intended them, and thought to be very justly conferred ; and This to Men of Eminence and Spirit, is a great Grievance, and grates very hard. The Other is, That after the Prince hath actually bestowed the Gift, and declared his Pleasure in it, the Forms of the Grant, and the Delays and indirect Dealings of the Officers, through whose Hands it must pass, do so inflame the Reckoning, that before a Man can be dispatched, and come into actual Possession of his own, it costs him at least half what the thing is worth ; nay, sometimes the full value, or more ; and when all Charges come to be

com-

computed, he hath the Name only, but receives nothing ; or something he had better have been without, than have spent his Interest, and Money, and Time, for that which turns to so very poor Account.

We come now to that part of the Administration, which is Military : and This every Man easily sees to be necessary for the Defence and Support both of Prince and People, and preserving the Order and Honour of any Government. And therefore I shall treat of it with all the Brevity that the Subject will bear. Now, the whole of what is Proper to be said upon it, may be reduc'd to Three Heads ; The engaging in a War at first, the Carrying it on when begun, and the Putting an End to it.

1. For the engaging in a War, Two Preliminaries are Necessary, Justice and Prudence, and consequently the Two Vices opposite to These, by all Means to be avoided, which are Injustice and Rashness. First of all, It is necessary that the War be Just ; for Justice ought to march in the Head, and lead Courage on to Action ; as Counsel and Deliberation ought to go before the Execution of a Design. And therefore such Maxims as these, tho' common in every Bodies Mouth, are yet most Wicked and Abominable ; That Right is always on the strongest Side ; That the Success will determine the Cause ; That the longest Sword will carry it. For certainly the Goodness of any Cause is not to be measured by the Event, but by the Equity and the Reasonableness that is at the Bottom of it. And though War be a thing of Violence and Force, and the Decisions of it very distant from the Method of determining civil Controversies ; yet even War it self is not utterly Lawless, but hath its Rules and Measures to be observed ; as well as Peace. Almighty God, who calls himself the Lord of Hosts, and God of Battels, does favour just Wars in a peculiar Manner ; it is He, who disposes of Victories, and casts the Scale, as he in his infinite Wisdom sees fit. But it is the Duty of every Prince to qualify himself for that Favour ; and, as much as may be, to engage Providence on his Side ; and the first of those Qualifications, is the Justice of the Undertaking. To pick Quarrels therefore, and ** commence a War upon every Occasion, is what can never be answered.* The Itch of Honour and Triumph will bear no Monarch out in it. And therefore such ought to take good Heed, that Ambition, and

* Non ex omni occasione querere triumphum.

Avarice, and Passion, be not too busie upon these Occasions; which yet, if a Man may be allowed to speak the Truth freely, are it is to be feared, the great Incendiaries of the World, and generally at the Bottom of such Undertakings. † *One, and that indeed the unusual and ancient Cause of War is the insatiable Thirst of Riches and Dominion; That Abyss of Avarice and Ambition, which measures the Greatness of a Prince's Glory by the Extent of his Territories, and Enlargement of his Conquest. The Raging Desire of Gain, and the Rash Heat of Anger, are the Disturbers of Peace, and Violaters of Leagues and Treaties.*

19.
*A just
War, what.*

Now, to make a War just, and in all Points what it ought to be, Three Things must concur: The First, That it be denounced, and undertaken, by a Person who hath the Power of making and proclaiming it; which can only be the Sovereign himself; or in common-Wealths, those who are invested with the Supream Authority, and whom the Law in that respect looks upon, but as one single person.

20.

The Second is, That the Cause, upon which it is so denounc'd, be just; and such without Dispute, is the Case of a Defensive War; the Light of Reason clearly and constantly pronounced in Favour of such a War, in the Judgment of all the Wise and Civiliz'd Part of Mankind; and Necessity supply'd the Place of Argument and Thought, and moved the Barbarous and Ignorant, to agree in the Justification of it too; Custom hath made this Opinion and Practice universal among Men; and Nature her self hath infus'd this Principle into Brutes. But then by Defensive, I mean, That which is truly and properly so; when Life or Liberty, one's Relations, or one's Country are assaulted. Nay, not only so, but a War is really Defensive, when begun in behalf of our Confederates and Allies, or to chastise Breach of Faith and former Treaties, or for the Protection and Redress of those that are oppressed Grievously, and injuriously treated. For, it is the great Roman Orator's Judgment, That * *He who does not defend the Injured, and as much as in him lies, prevent and ward off the Wrong, is as much in Blame*

† Una & ea vetus causa bellandi est profunda cupido Imperii & divitiarum; maximam gloriam in maximo Imperio putant. Rupere scædus impius lucri & ira præceps.

* Qui non defendit, nec obsistit, si potest, injuriæ, tam est in Vitio, quam si Parentes, aut Patriam, aut Socios deferat. Cic. Lib. I. de Offic.

as if he deserted Country or Kindred, Parents or Friends. So that Injury it self, without the Addition of any other Motive, is, and ought to be esteem'd Engagement sufficient for the employing our best Endeavours, to right and assist the Persons labouring under it. And accordingly we find St. Ambrose comprehending all these three Kinds of Defence under the Character of Justice. *That Fortitude* † (says he) *is highly Just and Commendable, which by Force of Arms Defends our Country from the Invasions of Enemies and Barbarians; or Protects the Weak and Suffering, from those that are too mighty for them; or saves our Friends and Allies from Plunder, and Robbers.* Another ∴ Author brings the Matter into a narrower Compass still, and reduces it to these two Particulars, of Faith and Safety. *No War* (says he) *is undertaken by a Righteous and Good Government, except either Breach of Covenant, or the Prospect of their own Danger provoke it.*

Offensive War must likewise have Two Conditions to render it justifiable; The One is, that there be really some offence given, and the Damage sustain'd, upon which the Quarrel can fairly be grounded; as in the Cases of Violence, and Outrage, and Usurpation: The Second, That Satisfaction and Restitution be first demanded, in the usual Manner and Solemnities; in which among the *Romans* a * *Herald* was the proper Minister: For Force is the last Remedy, and ought never to be made use of, till the rest have been tried to no Purpose. And Justice cannot be duly sought this Way, till it hath been sought in softer and more amicable Methods, and deny'd. If the Aggressor will hearken to calm Reason, and submit to such Terms as are agreeable to it, there ought to be an End of the Controversie; but if he will be obstinate, and refuse to do this, then indeed War is Just and Allowable, because it becomes necessary, and the only possible Method left for redressing such Grievances, and preserving our own Rights. For † *that is a just War, which cannot be avoided; and those are righteous Arms, which are taken up by Men, who have nothing left to trust to.*

† Fortitudo, quæ per bella tuetur à Barbaris Patriam; vel defendit infirmos; vel à latronibus Socios, plena Justitiæ est.

∴ Nullum bellum à Civitate optimâ suscipitur, nisi aut pro Fide, aut pro Salute. *Salust.*

* Post Clarigatum. *Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. XXII. Cap. 2.*

† Justum Bellum quibus necessarium; pia Arma, quibus nulla nisi in armis relinquitur spes.

21.

The Third necessary Qualification for making a War just, is, that it be undertaken for a good End ; and such is no other than the Peace and Security of a Nation. † *Wise Men* (says my Author) *wage War for the sake of Peace ; and are content to sustain great Labour and Pains for the Prospect of Ease and Leisure, that so they may live quietly and secure themselves from Wrong.*

22.

Prudence.

After once the Justice of the Cause is taken care of, then and not before, it is seasonable to consider of the Prudence of the Undertaking. And this Consideration consists in Mature Deliberation, that a Prince may not run giddily on, and engage in Attempts which have no probable Prospect of Success: And therefore to prevent Heat and Rashness, it will be very convenient that these following Particulars should be very seriously weighed.

First, the Strength, and Conveniences on both sides ; what the Aggressor, and what his Enemy is capable of.

Secondly, The Hazard and doubtful Chance of Wars, the mighty and surprizing Revolutions of Human Affairs ; Particularly the unaccountable Events of Engagements and Stratagems, which we see happen daily ; and wherein, when the nicest Policy hath done its utmost, Providence hath still the chief Hand, and gives the finishing Stroke ; For it is obvious to every Man's Observation, that what the World calls Fortune, cannot pretend to so absolute a Dominion in any one Instance, as in the Decisions of the Field. And accordingly we often see, that One Hour there turns the whole Face of Affairs, and exalts or reduces a Prince to the very Reverse of what he was an Hour ago. And therefore *Livy* hath observ'd very truly, that *∴ the Glories and Laurels which have been the Acquisition, or the Expectations of a whole Life, are all blasted and withered by the Fortune of a single Hour ;* and he who thought himself sure of All, and stood actually possess'd of a great deal, the next Moment hath not so much as the Hope of any thing left to sustain him.

The Third Consideration necessary upon this Occasion is, That of the horrible Grievances and Hardships, the Calamities and Miseries, which War (supposing the very best of the Event and final Determination) does unavoidably

† *Sapientes pacis causâ bellum gerunt ; & laborem spe otii sustentant ; ut in pace sine injuriâ vivant.*

∴ *Simul parta ac sperata decora unius horæ Fortuna evertere potest.*

draw both upon the Publick in general, and private Persons in particular. And these indeed, when duly reflected upon, are such, that the very Thought alone is Dismal and full of Discouragement and Horror.

A Fourth Reflection, will concern the Slanders and Calumnies, the Reproaches and Curses, which are sure to light upon the Authors and first Beginners of any War. For the Misfortunes and Losses, which cannot but happen, will be sure to alienate the Affections, and provoke the Resentments, of those who suffer under them; and they, when thus incensed, will not fail to express those Resentments, in a very plentiful and bitter Manner: For, from what hath been said already, we may easily be convinced, that, nothing lies more exposed to the Tongues and Censures of the World, than War. And whoever is the Immediate Actor of the Mischief, the main Burden will be sure to fall upon the Principal. * *This, says Tacitus, is the particular Hardship of War, that Men always make an unjust Division of Events; all that succeeds well, every Man arrogates to himself; but all the Mis-carriages and Losses, every one Shifts off from himself, and all agree to lay the Load at the Principal Commanders Door only.* Those that fail in Execution, blame them whose Business it is to give give Orders; and they who issue Orders, lay the Blame upon Negligence and Failure in the Execution; and, at the last Rebound, the Whole rests upon the prince himself. Upon all the Accounts, the very justest War, as St. Augustine says, is odious and detestable; and a Prince does very ill, and Acts imprudently, when he engages in it, without extremely urgent Necessity. According to that Remark made upon Augustus Caesar. And therefore Kings must not suffer themselves to be won over to it, by those busie Incendiaries that set the World on Fire, and desire to incense their Master with groundless Jealousies, or allure him with imaginary Conquest, meerly to gratifie some particular Passion of their own, † *Men, (who as one describes them) think Peace a Burden, and to live at Ease, a perfect Slavery; of such Dispositions, that Nature seems to have cut them out for publick Disturbers; for they will neither be quiet themselves, nor content to let other People be so.* And yet these very Persons are commonly the most backward and dispirited, when once they come to Action; they talk big, and take Towns, and bear whole

* *Iniquissima Bellorum conditio hæc est; Prospera omnes sibi vendicant, Adversa uni imputantur.*

† *Quibus in Pace durius servitium est; in id nati, ut nec ipsi quiescant, neque alios sinant,*

Armies, and entertain themselves and others with the Pleasures and Advantages of a Camp, and the Love they have for Fighting; but at last the old Proverb proves its own Truth, That † *War is pleasant to none, but those who have never tryed it.* Now, a wise Prince will take the best Care he can, to keep, and to promote the Peace of his Country; he will not be afraid of War on the one Hand; for this is mean and beneath his Courage: but then he will not provoke, nor draw it upon himself on the other Hand; for that is every whit as much unworthy of his Wisdom, and the Effect of Heat and Inconsideration. For how rash, how unreasonable is it, to put his own, or another Government into needless Combustions; to give so many Persons the uneasiness of a long and anxious Suspence between Hope and Fear; and to drive things to that desperate Push, that he must at last, either ruine other People, or be ruined himself?

23. The second Branch of this Military Dispensation, I said, *The Second* is carrying on the War. And for this, three things are *Head, Car-* necessary; Provision and Ammunition; Men: and Conduct, *rying on* or Skill in the Rules of War. The first is Provision of *the War.* things useful and necessary for the War, and that ought to be done early and in good time. For it would be an intolerable Weakness and Reproach, to put off the Supplies, which ought constantly to be in readiness, till the very instant that our Occasions call for the using of them. He that is to seek then, hath lost himself; for a *∴ Long Preparation is the surest Expedient to procure a speedy Victory.* Now, as for the Provisions requisite for the Honour and Safety of a Prince and his Government, in the usual and ordinary State of Affairs, there hath been enough said already, in the former part of this Chapter; and that belongs entirely to the Matter now before us. The principal Provisions and Strengthenings for War are three: First, Money; which is the very Life and Spirits, the Nerves and Sinews of War; as hath been already shewed at large: Secondly, Arms Offensive and Defensive, which have also been spoken to before: These Two are of common Use, and what a Prince should always have plenty of in Reserve. The third is Victuals; without which an Army can neither conquer, nor fight, nor live; if this be wanting, En-

† *Duce bellum inexpertis.*

∴ *Qui apparandum est, ut vincas celerius;*

agements are needless, for your Men are cut off without ever a Blow struck; and the Soldiers grow wild and unruly, and cannot possibly be kept under Government. * *A hungry Army observes no Rules*; and Men ready to starve cannot be expected to perish in Obedience to Discipline. 'Tis true, I mention'd a Provision of Necessaries before; but that which I am now upon is a different thing, and laid in on purpose for this extraordinary Occasion. One therefore of the earliest and most important Preparations for War, is, upon the first Thoughts or Motions towards any such thing, to see that there be large and convenient Magazines, stor'd with all manner of Victuals, Corn, Salt-Meats, and other proper Sustenance, not only for the Army, which takes the Field, but for the Garrisons upon the Frontiers; so much as may enable them to hold out a Siege, if the Enemy should find it for his purpose to sit down before them, and so intercept all Supplies which should come to them from abroad.

The second thing requisite for carrying on a War, is a competent Number of Hands, Men fit to make, or to receive an Assault. And here we shall be obliged to distinguish between them. As first of all, between Private Soldiers, or those who are commonly said to carry Arms; and Officers, or Persons in Commission. The Private Soldiers are the Body, the Officers the Head, or Life of the Army; that which inspires and directs every Motion, and by Virtue whereof they act. Now here, we will first of all consider the common Soldiers, who make the Bulk and main Substance of the Army, Of these there be several sorts, some Foot, and others Horse; some Natives, others Foreigners; some the proper standing Force of the Government, others Auxiliary Troops, or such as are levied upon a particular Emergency. We shall do well to take a transient view of every one of these, and bestow the Pains of comparing them a little together; that so we may be satisfied which are best and most eligible: And then we will proceed farther to observe, what Methods are to be made use of for the directing and governing our Choice; and what lastly for the ordering and well-disposing them, when thus levied, and got together.

Now, the Judgments of Men have been very different in the first Branch of this Comparison. For some, and especially

* *Disciplinam non servat jejunos Exercitus.*

F 4

specially

pecially the Barbarous and Undisciplined Nations are much more for Horse than Foot; but others are generally of the quite contrary Opinion. Indeed it may with great reason be affirmed, that if both are considered simply, and absolutely without any regard to particular Exigences and Qualifications, Foot are the much better of the two, for they are of Service all along, and run through the whole Course of the War; no Place excludes them, no Action is achieved without them. Whereas the Horse are often useless; for in Mountains and rough Countries, and where the Defiles are very straight, and in the besieging and raking of Towns, they stand a General in very little stead. Foot are also more ready at Hand upon all Occasions; they cannot lie far out of Call; and, as their Attendance and Service is more, so the Expence of raising and maintaining them, is considerably less. The Substistence and Equipage of Horse is extremely chargeable; and even for that Action, where they are of most Advantage, Flanking and Galling the Enemy in a Battel, if the Foot be well appointed, armed Substantially, and skilful in their Business, they will stand the Shock, and maintain their Post very well. And accordingly, those who set up for Masters in this Art, usually give them the Preference. The Horse indeed are of greater use in a pitch'd Battel, and for making quick Work. * *For this (lays one) is the Quality of Horse, that they soon get, or soon lose the Day.* The Foot, it is plain, cannot be so good at dispatch; nor can it be expected they should. But then they make amends another way, and as they are the slower, so they are a great deal the surer of the two.

26.
Natives.

Nor do we find an entire Agreement of Opinions, concerning the next Article; whether Natives or Strangers are fittest to be made use of; tho' to me the Odds appear so very great, that I make no manner of difficulty to give it on the Natives Side. For certainly, we may expect better Principles, and greater Fidelity from Home-born Subjects, than we can from Strangers, who are Soldiers of Fortune, and only fight for their Pay. They will endure more, be better contented, submit more quietly to Orders, carry themselves with more respect to their Officers, use more Civility in Quarters, will think their Honour more

* *Equestrium virium proprium est citò parare, citò cedere victoriam.*

concerned; and when they come to Action, shew more Courage in the Engagement, as they cannot but have a more affectionate and tender Regard to their own Country, for the defence whereof they are engaged. Besides, the Publick saves more by them; they cost a great deal less, and are more ready at hand than Auxiliaries from abroad. For Foreigners are very often mutinous and grumbling; and that sometimes, just when there is occasion to make use of them: They commonly keep a great blustering, but have more of Insolence and Vanity, than of real Service in them: They are generally troublesome, and a Burden to the Publick; cruel and oppressive to poor Country People, and fancy themselves licensed to plunder, as if it were an Enemy's Country, because it is none of their own. Then the Expence of transporting them backward and forward, the Voyages by Sea, or long Marches by Land, are a prodigious Charge. And, which is worst of all, their Motions are frequently so tedious, and their Delays so many, that Opportunities are lost, incredible Damage sustained, and the Season of Action quite spent, before they come up. This, I say, is very often the Case, and therefore where Natives are equally qualify'd in other respects, and there is no want of Hands, these are certainly fittest to be employed. But still this hinders not but that there may be occasions, in which a Foreigner's Aid is advisable, and therefore this stating of the Comparifon is not to be look'd upon as a conclusive Rule, nor of any Force against Cases of Necessity, or particular Convenience. But even then, it will be for the Safety of a Prince, to take heed that the Strangers do not succeed those of his own Subjects; for though they may constitute a Part or Limb of the Army, yet they must by no means make up the main Body of it: For when once they feel themselves superiour, or but an equal Match for the Natives, there is danger of their making use of such an Advantage, to subdue and make a Prey of their Masters that hired them. And History takes notice of this Trick being play'd so often, that no prudent Governour would run the risque of it, or put such a Game into Strangers Hands. And a fair Game to be sure it is; for he that is Master of the Field, may be Master of all the Kingdom whenever he pleases. Again; if there be a necessity for the Assistance of Strangers, let them be borrowed from our Allies and Confederates, whose Interests are interwoven with our own; and so whatever Damage one sustains,

sustains, will affect both. Upon which account we have reason to repose greater Confidence in their Fidelity, and to expect better Service, and more Zeal from them, than we can from more Strangers, who have no concern at all either with, or for us. To make such then, not one's Refuge, but one's Choice, and to multiply them to the Danger and Terror of one's own Subjects, is a Course fit for none but Tyrants; who because they use their Subjects ill, are afraid of them. They treat them as Enemies, and are sensible, how general a Hatred they have incurred; and therefore they dare not trust them, for fear they should have the Inclination to take it, when they are put into a Condition of Revenge; and turn those Swords upon their Master, which he taught them to use for his Defence, but hath provoked them to use for their own.

27.
Ordinary
and Subsidiary.

As for the Ordinary and Auxiliary Forces, a Prince will find occasion for both sorts. Now the Difference betwixt these two is, that the former are but very few, they are constantly in Pay, and upon Duty, as well in times of Peace as of War. And of these therefore all that was necessary hath been delivered under the Provisionary Part of Civil Prudence. These are People entirely destined to War, this is their whole Trade, and therefore they ought to be perfect Masters of it, dexterous in all manner of Exercise, and resolute as well as skilful in handling their Arms. This is what the Moderns call the Standing-Forces of a Kingdom; the Prince's Honour in Peace, his main Protection in War, and much of the Nature with that Institution of the Old *Roman* Legions. Now it will be convenient that these should be canton'd out by Regiments in time of Peace, and quarter'd in very small Bodies, remote from one another, to prevent any Combinations among them, or the giving Disturbance to the Publick. The Auxiliaries or Extraordinary Force, are much more numerous indeed; but then they are not perpetual, nor devoted to War, and nothing else. They have other Professions to subsist upon; and these they follow, till the Service and Necessities of their Country draw them off: When this happens, and there is occasion for their Assistance, they are called in by Beat of Drum, listed and muster'd, led on, and taught their Military Exercises. And when the Service is over, their Business is so too; they are dismiss'd again, return to their Trades, and work to maintain their Families at home,

You

You have now heard the Differences and Distinctions between Men of Arms; the next thing that requires good Advice and Direction, is the Choice of them. And this in truth is of mighty Consequence, and will ask great Prudence and Care. It signifies but very little to draw together so many thousand Men; for Armies are not to be valu'd by Tale; nor does Victory attend upon the greatest Numbers, but the bravest Fellows. And commonly, that part which turns the Day, and is in the hottest of the Action, consists but of a few Squadrons in comparison. A wild tumultuous Rout does more hurt than good. * *It is not a strengthening, but a Burden; and deserves rather to be called the heavy Baggage that retard a Prince's March, than a Relief or Protection to him.* So perfectly insignificant are Multitudes void of Courage; and † *The goodness of the Hearts and Hands is a better Security than the exorbitant length of a Muster-Roll.* And thus you see, how great, and how fatal an Error it is, for Commanders to press or pick up the next Men they meet, or hire them at so much a Month, without any distinction. Whereas they ought to be rather nice and curious in making this Collection. And, as its always the Reproach, so it sometimes proves the Destruction of a Nation, to have an Army composed of the next Chance-Comers, perfectly ignorant of the thing they undertake; the Sweepings of Gaols, the Scum of the Nation, Lewd and Vicious to the last Degree, Bullies and Braggadochio's; bold in Plunder, and when no Enemy is in sight, but timorous and swift of Foot as soon as Danger makes its Appearance. Or if you please, take that ancient Description, ∴ *Men trained up to no part of War but the Rapine and Robbery of it; Insolent and Big; the Dirt and Dregs of the Town; Rakehells, whom Want and Wickedness hath brought intimately acquainted with Debauchery, and made exquisite in Impudence and Villainy of every kind.*

Now in order to making a good Choice, the Ends they are to serve ought to be duly consider'd; which will require some Judgment and Application of Mind. And to

* Non vires habet, sed pondus; potius impedimentum quam auxilium.

† Manibus opus est bello, no nominibus.

∴ Assueti latrociniiis bellorum; insolentes; galeati Lepores; Purgamenta urbium, quibus ob egestatem & flagitia maxima peccandi necessitudo.

do this effectually, and with Address, Five things ought to be taken into our regard

First, The place of their Nativity and Dwelling, and the manner of their Education suitable to it: For they should be taken principally out of the Country, from mountainous, barren, and rugged Situations, or else from Sea-Coasts; in all which places People are usually brought up to all sorts of Labour and hard Fare. So says *Vegetius*, * *The Levies ought chiefly to be made out of the Country; for such Men will be a Strength indeed: They are fitter to bear Arms, after being accustomed to endure all manner of Weather, and to live by Drudgery. Their very Soil and Climate hardens and gives them Courage. And the less easie and delightful any Man's Life hath been, the less he will be afraid to die.* But now your People in Cities and great Towns are more nice and tender; they run to cool and artificial Shades, and know not what it is to endure either a scorching Sun, or a cold Winter Blast. Profit and Pleasure are all they are intent upon; and this make them soft, and idle, and effeminate. † *Bred up by their own Fireside, and good for nothing; used to Delicacy and Luxury; Slothful, and incapable of any laborious Undertaking, or hardy Usage.*

Secondly, The Age of the Men is of great consequence; for the best Season of taking them is in their Youth; about eighteen or twenty Years old, when they have not only Vigour and Strength, but are teachable and pliant, fit to learn, as well as able to perform their Duty. For Vice and Stubbornness grows upon them with Years: There is scarce any reforming old Fellows; the bad Habits of their former Days stick by them; and besides, they are so Head-strong and Self-conceited, that is next to impossible to bend them to Instruction and Discipline.

A *Third* Consideration is their Body; which, according to the Opinion of some, ought to be very tall; and thus *Marius* and *Pyrrhus* particularly desired their Soldiers. But the Stature does not seem to be of that mighty Importance; for a moderate Size will do very well, provided the Body be dry and firm, vigorous and strong: So says *Tacitus*,

* *Ex Agris suppleendum præcipuè robur exercitus, aptior Armis Rustica plebs, sub dio & in laboribus enutrita; ipso terræ suæ solo & coelo acrius animantur.*

† *Vernacula multitudo, lasciviæ sueta, laborum intolerans,*

;; *Their*

Ch. 3. Of Prudence in Government.

93

∴ Their Bodies should be clean, and well set, their Limbs right, their Countenance stern; for these are good Indications of a Qualification most requisite of all, a brisk and courageous Mind. Your huge, over-grown, fat, flabby Fellows, with loose and washy Bodies, are good for nothing at all.

In the Fourth Place, they should look out for Men of lively Tempers, brave and resolute Spirits, bold and daring, and valuing themselves upon their Abilities; such as are greedy of Praise; impatient to be out-done, and afraid of nothing so much as Dishonour and Reproach.

Lastly, Their Condition is likewise of very great Consequence: For those that are the very Lees and Dregs of the People, of a scandalous Character, or brought up in Lewdness or Infamy; or such as have follow'd lazy and sedentary Trades, or never knew any Business but following Pleasures and Women: In a Word, all manner of sauntering and digraceful Professions, render a Man extremely unfit for this, which must engage him in Activity, and all manner of Hardship.

The next thing after the making a good Choice of proper Men for our purpose, is to qualifie them for Service by ^{30.} Discipline. For it is by no means enough, that Persons capable of making good Soldiers are procur'd, if that Capacity be not improv'd, and they actually made such; and to as little effect is it, that they are once made so, except they be kept so by habitual Practice afterwards. There are but very few Men in the World, who are valiant, merely from Nature and Disposition; for, generally speaking, Courage is owing to Instruction and Art, to Custom and Discipline. And these things are of so exceeding great importance in War, that the Uses and Advantage of them are never to be express'd. Good Discipline is really All in All. It is to this, that old Rome was indebted for all her Glories; this secur'd and enlarg'd her Conquests, and made her Mistress of the World; all which that People were so sensible of, that no one Virtue whatsoever, nor even natural Affection to their own Children, was reputed more necessary, or had in higher Esteem. Now the main Point of Discipline is Obedience; and that old Rule expresses this Matter very truly and well, which says, that a Soldier ought always to be more afraid of his Officer than his Enemy.

∴ Dura corpora, stricti artus, minax vultus, major animi vigor.

Now

31. Now there are two great Ends, which this Discipline
Two Parts. should aim at, which are, making good Soldiers, and good Men; and consequently, it must needs consist of two parts; one of which respects the Valour, the other the Virtue or Manners of the Persons concern'd to be kept under it. For the promoting of Valour, and perfecting them in the Business of their Profession, three things are expedient.

First, Constant Exercising them in the handling of their Arms, which ought to be the repeated Work of every Day, and never intermitted at all. And this is so essential to the very Being of an Army, that the *Latin* Tongue calls it by
Exercitus. a Name which signifies *Exercise*. Now this is properly instructing them how to handle their Arms, and be expert in the use of them upon all occasions; to prepare for, and by just degrees advance to Action; to shoot and draw regularly upon their Enemy; to make the best of any defensive Weapons they are provided with for themselves; to shew them distinctly every thing that is likely to happen in the midst of an Engagement; to bring them acquainted with Tryals of that kind; and train them as in form and heat of Battel: And lastly, to propose Rewards and Honour for Them that excel, and are most dexterous; by that means to quicken their Diligence, and warm their Ambition.

Secondly, Hard Labour, which is of great benefit for inuring them to Pain, or Toil, and Sweat, and Dust: For * *An Army improves and grows more vigorous by Labour, but languishes and decays by Sloth and want of Employment.* It also does good Service toward the Security of the in Army, the Fortifying of their Camp, and Dispatch of Intrenchment. And therefore they should be taught to break Ground, and cast up well; to plant regular Pallisadoes, to raise stout Barricadoes; to run, and fetch, and carry heavy Burdens; for all these things are highly necessary, both to cover their own Lines, and defend themselves; and likewise for the pressing upon, and enclosing an Enemy.

The *Third* thing they are to be instructed in, and accustom'd to, is exact Order; which as it is of infinite use, so is it likewise of different sorts, according to the different posture of Affairs, and Exigencies of War. First it may be consider'd with regard to the ranging and distributing of the Troops, cantoning them out, either into Battalions, or Regiments, or Standards, or Companies. Secondly, In the Dis-

† *Exercitus Labore proficit, Otio consenescit.*

position of the Camp ; that due Distances and Proportions be observ'd in the several Quarters ; that its Avenues, Outlets, and Lodgment be conveniently order'd for Horse and Foot ; so that it shall be easie for every one to find his own Quarters, and proper Post. Thirdly, In Motions and Marches, whether only from Place to Place through the Country, or to front an Enemy ; and here they are to be taught to keep their Ranks, to move equally, and at just Distances from each other, so as neither to go loose and too far off, nor too close and crowded together. All this Order is highly necessary, and is of great use in several respects. It adds much to the Beauty of an Army ; is entertaining and marvellous delightful to all that see and observe it ; it cheers our Friends, and animates them strangely ; confounds our Enemies, emboldens and inspires the Soldiers themselves with Security, and exceedingly facilitates all their Motions ; and the obeying any Orders that shall be given by their Generals. For by this means the Word is no sooner given, but, without any Noise or Confusion in the World, it is convey'd from one to another, and the meanest most private Man presently understands the Mind of his supreme Officer. † *All the Forces receive their Leader's Command at once, and in an instant, with all the Order and Composedness imaginable, attend and execute the least Significations of his Pleasure,* In a word, When Orders are well observ'd, they almost make an Army invincible. And on the other hand, a great many Instances have happen'd, of Armies much superiour in Number and Strength, and all other Advantages, which have been entirely routed, and cut to pieces, meerly for want of Discipline, and knowing how to transmit, and obey Orders readily.

The Second Part of Military Discipline concerns the Regulation of Manners ; which naturally, and for the most part are scandalously dissolute and extravagant, and to the Reformation of which a Camp brings greater Obstructions, than any other Place or Condition of Humane Life : ∴ *It is not easie for Men that are engag'd every Day in Blows and Blood, to keep a just Temper, and strict Virtue.* But yet how difficult soever the bringing them to this be, it is necessary to be attempted, and ought to be taken Pains in ; and especially

† Imperium Ducis simul omnes Copiæ sentiunt : & ad nutum regentis sine tumultu respondent.

∴ Assidue dimicantibus difficile Morum custodire mensuram.

all possible diligence must be us'd to establish Three Virtues among them.

The First is Continnence, in the larger and more comprehensive sense of the Word, as it is opposed to Excesses and Sensualities of all sorts; Gluttony, Drunkennels, Debauchery with Women, and every other kind of Pleasure, that is lewd and scandalous: All which are most unfit for Men of this Profession; because such Practices do manifestly debase the Courage and enfeeble both the Body and Mind of the Soldier. * *For Men of Arms (says Tacitus) presently degenerate from their Primitive Vigour, and grow soft and tame, by abandoning themselves to Pleasure.* And Hannibal stands upon Record, a scandalous Monument of a General, whom one Winter's Luxury perfectly melted down into Effeminacy, and made that great Man, who Conquer'd all before him, and was invincible by Arms, a Captive and Conquest to his own Vices.

A Second necessary Virtue is Modesty. In Conversation first, and Words; free from Vanity and Boasting, and big blustering Talk. For Courage exercises the Hands, and not the Tongue; and seeks its Praise, not from fine Speeches, but brave Actions. † Men that are disposed for War, are great in Deeds, but unskill'd in Dispute of Words; For indeed these Engagements are of very different kinds: A Stout and truly brave Man is not forward to come to Action, but eager and violent in it, calm and compos'd till he come to it. On the other Hand, your great Talkers are good for nothing, and are only valiant in Words, as one hath very truly represented them. Now the Tongue is the Instrument of Counsels, as the Hand is of Action. But then there is a Modesty in Deeds and Behaviour too, by which I mean a ready and entire Obedience, without any trifling, or delaying, or disputing the Commands of his Superiours, and pretending to be wiser than They. For ∴ *These, (says one) are the Properties of good Soldiers, to be ready and willing, respectful and obedient.*

* Degenerat à Robore ac virtute Miles assuetudine Voluptatum.

† Viri nati Militiæ Factis magni, ad Verborum Linguaeque certamina rudes. Discrimen ipsum certaminis differt. Viri fortes in opere acres, ante id placidi Verbis, Linguâ feroces. *Plin.*

∴ Hæc sunt bonæ Militæ, Velle, Verere, Obedire.

The

The Third Virtue is Abstinence: By which Soldiers would learn Honesty and Contendness, and keep their Hands clean from all manner of Rapine and Violence; and not (as too frequently happens) turn Robbers and common Ravagers, and make every thing a Prey that comes within their reach: This in short, is the Substance of Military Discipline, to which a General must give Force and Authority, by Largesses and Rewards, bountifully scattered among those that are tractable and valiant, and deserving; and by severe and exemplary Punishments inflicted upon the Refractory, and Idle, and Negligent. For Indulgence in an Army, is the Ruin of the Soldiery.

What hath been said already may suffice for private Soldiers; and therefore the little I shall add more Concerns ³³ *Of the Commanders.* the Officers; who are of so great Consequence, that their Soldiers can do nothing without them. For it is then no longer an Army but a Rabble; a Body without a Soul; a Ship with Sails indeed to move, but no Helm to steer, no Pilot to direct it. Of These there are two sorts. The General, who is the Supream, and then the Subalterns; such as Lieutenant, and Major-Generals, Brigadiers, Colonels, and so down. But the General is All in All; and he can be but One, upon Peril of Confusion, and losing All. Hence it is, that we commonly say, an Army is considerable in proportion as the General is so; * *That he is worth all the rest*: more account to be made, more depending upon him; more Hope, or more Distrust and Fear upon his Account, than the whole Body under his Direction. Now this General is either the Prince in Person, or some Person of Eminence for Prowess and Conduct, chosen and commission'd by him. The Presence of the Prince himself is of mighty Moment and Efficacy toward the obtaining a Victory; for it provokes the Emulation, and inflames the Courage of his Subjects; and indeed, when the Preservation of the Government, or any part of his Dominions, is the Occasion of the War, his Personal Appearance seems highly expedient and necessary. In Disputes of less Consequence it may well enough be dispensed with: For so *Tacitus* advises, That * *Monarchs will not ordinarily expose their Persons to the common Hazards of War; but reserve themselves for the more im-*

* Plus in Duce repones, quam in Exercitu. *Tacit.*

* Dubiis Præliorum exemptus, summæ Retum & Imperii seipsum reservet. *Tacit.*

portant Concern of the Government; and stay till Extremity calls them into the Field.

But be the General who, or of what Character he will, a good one he cannot be, without the following Qualifications. First, Knowledge and Experience in the Art of War; one that hath seen and felt the different Events of War; † acquainted with Conquest and Defeat, the Successes and the doubtful Chances of the Field; and neither to be exalted with the One, nor dejected and dispirited with the Other. Secondly, Caution and provident Care; and consequently a Man of sound substantial Sense, cool and strong Thought, weighed and steady Resolution, free from Heat, and Rashness, and eager Haste; which is not only an Argument of Folly, but the Cause of infinite Misfortunes, and irreparable Calamities. For False Steps in War are hard to be recovered; and a Man may not have the *∴ opportunity of playing the Fool twice*. For which reason we commonly say, a General should rather look behind him than before him; and be more solicitous to secure what he hath already, than eager of getting more to it, at the hazard of the whole. A Third is Vigilance and Activity, winning upon the Soldiers by imposing Labour and Hardship upon himself, and by his own Example going before, and leading them on to every thing he would have Them do. A Fourth is good Success. Men indeed are not, cannot be Fortunate, as they please; This is a peculiar and immediate Gift of Heaven; but yet the Divine Providence does usually give Success to probable Means and Endeavours; and where the Three former good Qualities meet, this is very seldom wanting to crown them. In the mean while, it ought not to seem strange, that I give This a place here among the other Accomplishments; tho' it be not so directly within a Man's own Power to acquire it. For every Body knows what prodigious Effects the Persuasion of a lucky Commander produces; and how much more bold, and daring, and assured those Men are, who have a Confidence in the Fortune of their General, and Fight under one, who hath been accustomed to Conquer.

34. Having now done with those Considerations, which relate
Advice for to necessary Provision of Ammunition and Men; we will
Action.

† Secundarum ambiguarumque rerum sciens, eoque interitus. Tacit.

∴ Non licet in Bello is peccare. Ducem oportet potius Respicere quam Perspicere.

proceed

Ch. 3. Of Prudence in Government.

99

proceed to the Rules and Directions proper to be observ'd in the making use of both these. This Third Point is of infinite Consequence; and the only thing that can render either of the former so; for Strength and Numbers, Arms and Men, are but empty and imaginary Things without it. There must be Art and Address, and not only Instruments, but Skill to work with them. For ** Counsel and Wisdom achieves more and greater Exploits than Force*. But it must be confessed, † that to lay down such Rules as shall be standing, and eternally suitable to every Case and Circumstance, is absolute impossible. Because These depend upon a vast variety of Accidents and Occurrences; all which must be taken into consideration; and the Person will be oblig'd to comply with, and accommodate himself to them. And upon this Account it was ingeniously observ'd, That Men did not so properly guide their Affairs by Counsels; as their Affairs guide and determine them; That a Man must make War by his Eye; that is, he must observe and act upon Discretion; and the wisest Junto that ever sat, cannot be so proper Judges at a distance, of what is to be done, as He who sees, and must take his Measures upon the Spot. For there are a Thousand unforeseen Emergencies, which change the whole Scene, and put a new surprising Face upon the Matter; and consequently require that a Man should steer a new Course, and govern himself accordingly. But however, tho' we cannot be so particular and full, but that large Reserves must be made for discretionary Proceedings; yet there are some Methods so general, and so fixt, that no Man can be mistaken in observing them; nor can any considerate Author, who treats of this Subject, overlook them. Some few of these I shall briefly represent to my Reader here, and leave it to him from his own Observation or Experience, to add more, as he shall see occasion. Now of these there are two sorts: Some of constant use throughout the whole Course of the War: Others accidental and occasional only, as Times, or Places, or other Circumstances shall happen to make them seasonable. I begin with the Former sort.

The first of these is Watching all Opportunities with the utmost Diligence and Circumspection; securing all that offer, that none slip by unprofitably; and at the same time

* Plura Consilio quam Vi perficiuntur.

† Consilium in Arenâ,

preventing and countermining the Enemy, that he shall have no benefit by those that are put into His Hands. For Opportunity hath a large Run, a mighty Stroke in all Affairs of Human Life, and more especially in War; where one lucky Hit does more sometimes, than all the Hands and Heads of a Kingdom put together.

II. The Second is, Making his Advantage of Reports; for be they true or false, they are capable of doing great Service, and especially while they are fresh and warm. * *Common Fame begins, continues, ends Wars; exalts Men's Minds with assured Hopes, dejects them with pannick Fears.* They Fight as the News goes; and many a Field hath been lost and won, by Virtue of a current Rumor; which tho' so powerful in its Effects, had yet perhaps little or no Foundation to stand upon it self. This last Advice chiefly regards a Man as yet unsettled in his Measures: But when the Scheme is laid, and he is not only determin'd so much as in those Circumstances one can, but hath entred upon his Designs.

III. Then my Third Direction is, not to trouble himself about any such Rumours. He will do well indeed to get well inform'd, and to consider of them carefully; but still to proceed in his own Methods. To do what he is able, and what in Duty and Decency he is oblig'd to; what Reason prescribes, and there to rest; and expect the Event, as a wise and a brave Man should do.

IV. But above all, let him in the Fourth place, take heed of being too confident and secure; for this will lead him into infinite Mistakes and Inconveniencies, perhaps never to be retriev'd. A Man thinks meanly of his Enemy, as if he were despicable, and not worth his Care; and this betrays him to Negligence, and Thoughtlessness, and Sloth. Now, This is the most dangerous and destructive Condition that a State of War is capable of. For whoever despises his Enemy, does most certainly expose and betray himself; and give that so despised Enemy an Advantage, which if no other Consideration did, would singly render him extremely formidable. † *Security is usually the Forerunner and Occasion of great Distress.* No Body is so quickly defeated, as the Man

* *Farmâ bella constant, fama bellum conficit, in spem metumve impellit animos.*

† *Frequentissimum initium Calamitatis, Securitas. Nemo celerius opprimitur, quam qui non timet. Nil tutò in hoste despicitur. Quem spreveris, valentior neglentiâ facies.*

that is under no Apprehension of Danger. Nothing in an Enemy can be despised with safety; for even that Carelessness, which naturally springs from Contempt, gives him more power to do you Mischief. These Reflections are true in their most general Sense; but in War nothing ought to be despised; because there nothing is or can be frivolous enough to justify or deserve it; for it often happens, that what we look upon to be very small and inconsiderable in it self, is yet fruitful in great variety of Consequences, and even prodigious Effects. † Small Motions are often followed by monstrous Events; and therefore as nothing of this kind ought to perplex us with anxious Fears of it, so neither ought any thing to lull us asleep with the slight of it, as not worth our Notice and Care.

Fifthly, He ought to be extremely curious, and inquisitive into the Condition of his Enemy, and the posture of his Affairs; particularly, he should be sure to get certain Information of the following Points. The Temper and Complexion, the Inclination and Designs of the Commander in chief; the Temper of the People and Army under him; what their Manners are, and in what way they live; the Situation of the Places, and Condition of the Country all round about his Camp; and where either the Scene of Action, or any Motions of his Army may probably be, And This was Hannibal's peculiar Excellence.

As for Engagement and Action it self, several things must be taken into Consideration; the Time, the Place, the Persons against whom, the Manner how, a Man engages: Otherwise it may be as unsuccessful as it is an ill-advis'd Attempt. A Battel ought never to be hazarded, but upon great Deliberation, and very pressing Reasons to persuade it. Any other Method less hazardous is rather to be chosen; He should try to break and tire out his Enemy; to harass him with long Marches; to batter him with tedious Encampments; with incommodious Places; with want of Provision, and other Conveniencies. In short, To beat him any other way, rather than by Dint of Sword. * For the Chance of War is extremely dangerous and uncertain: One Moment turns the Scales, routs and overthrows the Victorious

V.

35.

VI.

For Bat-
tels;

† Sæpe parvis momentis magni casus; ut nil timendi, sic nihil contemnendi.

* Incerti Exitus pugnarum. Mars communis, qui sæpe spoliante & jam exultante everit, & percussit ab abjecto.

in the midst of Joy and Plunder, and carries the just-before beaten and despairing, triumphant out of the Field.

VII.
The Time.

A General then must never let Matters come to this Extremity, except it be very seldom: That is to say, when absolute necessity compels, or some great Occasion persuades him to it. The Cases of necessity are such as these; when you feel Difficulties grow upon you daily; when you are reduced to want of Provision; when Money runs low, and no Supplies can be had; when your Soldiers grow discontented, and desert apace. In such Circumstances there is no subsisting long; and therefore *A desperate Disease must have a desperate Cure*; for you can but perish either way. For the Occasions which may render it advisable, I reckon the manifest Odds of Strength on your side, either in Numbers, or in other Qualifications superiour to the Enemy; when Victory seems to invite, and stretch out her hand on purpose to be receiv'd and embrac'd; when the Enemy is at present considerably weakened by some Detachment, or otherwise; or not yet fully join'd; but expects in a very short time to be compleated or reinforced, and will then bid you Battel: When you have it in your Power to surprize them, and they imagine you are at a Distance, and incapable of reaching them: When he is harass'd, or taking Refreshment: When he is divided, and Parties are out Petrolling, or upon Booty; busie in Victualling their Camp, or their Horses forc'd to be Stabl'd up at a distance; and feed upon dry Meat, for want of Forage near their Camp.

Place.
VIII.

The Place of Engagement deserves also to be very diligently consider'd; this being of very great Importance in Action. One may venture to say in general, That it is by no means prudent to wait for the Enemy in your own Countrey; his Entrance thither should, if possible, be prevented; and you ought either to advance and meet him, so as to make his Territories the Seat of War; or else to secure your own Passes, and stop him at his approach. But if he have already vanquished that Difficulty, and got Footing; it is by no means advisable to run the Risque of a Battel, except you have another Army in reserve to sustain and recruit you speedily. For this would be to play a desperate Game, and to stake All upon one single Throw. But when Matters draw toward an Engagement, the Ground ought to be well viewed, and prudently chosen; and as you find it for your own, or your Enemies Convenience, you must manage your self accordingly: For the Ground it self is a very great

great, and sometimes almost an insuperable Advantage. Now, a plain open Country is most convenient for the Horse, because this gives them Room to wheel and Scour in; but your narrow Defiles, and Places full of Boggs, Morasses, Ditches and Trees, are most Favourable to the Foot, because These give no Opportunity to the Cavalry to break in and Flank them.

A General must also be Careful with whom he engages, IX. and never venture a Battel with an Enemy stronger than *Persons.* himself. Now, this Strength is not always to be measured by Numbers; but by the Courage and Resolution of the Men. And nothing makes Men so Valiant as Necessity; because this is almost an invincible Enemy; and therefore the Stress of it awakens all our Powers to make Opposition. Upon this Account it is a good Rule, never to fight with Men reduced to desperate Circumstances, but rather to put an Opportunity into their Hands of being upon better Terms with you. And this agrees exactly with the Counsel given in the former Paragraph, of not Hazarding an Engagement in one's own Country; because the Enemy must then be forc'd to make a Desperate and Bloody Business of it; as being sensible, that if he happen to be worsted, there is no avoiding of utter Ruin. No Fort to protect, no Retreat to receive, no fresh Succours to relieve and sustain them, and so nothing in Prospect but certain Victory, or certain Death. *

As for the Manner of engaging, That is certainly the best, X. which is most Advantageous, and likely to succeed; whether *Manner.* Surprise, or Stratagem, or making a Feint; pretending to retreat for Fear, to draw the Enemy out of a good Post, or into an Ambuscade, and take them in a Trap. Thus † *the Expectation of Victory is the very Instrument made use of to work their Overthrow*; Watching all their Motions narrowly, taking Advantages of every false Step; and charging them when and where they are least in a Condition to receive the Attack.

For the due management of a formal and ranged Battel, 36. these following things are very expedient. The First, and *Form'd* indeed the Principal, is a regular Disposition of one's Men, *Battels.* and Marshalling every part of the Army in their proper Place and Order. A Reinforcement, Secondly, constantly ready; so near at Hand, that they may pour in upon the

* Unde necessitas in loco, spes in virtute, salus ex Victoriâ.

† Spe Victoriæ inducere, ut vincatur.

least notice; and yet so much under Covert, that the Enemy may not discern, or be at all aware of any such Thing, till they are actually upon them. And tho' this Reserve be not very considerable in it self, yet the Effects of them will be so; for in a Hurry there is nothing so Ridiculous and Despicable, but it is able to create or increase our Confusion. And * *in all Engagements the Conquest is first gain'd upon the Eyes and Ears*; for when once their Senses are struck, and make a Report full of Terror, the Heart fails, the Hands grow faint and feeble, and all is our own. A Third usual Direction is, To be first in the Field, and stand ready in Form of Battel. This gains time, and gives a Commander Leisure to do what he sees fit, with Deliberation and Ease; it likewise animates our own Men, and discourages the Enemy, who measure our Assurance by our Forwardness. Besides, This is to make our selves the Aggressors, and the first Blow is commonly given with more Spirit and Resolution, than it is received. A Fourth Expedient is, a Becoming, Bold, Brave, and resolute Aspect in the General and the rest of the Commanders; when their Countenances do not only speak their own Courage, but inspire and animate those that want it. The Fifth and Last, is a seasonable and pertinent Exhortation to the Soldiers; encouraging them to do well, representing to them, the Glory, the Advantages, nay, the Safety of behaving themselves Gallantly; That Infamy and Reproach, Danger and Death, are the certain Portion and Fate of Cowards. For *∴ the less Fear, the less Danger always: Courage is its own Defence; and the readiest way to escape Death, is boldly to face, and generously to despise it.* He that runs, hastens to his own Destruction; and for one that falls in the Heat of Action, there are Ten cut to Pieces in the Flight.

37.
In the Action
on it self.

When once the Armies are engaged, the General is to observe on which side the Advantage inclines; and if he find his own Party give Ground, he is then to act the Part of a Firm Undaunted Mind; to do all that can be expected from a Resolute Officer, and a Gallant Soldier. To rally them again; lead them on in Person, and bring them out of their Confusion; stop them in their Retreat; throw himself into the midst of them; hearten and encour-

* Primi in omnibus Præliis vincuntur Oculi & Aures.

∴ Minus Timoris, minus Periculi; audaciam pro muro esse: Effugere mortem, qui eam contemnit.

rage them to a Second Shock, by all manner of means; and in his whole Behaviour to give evident Demonstration, both to the Enemy and his own Soldiers, of his own Bravery, and Presence of Mind; that his Head, his Hands, his Tongue are free from Fear and Confusion, and serve him for proper Orders, and vigorous Action, with all Imaginable Readiness, and Address.

If his own Side be Superiour, and the Fortune of the Field rest there, his Duty is to repress, and Check their Eagerness; to prevent their Scattering and Disorder, by too fierce and obstinate a Pursuit. For in this Case, he ought to be Apprehensive of a Turn, which hath often happened; that the vanquished may take Heart again when they feel themselves hard press'd; and by making a desperate Push, rally upon, and rout their Conquerors. For Necessity is a furious Mistress, and puts Men upon very violent Methods. * *When Men are surrounded with Death, Despair emboldens them; and after Hope is lost, Cowards turn Stout, and Fear it self takes up Arms.* Rather therefore let him open a Passage, and facilitate their Flight; but least of all must he suffer his Men to fall upon the Booty, and while they are employ'd in rifling, and all in Disorder, endanger the being made a Prey themselves. Victory, when obtain'd, must be us'd with Moderation and Prudence; for Victory it self is not always Safe; if it be stained with Barbarity and brutish Usage, and put the Enemy out of all Hope, it may turn to very ill Account, and add to our Danger. For † *Necessity and Ill Treatment give an edge to the dullest soul; even Despair sometimes produces Hope; and no Bite is so Keen, as That, when Extremity is provoked and makes her Teeth meet.* On the other Hand, as it is more Human, so it is really more Advisable and Safe, to use a beaten Foe gently; to leave room for Hope, and encourage Overtures of Peace; not to ravage his Country, nor to make Havock and Desolation, wheresoever we come. For Rage and Fury are very fierce and dangerous wild Beasts; and therefore we should take care not to let them loose. A Wise General will likewise behave himself with Temper and Modesty, upon his Successes; for Insolence is most unbecoming a Man con-

* *Clausis ex desperatione crescit Audacia; & cum Spei nihil est, sumit arma Formido.*

† *Ignaviam Necessitas acuit; sæpe Desperatio spei causâ est. Gravissimi sunt morius irritatæ necessitatis,*

versant in War; most absurd in one, who cannot but have been upon that Account acquainted with the Inconstancy of Fortune; and ought to remember its Ebbings and Flowings, how quickly it rolls over to another Shore; how strange those Revolutions are, by which Prosperity sometimes takes its Rise out of extream Adversity; and on the Contrary, final Ruin begins at Great, Good Fortune. That some Men are drown'd with Two Foot of Water, and lost when they esteem themselves most safe. That more die of Surfeits, than of Hunger; and some have *∴ not Stomachs strong enough to digest a plentiful Meal of Happiness. That Fortune is perfect Glass; and aptest to be broken when it is clearest and finest. And therefore all Confidence in it is Faithless and Unsafe; and the Conquerour frequently taken Captive in the midst of Security and Triumph.*

If you are beaten, it is an Instance of Wisdom to know it; to examine well your Circumstances, and consider what your Loss is. And never think to stifle your Misfortune, or Fancy, that This is nothing, All will be well again, and nobody know it; for such Hopes are trifling and vain; and the Contrivance of suppressing the News of your Defeat is Childish and Ridiculous. 'Tis only to commit the carrying of it to uncertain Rumours, which represent nothing truly, and will make the Matter Ten times worse. You must therefore apply your self to a full and serious Consideration of the Case; for how will you ever be able to find out a Cure if you do not first search to the bottom of your Disease? After this, It will become his Courage to entertain better Hopes, to Refresh his Forces with all imaginable Diligence; to call in fresh Succours, and make new Levies; and put good sufficient Garrisons into all his Places of Strength. And after all, if Providence be still contrary, as indeed sometimes it is so far from seeing fit to prosper, that one would almost imagine it perfectly sets its self against the justest Arms, and most commendable Undertakings, there is always one Remedy left; for no Man can be deny'd the Privilege of of lying down in the Bed of Honour: And sure a Decent and Reputable Death is much rather to be chosen, than a Life of Contempt and Reproach.

38.

And thus we have gone through the Second Head of this

∴ Magnam Felicitatem concoquere non possunt. Fortuna vitrea est, tunc cum splendet, frangitur. O infidam Fiduciam! & saepe Victor victus.

Subject

Subject concerning Military Matters, excepting only, that there is One Objection arising upon it, which some scrupulous People may think necessary to be resolved. And, That is, whether Subtilty and Deceit, Feints and Stratagems are absolutely against them, and decry them in all Cases whatsoever. They tell you no Circumstances can justify a Practice so contrary to Virtue and Truth, and unworthy Men of Honour and Conscience; and therefore that Remark of *Virgil's* will by no Means go down with them.

* *Courage and Cunning both, the Laurels claim,
A Foe is Privileg'd; that very Name
Protects Deceit and Stratagem from Shame.*

We find *Alexander the Great* so exceeding nice in his Puntilio, that he would not so much as take the Advantage of a dark Night, but declared, he scorn'd a stolen Victory. † *I had rather have occasion to be sorry for my ill Fortune, than to be ashamed for my good Success.* Of the same generous Temper were the old *Romans*; They sent back the Schoolmaster of the *Falisci*, who proffered to betray them; and the Treacherous Physician to *Pyrrhus*, who was ready to poyson him. They always pretended to Virtue and down-right Honesty, dealt fairly and above-board, disclaim'd and discountenanced all their own Country-men, who gave themselves a Liberty of doing otherwise; reproached the *Greeks* and *Africans* with breach of Faith; and turned their Craft and Cunning into a Taunt and a Proverb. * They made it a Principle. That those only are Conquests indeed, which are gain'd by Dint of Courage, by honest and just Methods, and such as cast no Blemish upon the Conqueror's Honour: But as for those which are the Acquisition of Subtlety and Stratagem, they are neither generous, nor reputable, nor safe, nor lasting. For those who are beaten upon these Terms, do not look upon themselves to be fairly vanquished; and the effects of that is what the Historian observes: † *They impute their Defeat to a Chance, to the Subtlety of the General, who took his Advantage, and dealt indirectly: And this*

* *Dolus, an Virtus quis in hoste requirat?*

† *Malo me Fortunæ pigeat, quam Victoriæ pudeat.*

* *Quæ salvâ Fide & Dignitatē paratur.*

† *Non Virtute, sed Occasione & Arte Ducis se victos rati:
Ergo non Fraude, & Occultis, sed palam & armatum Hostes
suos ulcisci.*

they

they do not think a Victory, but a Trick and a Cheat. And again, He scorn'd to revenge himself by foul play and Surprise, but took up Arms fairly, and came into the Field openly, and carv'd out his Vengeance with his Sword.

Now these Reflections, I must own, are very just, but then they must not be extended too far. There are indeed Two Cases, wherein such Rules are obligatory; That I mean of Personal Quarrels, and Disputes between private Men; and that of National Controversies too, where the Matter in question concerns some former Engagements; or when there have been mutual Alliances and Compacts treated formerly between them. But where neither of these is the Case; that is to say, in a formal and direct War, and where no Faith hath been given, and consequently none can be broken, it is allowable to humble and defeat an Enemy any manner of Way: For the Proclaiming of War is like passing Sentence of Death; all against whom it is denounc'd, lie under Condemnation; and if that Sentence were just, it will be lawful to exterminate and bring them to Execution, by the snatching every Opportunity and Advantage of doing it. This agrees with the Notion of very brave and deservedly renowned Generals, who have been so far from disdaining or condemning a Victory obtain'd by Subtlety and secret Stratagems, that they make no Scruple, even of preferring it before those that are acquir'd by Dint of Blows, and open Force. And accordingly they made Distinctions in their Sacrifices of Thanks upon these Occasions; ordering the most valuable, an Ox, to be offer'd up for the former sort; whereas a Cock was esteem'd Acknowledgment sufficient, and more suitable to the Advantage of the Latter. Nor is it Their Opinion only, but even the great Christian Doctor, *St. Augustine*, thought it no way disagreeable to the Strictness even of Our Religion, to give this Determination of the Matter. * *When a righteous War is begun, whether Men fight by open Force, and formal Engagements, or by Subtlety and Stratagem, and secret Ambuscade, it makes no difference in the Justice of the Proceeding.* And indeed a State of War, in the very Nature of the Thing, hath some Privileges reasonably allow'd to it, even against what Reason in other Matters would think necessary or allowable. And surely in Time and Place conve-

* Cum justum bellum suscipitur. ut aperte pugnet quis, aut ex insidiis, nihil ad justiciam interest.

nient, a Man is not bound to refuse any Occasion; for why should it not be counted as fair to take the Advantage of an Enemies Indiscretion and Folly; as it is to make the best of their Weakness, or their Cowardize? And yet no Man, that I know of, ever pretended, that it was unbecoming a General to attack his Enemy, except both their Courage, or their Numbers were in all Points a Match, and equal to his own.

Let us now Proceed in the last Place, to the Third Head of this Subject, which concern Conduct in Military Mat-^{39.}ters; which, as it is the Shortest, so is it likewise the Joy-^{The Third}fullest and most Desirable of all the rest; Putting an End,^{Head, Put-}I mean, to the War by Peace. Peace! There is Musick in^{ting an} the very Sound, Delight and Advantage in the thing; it is^{End to the} Beautiful and Charming in any Dress, and infinitely Pro-^{War.}fitable for all Parties, both the Victors, and Vanquished.

** The sweetest Blifs that e'er indulgent Heav'n
To smoothe the Storms of Human Life hath given.
Repeated Poms and Trophies of the Field,
To the soft Triumphs of One Treaty yield:
Those Laurels full of Blood and Blemish are;
He only conquers, who concludes the War.*

But the Advantages I confess, tho' universal, are not distributed in equal Proportions; the Losers by the War, have by much the greater and more sensible Share of them. And these, who are supposed to be enfeebled and reduced, must be advised, to keep themselves still in a posture of Defence, and preserve an Air at least and outward Appearance and Resolution, and Courage still unbroken, and Hope of a more favourable Change of Affairs: For (as hath been said before) He that is desirous of Peace in good Earnest, must be always ready for War; and That Observation is most true, That the Best and Happiest Agreements are made in the Field, and treated with Sword in Hand. But tho' Peace be never so desirable and convenient for our present Circumstances, yet even a good thing may be bought too dear. We must not therefore be so immoderately Fond of it, as not to take Care that it be Honourable, and upon fair and

** ——— Pax optima rerum,
Quas homini novisse datum est; Pax una Triumphis
Innumeris potior ———*

Rea-

Reasonable Terms; For if this be not rightly adjusted, however that common Notion may prevail of a counterfeit and base Peace, being better than a just and Creditable a War; yet a Prince had better preserve his Liberty at the Price of Life, and hazard all gloriously, than submit himself and his People to vile reproachful Terms, and live in Slavery and Infamy. A Peace then should not be patch'd up for a present Turn, and to Skin over a Sore; but it should be free and fair, without Trick, or Design, or deceitful Reservations; such as may entirely end the War, and not only suspend Acts of Hostility for a while, and so protract, and kindle War afresh. For ** Downright War is better than a suspected Peace.* But, all This notwithstanding, when Matters are brought to an Extremity, a Man must comply whether he will or no, and make the best Terms he can. When the Pilot sees himself ready to be Shipwreckt, he lightens the Ship, and is content to save his Life with the Loss of his Lading; and thus it often happens, that the throwing all overboard in the Case before us; insisting upon no Demands, but committing our selves entirely to the Mercy of the Conqueror, succeeds very happily. For *∴ Prosperity hath a softening Influence upon generous Adversaries, and they feel their Anger melted into Pity; and the more they have it in their Power, the less Inclination they find to take a Revenge.*

The Prosperous and Triumphant must give me leave to advise them, that they would not be over-nice, and difficult to grant a Peace; for, tho' perhaps the vanquish'd get abundantly more by it than the Victors, yet still even These get a great deal. For, supposing the best Fortune, and the easiest Terms the thing will admit, yet the carrying on of a War, cannot but be a Matter of infinite Trouble and Inconvenience. And *Lycurgus* had another Consideration, for which he thought it always in expedient to be often at War with one and the same Enemy, because this is training him up, as it were, and teaching him the Trade, till at last he grow as expert as his Masters; and learn not only to defend himself, but to attack us. The Teeth of Beasts in the Agonies of Death are exceeding venomous, and the Wounds made by them then, commonly prove mortal.

* Pace suspectâ tutius Bellum.

∴ Victores qui sunt alto animo, secundæ res in miserationem ex irâ vertunt;

* Valour's

* *Valour's last Efforts bold and dangerous are,
And double Fury rages in Despair.*

And besides, the Contingencies of War are more than can possibly be foreseen; they are intricate, and dark, and the issue always uncertain. One unlucky Action may blast all that went before; and therefore † *A good Peace, which secures All, is much safer and more eligible, than an absolute Victory at distance, and in reversion only; because That is in the disposal of Providence, and may never be yours; but this in your own hand, and you have it actually in possession.* So great a difference ought we to make between Things Present, and those that are Future, and but in Prospect; if no other Argument concurr'd to balance our Choice. But it deserves to be remembred further, that the Sting lies usually in the Tail; that Fortune is always floating and inconstant; and the longer she hath favour'd us already, the greater reason we have to apprehend, that she will be shifting shortly. And ∴ *No Man can with safety to himself tempt dangers, which must thicken upon him every day.*

But, besides the making a saving Game while we may; we should do well to reflect, how honourable a way of proceeding this is. For when all is our own, and our Enemy lies at Mercy, then to hearken to Proposals, and readily accept a Peace, is truly Great and Glorious. This shews those Pretences to be true, which all Princes affect to make; that we are desirous to end the War, and fight only for the sake of Peace. And on the other side, The refusing good Terms, and suffering any Change of Fortune afterwards, makes one fall unpity'd, and exposes him to the Scorn and Indignation of all Mankind. They tell you, That such a one is a Sacrifice to his own Vanity and Ambition. He disdain'd Peace, and grasp'd at Honour; and by refusing one when he might have had it, he hath now lost both. But, when we are so disposed to grant a Peace, we should be liberal in our Concessions, and give large and liberal Conditions, that so it may be firm and lasting. For if it be rigorous and hard, we must expect, that those who are op-

* —Fractis rebus violentior ultima virtus.

† Melior tutiorque Pax sperata Victoriâ. Illa in Tuâ, Hæc in Deorum manu est.

∴ Nemo se tutò diu periculis offerre tam crebris potest.

prest by us, will be sure to revolt, and break loose from their Covenants, as soon as ever they find it feasible and convenient. So says *Livy* in one of his Treaties, * *If you grant a good Peace, it will be durable and firm; but if the Terms be harsh, this can never bind so fast, but that the first Opportunity of mending their Circumstances, will be sure to break through it.* And it is an Argument of a great Soul, to be flexible and indulgent, and yielding to an Enemy, when he sues for Pity; as it is to be invincible, and keep one's Ground when he engages you in the Field. The Ancient Romans we find have set an excellent Pattern of this kind, and the good Account it turn'd to with Them, is a sufficient Reason to recommend it to the Imitation of all Posterity.

C H A P. IV.

The Preface.

HAVING dispatch'd as you see, the several Directions necessary for that part of Civil Prudence, which is design'd to guide a Prince in the Administration of the Government, and the maintaining that Character which is altogether Publick: I design in the next place to allow that Prudence, which is personal, a distinct Consideration: That, I mean, which is necessary for the preserving himself under, or for applying proper Remedies to, the Difficulties, and Dangers, and Calamities that may happen. And this is the fitter to be spoken to apart, and by it self, because both the Rules themselves, and the Occasions which require the Practice of them, are agreeable to the Circumstances of all Conditions of Men, and sute both Prince and Subject; both them in Publick, and these in Private Capacities.

Now the first thing to be done upon this Occasion, is the observing and distinguishing duly that great Variety of Business and Contingencies, which this Subject will engage us in the Consideration of: For they may be either Publick or Private. They may be Future, and such as threaten us at some distance; or they may be actual Hardships, and such as we labour under at present: They may be Intricate and Uncertain; or they may be evidently Dangerous and Difficult; and of great Concern

* *Pacem, si bonam deberitis, fidam & perpetuam; si malam, haud diuturnam.*

to us too, by reason of the Violence of the Pressure they put us under. And again, Those that are of the highest Consequence, and are attended and encumbred with most perplexing Difficulties, may be Secret and Conceal'd, or Visible and Open. Of the former Sort we may reckon Two: Close Conspiracies against the Person and Life of a Prince, or against the Government in general: Or Treachery against any Garrison, or Town, or Regiment, or some particular Body of Men. The latter sort, such as are Manifest and Open, are of several sorts: For either they want the Formalities of War, and are tumultuous and disorderly; as Popular Commotions, and Riotous Insurrections upon some slight Occasion of Offence; Factions and Leagues entred into by some Subjects against the rest; and the Persons concern'd in these may be Numerous or Few, Great or Mean Men; Seditions or Mutinies against the Prince or the Magistrate; Rebellion, which is an opposing the Authority, and striking at the Person of the Prince himself: Or else they are ripened into formal Wars, and accordingly go by the Name of Civil Wars. And these may differ, and be of as many sorts as the fore-mentioned Disturbances: which are indeed the Foundations and Seeds, the Causes and imperfect Beginnings of such Wars, but have come to their full Growth by Continuance and degrees of Increase. Concerning every one of these, I intend to say somewhat particularly; and to give such Advice upon it, as may contribute to Men's deporting themselves wisely under each, as it shall happen to be their Lot. And these Directions I shall endeavour so to deliver, that they may be serviceable to all Degrees and Conditions of Men; Princes and Subjects, Publick and Private, Those of the first Quality and greatest Interest and Wealth, and those of Inferiour Rank, and mean Fortunes.

S E C T. I.

Of Accidents and Calamities Future, and such as only threaten us at some distance.

THere are Two different Methods of Men's deporting themselves in those cross Accidents, to which the Affairs of Human Life are subject; and either of those ways may be exceeding Useful and Commendable, according to the different kinds of Misfortunes, or the different Tempers of the Persons to whom they happen. The One of these consists in making a strong and grave Opposition, grappling and encountring with the Calamity; using one's utmost En-

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deavours

deavours to countermine, or to divert it; or, if that cannot be, yet at least to blunt and take off the Edge, and to break the Blow. In a Word, either wholly to escape, or else in a good degree to lighten, or however to make one's way through it. And this requires Firmness of Mind, and a notable Spirit.

The Other is, when a Man takes things as they are, and without more to do, supposes and submits to the worst of them, with a Resolution to bear all that comes calmly and patiently; and in the mean while sits down quietly, and silently waits the Approach of any Calamity that looks black about him, without ever troubling himself to prevent the Blow. The Former of these Two makes it his business to govern and order the Event; the Latter to Conquer and Compose Himself. The Former is the brisker Man, and plays a bolder; but the Latter is the surer, and plays a more saving Game. The Former is always in deep Anxiety and Suspense, agitated and tossed between Hope and Fear; the Latter puts himself under Covert, lies down upon the Ground, and satisfies himself with the Comfort that he can fall no lower. The Former takes pains to escape the Calamity; the Latter labours to endure and get through it; and it very often happens, that This Man hath the better Bargain of it, and comes off with less Trouble and Loss. We know Men are often at more Expence to defend their Title by Law, than the whole thing they contend for is worth: And thus it is very often in other Matters. The cheapest Course they can take, is to sit down by the Loss; and many an Affliction is born with more Ease to the Sufferer, than it can be either avoided or struggled with. The Covetous Wretch is a greater torment to himself, than He that is really poor; and the Jealous Husband feels more uneasiness, tho' his Jealousie be groundless and undeserv'd, than the Cuckold who hath been actually dishonour'd, but either knows it not, or regards it not. The peculiar Virtue of the Former, and that which is most necessary for his Circumstances is Prudence; for his is active Valour; That of the Latter is Temper, and Constancy, and Patience; for his part is purely passive. But indeed, why should a Man be confin'd to either of these singly? Wherefore should he not use and try both, in their Order and proper Season? For methinks Prudence and Vigilance should be the first Attempt; and when these are found insufficient, then is the time for changing our Measures, and Patience should succeed

Ch. 3. Of Prudence in Government.

115

ceed in their Place. Thus much at least is certain and undoubted, that in all Publick Contingencies, the Method for Prevention and Remedy ought first to be try'd; Those that are in Trust and Office, and have it in their Power to serve and promote the Common Good, are indispensably obliged to it, and ought to stand in the Gap against all manageable Difficulties and Misfortunes. In the Case of private Persons, I confess it is otherwise; there a Man hath none but himself to answer for; and it will be agreeable to Wisdom and Duty both, to consider the state of the Matter before him, and consult his own Abilities; and then to make a Choice of such Methods and Management, as appear most advantageous in the present Circumstances, and as he feels himself the best qualify'd for.

S E C T. II.

Of Evils and Difficulties actually present, and pressing.

THE proper and most effectual Course to lighten the Sufferings of Human Life, and to sweeten the Passions under them, is by no means to set one's self in Battel array, and enter into a formal Combat with them; for Opposition in this Case does but blow the Coals, and render them more furious and insupportable. The Eagerness of Debate and Contradiction does but irritate and inflame the Sore, instead of mollifying the sharp Humour, or asswaging the Pain. And therefore He who would consult his Ease, and the Serenity of his own Mind, should betake himself to one of the two following Remedies.

The First is, That of diverting, and drawing them off to another Course. Thus we preserve our Lands from Inundations, by opening Trenches, and carrying off the Water by another Channel: And thus Physicians, when they find the Morbifick Matter too obstinate to be Purg'd away, try to give it a Turn, and throw it into some other part, where the Consequence may be less dangerous to the Patient. And This, when attempted, must be done by means as gentle, by degrees as easie and insensible, as can possibly be. For the Application, when prudently and dexterously made use of, is of marvellous Efficacy in all manner of Calamities. Nor ought it to be thought odd or peculiar, since it is the common Remedy and Practice of Mankind, not in Affliction only, but in every other Case which is difficult or disgusting:

disgusting : And what I advise here, every Man who observes nicely, will find to be the Expedient, which he naturally prescribes to himself. This is the Art we use, to swallow down the bitterest Morsels, and by which we feel our selves insensibly harden'd to endure the Approach of Death it self. So says the Philosopher, * *The Mind must be drawn off to new Objects, fresh Diversions of Pleasure, of Business, nay even of Cares and anxious Thoughts of another kind ; or, if nothing else will do, we must treat it as they do sick People, and try if change of Air, and another Country, will contribute any thing to the Cure.* Thus, when timorous People are to pass by some dreadful precipice, we prevent or lessen the Fright, by prevailing with them to shut their Eyes, or look another way. And thus Men commonly wink, when the Executioner is to give the Stroke : Thus we endeavour to amuse Women and Children upon letting Blood ; and tho' neither the Danger or the Pain be what can justify their Fears, yet the very Sight and Approach of the Lancet is something they cannot support. And, since all Mankind are in some measure tinctur'd with this Infirmary ; since some Sufferings seem to be an over-match for Human Nature ; we have all the reason in the World to think the Stratagem of *Hippomenes* a very proper Pattern for our Imitation. The Story we find represented by the Poets ; and it is briefly thus : *Hippomenes* was to run a Race with *Atalanta*, a Lady of exquisite Beauty, and celebrated Agility. The Conditions were, That if he lost the Race, he should lose his Life ; but if he won it, the Lady was to be his Prize. He, distrusting his own Swiftnes of Foot upon even Terms, provided Three Golden Apples, and as they were running, took occasion to let these fall at convenient distances one after another ; and thus by taking up her time, who stoop'd to gather them up, he diverted her from the Business of the Race, and won both the Day and the Bride into the Bargain. The Application I would make of that Fable is only This ; That if the Consideration of one Misfortune, or grievous Accident, which we at present labour under ; or if some boisterous and violent Passion ruffle and torment us, which we our selves feel unable to subdue by downright striving ; the best Expedient will be, to shift the Scene,

* *Abducendus Animus est ad studia alia, cura, negotia ; Loci denique mutatione, tanquam aegroti non convalescentes, curandus est.*

Ch. 3. Of Prudence in Government.

117

and bring some other Thought upon the Stage. For when we cannot absolutely exterminate, and perfectly compose it there is the gaining of a Point, in some measure at least, when we can change a most dangerous Calamity for one that is less so, and banish one Passion with another less outrageous. All this, in the mean while, is not intended to discourage Men's entering into the Lists, and making a formal gallant Opposition against the Evils they suffer, and the Resentments provoked by them. But the proper Season for this Advice, is when the Enemy is too mighty, and the Combat unequal and unsuccessful: For when Fighting will do no good, a wise Man will try to save himself by Flight; he must dodge, and wheel, and get out of the way of Mischief. Or, if it dog him so close, that there is no avoiding it, he must try to soften and break the Force of it, by some fresh Diversions, and taking Sanctuary in some Thoughts of another kind, which may give a Turn to the Soul, and change the Current of the Imagination: Or, if they cannot go so far as to make a perfect Exchange, yet such at least may give the Misery some Interruption, and divide those ungrateful *Idea's*, which they are too feeble, either to keep down, or to root out totally, though at the Expence of new one's planted in their room.

The Second Expedient, and that which is most advisable in Cases of great Extremity, where the danger is so evident, and inevitable, that a Man hath nothing left him to do, but to stand the Shock, is to stoop a little under the Blow, and give place to necessity: For by shewing a Man's self obstinate in such a Case, and resolving not to yield in any Point, the Violence is but the greater, and the Treatment we meet with, so much the rougher; it being the Nature of Opposition to provoke; and our Passions in such Cases, like Torrents, which no Dams are strong enough to stem, rage the more for being pent up, and at last swell the higher, and bear down all before them. In such Cases therefore, a Man must be content to see himself over-rul'd; and whatever Rules he hath fix'd to his Behaviour in ordinary Circumstances, they must be dealt with as wise Politicians do by the Laws of the Land; who, when they fall short, and cannot do what they would have them, alter their Measures, and make them do what they can. It hath been by Many esteem'd a Reproach upon *Cato*, and a considerable Blemish in his Character, that he was so very stiff and nice in the Civil Wars which happen'd in his Time, and rather suffer-

ed the Commonwealth to be driven to the last Extremities, than he would contribute to its Relief at the Expence of some Laws, which the present Necessity and Distress made it very reasonable to have dispensed with. On the other hand, *Epaminondas* had so great a regard to the Publick Good, that he continued in his Office beyond the Term prefixed, tho' the Law prohibited the doing so upon pain of Death; so just a Sense had he of the End and Nature of Laws, that they are design'd for the Service and Advantage of the State, and cannot in any equitable Construction be supposed to bind, where the Exigence of Affairs is such, that by observing the Letter of the Law, a Man destroys the End of it. Accordingly we find this Commendation of *Philopemon*, that he was a Person born to Command: For he was not only Master of the Art of Governing according to Law, but had the Skill of Governing the Law it self, when any Publick Necessity requir'd that it should be set aside; and left no other Refuge, but the Discretion of the Magistrate. For it often happens, That Those at Helm are put out of their common Road, by some difficult and extraordinary Emergencies; and in such Cases it is their Duty as well as Wisdom to ply to Windward, and steer what Course they can. And indeed, in all Extremities, Private as well as Publick, a prudent Man will be content to bend a little, to yield and comply as far as he may, and by all honest Stratagems to save the main Chance. For in these Matters there is a Latitude and Privilege of Relaxation allowed; some Moderation and Abatement, which those who are unacquainted with the present Circumstances, can be no competent Judges of. And therefore we should be very tender, how we condemn a Proceeding, which is so far from being contrary to Reason, and Justice, that it is highly agreeable to both; and not only so, but a Master-piece of Prudence in those who manage it skilfully.

S E C T. III.

Affairs Intricate and Uncertain.

BY this Intricacy and Uncertainty of Affairs, I understand such a Juncture as hath great Appearance of Reason, and strong Arguments on both sides; so that the Man is at a loss, and does not discern, nor know how to choose what is best and most convenient for him: This creates distraction

and

and perplexity of Thought; and till some other Consideration fall in to turn the Scale, the best thing we can do, is to consider, where there are the greatest Odds of Justice, and Honour, and Decency; and by all means fall in with that side. For, altho' the Event should prove contrary to our Expectation and Desire, yet still there will be a secret Satisfaction, the Complacency and Testimony of our own Breasts, to support us within; and the Reputation and Praise of Men without, for having chosen the better, tho' not the more fortunate Course. Nor ought any Miscarriage in such a Case, to provoke the least Remorse; because no Man can tell what providence hath to do, or how that will dispose of Him and his Endeavours; and consequently he cannot be secure that his Disappointment or his Calamity would have been less, tho' he had taken quite different Measures. And therefore, when a Man cannot resolve himself which is the easiest and the shortest way to his Journey's End, the best Determination he can come to, is to keep the straightest Road.

S E C T. IV.

Difficult and Dangerous Cases.

IT is often Men's Fate in Matters of Difficulty, to succeed as They that are over-nice and cautious commonly do in Bargaining, and Articles of Agreement; where an excessive Care to make all fast, and prevent all manner of Danger, is but a means of increasing the Danger, and ruining All, For by this mighty Circumspection, so much more Time is spent, so many more People are employed, so many more Clauses and Proviso's inserted; that the Differences and Squabbles arising upon it, are multiplied in proportion to the Clutter made for avoiding them. To all which we may add, that this is the way to provoke Fortune, who is jealous of her Honour, and will not bear the Presumption of any Man's pretending to exempt himself from Her Jurisdiction. Which after all is a vain Attempt, and what the most provident Man alive can never compass: For there is One Above, who hath a Power Paramount, * and will not suffer his Dominion to be encroach'd upon. And therefore the best way seems to be the dispatching them with all the

* Vim suam ingruentem refringi non vult,

H 4

Expe:

Expedition and Easiness we can, and rather to run the Risk of some little Danger, that create a great deal of Dissatisfaction and Torment to our selves, by our extraordinary Nicety and Caution.

In Cases of manifest Danger, it is necessary a Man should have both Wisdom and Courage; He should look before him, and see Dangers at a distance, and make a right Judgment and Estimate of them; For Men are very apt to see these things in false Proportions, and to look upon them thro' the Glass of Passion, rather than calm and undisturb'd Reason. This is one account, why such things are generally apprehended otherwise than in reality they are, because the Affection predominant at that time, represents them greater or less, and imposes upon the Judgment by such *Idea's*. But then, though it may become a Wise Man to foresee all Hazards that are in any degree probable; yet it is no way unworthy of him to consider them as Contingencies, that they may not, as well as that they may happen; that it is great odds all of them will not happen; That of those which do, All will not have the Consequences and Effects, which it is fit for one to form in his own Mind, who makes it his business to provide against the very worst that can come; that a Man shall, by the help of Industry and Prudence, be able to deal with the greatest part of them well enough. In this Case too, it is fit to consider in which of those Accidents that threaten us, we may promise our selves Assistance, and accordingly to provide our Succours: And as generally in All, so in these Junctures more especially, to take Courage, to fix our Resolutions, and be steady in our Undertakings. For, when once a Man hath consider'd what he goes about, and finds it agreeable to his Duty, and what every way becomes him to do, he is obliged by all means to persevere, and not suffer any Prospect of Danger to discourage him in a commendable Attempt. A Wise Man indeed will never want Courage, because he proceeds with Deliberation and Thought; prevents the Mischief of Surprize, and provides against every thing likely to cross his Design. But then it is no less expedient, That the Man of Courage have a Mixture of Wisdom too; for without This all his Boldness is but rash Heat, and a blind fool-hardy Giddiness.

S E C T. V.

Conspiracies.

WE are now advancing to such Accidents, as of all others are of the greatest, most general, and most dangerous Consequence, and therefore it will be fit to enlarge a little the more upon them. Which shall be done, first by giving a particular Description of the thing it self; then by laying down such Directions as may be serviceable to a Prince under them. And then in the Conclusion of this Subject, casting together into one Chapter that Advice proper for private Persons to follow upon these Occasions.

By Conspiracies I mean the Attempts made, either by some one Man singly, or by several in Combination, against the Person of the Prince, or the State and Government in general. And this must be acknowledged a Circumstance of infinite Danger, extremely hard either to escape or to remedy, by reason of the Secresie, and industrious Concealment of the Thing. For which way shall a Man be able to secure himself from the treacherous Assaults of an unknown, unsuspected Enemy? And what shall give any just Jealousie of that Man's being so, who wears the Face, and acts the part of our faithfullest, tenderest, and most zealous Friend? The Thoughts and Inclinations of the Heart lie too dark and deep for Human Eyes to penetrate; and yet here is all the Danger; for they who design a Prince's Ruine, will take all the care they can, that no Overt Act, no failure of Respect, no Coldness or Negligence in Behaviour, may minister cause of Suspicion; but will rather exceed in the Expressions of Duty and Respect, and mask their Villany by an officious and double Diligence. Besides, do but consider the Advantages of a desperate and bloody-minded Man; for he that does not value his own Life, may make himself Master of another Man's whenever he pleases.

* *He knows not how to fear, who dares to die.*

So that a Prince is continually exposed to Danger and Death, and lies at the Mercy of every private Man, who

* *Contemnit omnes Ille, qui Mortem peris.*

hath

hath hardiness enough to sacrifice himself in the attacking him.

Machiavel takes great Pains to shew how Plots against the State ought to be contriv'd, and so laid as to prove Successful. We leave that wicked Policy to Him; and shall employ all our Care to shew how they may be best discover'd and defeated.

Now the best Remedies and Directions that I can think of for so critical and hazardous a Juncture, are these that follow.

First, Private Intelligence, and cunning underhand Methods, to discover and counterwork all Attempts of this Nature; in which Faithful, Vigilant, and Discreet Persons should be made use of as Instruments. These are the Eyes and Ears of the People, and therefore they should be every where, to discover and bring Information of all that may concern him to know; but particularly they should have a special regard to all that his principal Officers and Ministers say and do: Because these are capable of doing most Mischief, and he cannot be tolerably safe, if they be false to him. Now it is as observable in this Case, as in any whatsoever, That *Out of the Abundance of the Heart the Mouth speaketh*; For People, who have a Design upon the Government, naturally love to asperse and blacken the Prince, censure his Administration severely, and load him with Calumnies; or if they have Temper enough to be silent themselves, yet they love the Conversation of those that do so, hearken with a sensible Relish and Delight to all kind of Factious Discourse; and frequent the Company of Men, who by railing at and blaming all that is done, infuse Jealousies, and foment Discontents among the People. It is very necessary therefore, that a Prince should be well informed what his Subjects, and especially what those about his Person, say of him; what Company they keep, and how they entertain themselves; and it is fit that he should engage to reward the Persons, who make such useful Discoveries, not only with Impunity, but large Sums of Money for their good Service. But then he must be no less careful too of another Inconvenience which may arise from too easie a Credulity. For tho' he will do wisely to hear all, yet he is by no means bound to believe all. The Rewards I mentioned, as they are Recompences well bestow'd upon faithful and good Men, so are they likewise great Temptations to ill Men; and therefore every Report of this kind should be

very

very diligently examin'd, before a Prince gives credit to it; for otherwise this Expedient for his own Preservation will be converted into a means of crushing and murdering the Innocent; and of making himself the common Detestation and Reproach, the Terror and the Curse of his People.

The Second Preservative in this Case, is winning and engaging the Hearts and Affections of all his Subjects, nay even of his very Enemies, by Methods of Justice and Goodness, of Courtesie and Clemency. For when all is done, * *A Prince's best and strongest Guard is his Innocency*; the being an Univerſal Bleſſing, good to all, injurious and grievous to none. The Apoſtle had reaſon when he asked that Queſtion, *Who is he that will harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good?* For, uſually ſpeaking, The Man that gives no Offence, takes an effectual Courſe that none ſhall be given him: But he who does Injuries, muſt expect to have them paid back again with Intereſt: And therefore the worſt uſe that can poſſibly be made of Power, is to exert it to unjuſt and baſe Purpoſes, and make it an Inſtrument of Oppreſſion and Violence. So ſays a wiſe Author, † Power never puts out its own Strength ſo ill, as when it breaks forth into Insolence, and contumelious uſage of thoſe Perſons whoſe Weakneſs hath laid them at its Mercy.

A Third Expedient upon theſe Occaſions is, To ſet the beſt Face upon the Matter; not to betray any Dejection of Mind, but carry all off with one's uſual Gayety and Freedom of Behaviour; To give out abroad, that we is very ſenſible what People are doing, and punctually inform'd of all their ſecret Practices and Deſigns; that there paſſes nothing at any of their Cabals, but he hath immediately an Account of it: For where Privacy is the Life of an Attempt, if once the Plotters can be brought to believe that all they do, takes Air, the Project is broken of courſe. This was an Expedient which a certain Perſon aſſiſted *Dionyſius* the *Sicilian* Tyrant with, and it was bought cheap at the Price of a Talent.

The Fourth Direction is, To wait for any danger of this kind without any Confuſion or Conſternation of Mind: Theſe Three laſt Rules *Cæſar* practiſed in great Perfection; but in the firſt he was altogether deficient; Indeed he profeſt to diſdain it, as a thing below him, and not worth his while; and declared, That he thought a Prince had better

* *Fidiſſima Cuſtodia Principis Innocentia.*

† *Male vim ſuam Potestas, aliorum contumeliis experitur.*

die once for all, than live in a perpetual Anxiety and Pain, for any Accident which the most vigilant thoughtful Man alive hath it not in his Power to prevent ; and therefore he would rather choofe to be easie, and in this, as well as other Matters, trust the Event entirely to Divine Providence, which alone can protect and secure the Persons of Princes effectually. But still this Reflection does not take off the usefulness and necessity even of my first Advice, and the rest it leaves in their full force. Which in truth are yet more recommended by the ill Success of Courses contrary to these : For all Historians, and particularly those of the *Roman* Emperors, shew beyond contradiction, that the Intentions to prevent such Plottings by speedy Vengeance, and rigorous Punishments, did very seldom obtain their desired Effect : They rather exasperated Men's Minds, than subdu'd them ; and the severest and most hasty to take Revenge, and terrifie their People, were commonly least secure, and found the worst Treatment from them.

Thus much may serve for Advice how Princes ought to behave themselves, whilst the Designs against their Persons and Government are kept close and in the dark. But when such Conspiracies come to be discover'd, and the Truth brought to light, What is fit to be done then ? Why truly my first and most general Direction must be, to make the Conspirators publick Examples, by punishing them with all the Severity their Villanies deserve. To spare such black Wretches as these, were not Compassion but Cruelty ; Cruelty to the Innocent, and Peaceable, and Good ; and Treachery to the Publick, whose Safety is expos'd and endanger'd by such indiscreet Instances of Pity : For Justice and Equity require, that those who are Enemies to the Peace and Quier, the Liberties and Rights, and common Happiness of Mankind, should make Reparation with their Blood, for their Attempts to over-run and destroy these so necessary, so valuable Advantages. But then, even those Executions are to be managed with Prudence and Discretion ; and the Manner and Method of Punishing must vary, according as the Face and Condition of Affairs shall happen to vary. Sometimes it is convenient to use all possible Dispatch, and punish presently, especially where the Conspirators are not very numerous. But be the Number of them great or small, I can by no means approve of putting Criminals to the Torture, in order to larger Discoveries, and the bringing out Accomplices not yet known. (For
there

there are other ways of getting Information by softer and more secret dealing, which very seldom fail ; and besides, it may often be of use not to seem very solicitous to know, or if one does know, to appear otherwise, and pretend Ignorance in such Cases.) But, besides all other Mischiefs of such a barbarous Custom as the Rack, this is one certain Discouragement, that a Man is sure to torment others for the Discovery of that, which when found out, will be a Plague and Torment to himself, and set a world of People against him too. Nor do I think it always necessary that every individual Malefactor should suffer: It is enough that some few are made exemplary Warnings to the rest; so many as may encourage and contain good Subjects in their Duty, and reclaim the Factious, by striking an early Awe into those, who are not yet, or at least do not imagine that they are discovered. Sometimes again it is necessary to defer punishing the Offenders ; but to be sure upon all such Emergencies, the Prince's own Safety must be his first and great Care: In this no time must be lost; the rest may well submit, and be regulated afterwards, as Opportunities best offer. But the Case may have greater Difficulties in it still, The Conspirators may be Persons of such Quality and Figure, or the Discovery may be made in such a critical Juncture, that a Prince may be obliged to dissemble his Knowledge and his Danger ; and the offering to seize or punish the Guilty, may hazard his Life and Kingdom another way : In such a Strait it requires a great deal of good Conduct to play a safe Game. The best Course of all is without question to countermine and prevent their Plot; to break all their Measures privately; and when the Danger is thus avoided, to decline the giving Offence, by pretending not to know the Parties concern'd, but to manage the Matter, and secure himself, while all the while he appears intent upon something else. Thus the Carthaginians managed their General Hanno, and the Historian's Remark upon this Method of proceeding is, * *That oftentimes the best, nay the only way to prevent treacherous Practices, is to act as if one knew nothing at all of the Matter.* Nay, which is still more ; I am positive that sometimes it is absolutely necessary not to punish Conspirators at all. For if the principal Contriver be a very great Man; if his Abili-

* Optimum & solum sæpe insidiarum remedium, si non intelligantur.

ties or his Deserts have made him popular ; if his former Services have been very considerable, and the Prince and Government particularly obliged by him : If his Children, his Relations, his Friends are in great Posts, or Men of Wealth, and general Interest : What would you do in such a Case ? How would you break through all these Difficulties ? Who indeed would attempt it ? Who would provoke such Dangers, and make so many and such dangerous Enemies, and not rather by wholly remitting his Punishment, if that can safely be done ; or if not, yet at least by mitigating, and rendering it as gentle as the Case will bear ; continue a good Understanding, and secure the Affections of all who have an Interest in his Pardon ? Clemency upon such an Occasion is not only brave and great, (for indeed nothing can be more for the Honour of a Prince, * nothing gives us a brighter Image of Virtue and Magnanimity, than a Monarch pardoning the Affronts and Ill-Usage which he never deserv'd.) But it is also very often the most prudent and politic Course, and most effectual Security to him for the Future. For Men, who have any the least remains of Ingenuity and Humanity, will be melted by it into Repentance and better Principles. Perfidiousness it self will be put out of Countenance ; and others who see such eminent Goodness, will be asham'd of any base Design, and effectually diverted from pursuing or projecting it. And of this *Augustus* hath given us a famous Instance, both as to the Prudential, and the Successful Part, in his Behaviour to *Cinna*, when engaged in a Conspiracy against him.

S E C T. VI.

Treasonable Practices.

BY Treachery and Treasonable Practices, I understand a secret Attempt or Conspiracy, not against the Prince's own Person, or the Government in general, as the former Head was ; but against some particular Post, or Place of Strength, or some distinct and less Body of Men. In this respect it differs from what went before ; but they both agree in their Nature and Character of being secret and unforeseen Evils, extremely dangerous if they succeed, and as hard to be avoided or prevented. For the Traytor is

* Nil gloriosus Principe impune laeso.

commonly hid in a Crowd, in the very midst of the party he designs to betray, or of the Fortification which he intends to make sale of, and deliver up into the Enemies hand. The Persons most disposed to this abominable perfidious Trade, are the Covetous, the fickle and fond of Change, and the formal Dissemblers. And this Quality too they have, that they make a mighty Noise and Bustle with their Loyalty, are large in their Commendations of it; violently and unreasonably clamorous against all breach of Trust; superstitiously nice in matters of little or no Consequence; and these Pretences and extraordinary Affectations of Fidelity, by which they labour to conceal their Villany, are really the best and surest Marks to discover and distinguish them by: For they are so natural to Men of such Principles, that any Man who knows not what it is to over-act a Part, cannot but find them out. Now the Directions proper for such Occasions, are for the most part the same with those in the former Case. Only in the Matter of *Punishment* indeed, this difference is to be made, That these Men ought to be made Examples immediately, to be dealt with after a very rigorous manner, and excluded from all Mercy: For they are Men of wretched, profligate, incorrigible Tempers, the Bane and Pest of Mankind; no Reformation is to be expected from them; and therefore since Pity is lost, as to all hopes of doing good upon the Offenders themselves, it is necessary they should be cut off for the Sake and Safety of others.

S E C T. VII.

Disorders and Popular Insurrections.

OF these I reckon several sorts, according as the Causes which provide and kindle these Combustions, the Persons concern'd in them, the Manner and the Continuance of the Disorders, differ. The variety whereof will appear more evidently, by treating in the following Sections of Factions and Combinations, Seditions, Tyranny, Rebellion, and Civil Wars. But at present I shall insist upon the plainest and most generally receiv'd Notion of the World; for such Risings of the People, as proceed from some present Heat, are only a Tumult, soon up and soon down again.

The Prescriptions proper for this Distemper are, To draw them; if possible, to a Parley; and try if they can be prevail'd

vail'd with to hear Reason ; and in case they will suffer themselves to be argu'd with ; Then to expostulate and remonstrate things fairly, by the Interposition of some Person of established Reputation, eminent Virtue, powerful Eloquence, and skill'd in Address ; One whose Gravity and Industry, and Authority may be sufficient to gain upon them, and soften the Fury, even of an incens'd Rabble. For at the Presence of a Person thus qualified, they will presently be Thunder-struck, and all he says will gain credit, and make its own way through them.

** As when in Tumults rise th' ignoble Crowd,
Swift are their Motions, and their Tongues are loud ;
And Stones and Brands in rattling Volleys fly,
And all the Rustick Arms that Fury can supply.
If then some Grave and Pious Man appear,
They hush their Noise, and lend a listning Ear ;
He sooths with sober Words their angy Mood,
And quenches their innate Desire of Blood.*

Mr. Dryden.

It may not be amiss upon some Occasions for the Prince himself to appear among them ; but then he must take great Care in what manner this be done : He must have a serene and free Countenance, and Air of Gaiety and Assurance, a Soul at perfect Liberty, and free from all Apprehension of Death or Danger, and ready prepared to entertain the worst Treatment that can possibly happen to him. For, to shew himself with a Face full of Fear and Distrust, to descend to Flattery and mean Remonstrances, is beneath a Prince's Character : It makes him cheap and contemptible, encourages the Insolence of the People, and does but inflame instead of appeasing their Rage. This therefore was done, exactly as it ought to be, by *Cæsar*, who, when his Legions were in a Mutiny, and rose up in Arms against him, is described in the midst of them thus :

** Veluti magno in populo cum sæpe coorta est
Seditio, sævitque animis ignobile vulgus ;
Jamque faces & saxa volant ; furor arma ministrat.
Tum pietate gravem ac mentis, si forte virum quem
Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus astant ;
Ille regit dictis animos, & pectora mulcet, *Virgil.**

† ----- On the Top
Of a Turf Mount stands Cæsar fearless up,
Deserving Dread by his undaunted Look.

The same Account in effect does *Tacitus* give of *Augustus*, composing the Discontents of his Legions at *Adium*. So that upon the whole Matter, there are two ways of managing the Mobb, and quieting them when they run into Tumults and riotous Insurrections. The best and bravest is that of the Prince himself quieting them; but This (as I observ'd) is a nice Undertaking, and had much better be waved, if he have not an absolute Mastery over his Passions, and be not in all Points qualify'd for the managing it dexterously. The other, which is more usual, and more feasible, is to do it by another hand; and here a greater Latitude may be allow'd, than the Majesty of a Monarch can admit of. Flattery, and Cajolling, and all the Arts of Mollifying, are the proper Applications; for Stiffness and open Force will do nothing; and the more you oppose the Torrent, the higher and louder it grows. The many-headed Beast, is in this regard like all other Wild ones, which are never to be tam'd with Blows and Beating, but may be brought to hand by soothing and gentle Usage. And therefore an Agent should never spare for good Word, and fair Promises, since these are the most successful Artifices upon those Occasions. Nay, some Philosophers and Wise Men have allow'd such Mediators to be liberal, even at the expence of Truth; and think that the Folly and Madness of an incensed Multitude, may as innocently be amused with Fables and Fictions, as the Simplicity of Children, and the Phrensies of Feverish Men are with idle Stories and Promises, that are never intended to be made good. *Pericles* had a wonderful Knack at this Leading the People at Pleasure; he held them fast by the Eyes, the Ears, the Belly; entertain'd them with Shews, and Plays, and Feasts; and then made them do whatever he had a mind to. This, I confess, is much the meaner Method of the Two; There is something in it servile and ignoble; but those Punctilio's must be laid aside, where Necessity gives a Dispensation. But then they are only fit for some Deputy, or Agent, and can never be Condescensions be-

† ----- Stetit aggere fulti
Cespitis intrepidus vultu, meruitque timeri
Nil metuens ----- *Lucan.*

coming a Prince in his own Person. And thus we see *Menenius Agrippa* manag'd the Matter, when delegated from the Senate to the Commoners of *Rome*. But, if such a one pretends to act with a high Hand, and expects to reduce People when they fly out, and break through all the Restraints of Reason and Duty, without making any Concessions, or offering any Terms of Accommodation, as *Appius*, and *Coriolanus*, and *Cato*, and *Phocian* did; this a very idle Attempt, and must succeed accordingly.

S E C T. VIII.

Faction and Combinations.

BY Factions and Combinations, I mean the Divisions and Bandings together of Subjects against one another; and These may differ both in Quality and Number; as the Persons concerned are Great and Wealthy, or of a meaner Fortune and Condition, or as the Clans and Parties are each of them more or less numerous. This sometimes proceeds from private Piques and Grudges, which have grown and been cherish'd between single Persons, or are perpetuated and made Hereditary to whole Families; but the usual and more frequent Original of it, is Ambition and Emulation, that Bane of Society and Government, which sets the World on Fire, by kindling in every one a desire of aspiring to the highest and most honourable Post. The Divisions which happen between Persons of Eminence, and the first Quality, are by much the more dangerous and destructive to the Common-wealth. Some indeed there have been, who set up for Politicians, and pretend, that these disagreeing Parties are of great Service and Convenience to the Publick; and that a Prince by this means is safer, and better supported, as *Cato* was of Opinion, that the Authority of Masters in private Families was secured by the Discords and Quarrels of their Servants. But this seems a Notion too refin'd and far-fetch'd; and we may venture to say, there are but a few Cases in which the Observation holds good. It may be true with regard to Tyrants and lawless Governours, to whom nothing is so formidable as the good Agreement of their Subjects; because such a general Understanding may tend to unite them against their common Oppressor: it may hold too in slight and inconsiderable Factions, such as the Quarrels and Competitions betwixt one City and another; or betwixt Ladies at Court, who pretend to set up for Intelligence, and under-hand Interests: But in any Combinati-

ons of Consequence, and in Governments well constituted, and duly administred, it is manifestly false. It is of infinite Concern, and absolute Necessity, that, in such Circumstances, all making of Parties should be check'd, and Faction crush'd in the the very Egg. All their Distinctions, the Names they go by, the Dreß or Badges by which they know one another, and all the Foppery of that kind, utterly discountenanc'd and put down. For even Trifles of this Nature have sometimes laid the Seeds, and been the first Beginnings of prodigious and unconceivable Mischiefs. Witness the miserable Combustion, and horrid Murders, which *Zonaras* tells us, happen'd in *Constantinople*, by the Persons who distinguish'd themselves by wearing Blue and Green, in the Reign of *Justinian*. And accordingly all Clubs, or private Cabals, that tend to the promoting such Divisions, should be carefully dispersed, and strictly forbidden.

The Counsel I have to give upon such Accidents, is briefly This. If the Faction happen between two Peers, or Persons otherwise of Consideration and Character in the State, the Prince will do well to bring them to a better Understanding by fair Means, and good Words; or if That do not succeed, by laying his positive Commands, and threatening the Party who refuses to be reconciled, with his Displeasure, and other severe Penalties upon his Disobedience. And this Course we find taken by *Alexander the Great*, to compose the Difference between *Hephestion* and *Craterus*; and by *Archidamus* with Two of his Friends. If they still stand out, it may be proper to nominate some Arbitrator between them; and This a Person liable to no just suspicion of Partiality; no way interested or prejudiced, for or against either of the Parties. And this will also be a very good Expedient to end the Disputes, and settle the Pretensions controverted on both sides between greater Numbers of Subjects, or between Cities, or Societies of Men. If it be requisite, that the Prince himself interpose, let this by all means be done with the Assistance of Council, that so the Odium of the Thing may be taken off from himself, and those who suffer in the determination, may have no Foundation for Resentment. For the Council of Princes serves to this and many other Purposes, as well as for Direction; and it is Prudence to call them together, and act with and by them, in a very solemn manner, in sundry Instances, where there arises nothing of Difficulty, that can deserve the Formality of a Debate. If the Faction be among Persons of meaner

Circumstances, but so, that greater Numbers are engag'd in it; or if it grow too strong to be compos'd by gentler Methods, and the Course of Civil Justice, the Prince must then have recourse to his last Remedy, and extinguish it by Force. But in this way of quelling it especially, he must take good heed not to discover any particular Inclination to one side above the other. For this is very Ominous, and many Kings have lost themselves by their unreasonable Partialities. They are the common Fathers of their whole Country; and it is unworthy the Dignity of that Relation, as well as beneath the Majesty of their Character, to make Distinctions, and be of a Party themselves. They must be Friends to All their Subjects; not side with Some, and by making their Quarrels their own, suffer themselves to become Enemies, and in effect denounce War against Others. We easily see the Indecorum of such Proceedings, when the Master of a Family debases himself to take part with one Servant against another; for what is this indeed but to become a Fellow-Servant too, and to forget that both the Contending Parties are under his Jurisdiction? But sure the Absurdity is more monstrous in Princes, when they forget that all the Subjects are their own; and therefore the Superiour hath nothing to do but to deal Justice with an even hand between Them, who are equal to one another, but can never be so to Him. Once more: In all the foremention'd Cases, 'tis best, if the Discontents can be quieted, and Controversies decided, without making any publick Examples; because Suffering exasperates, and many angry Remembrances will remain, and rise up hereafter. But if there be a necessity of Punishing, this should be confin'd to as few as may be; and it sufficiently vindicates the Honour of the Prince, and answers the End of the Penalty very well; if some of the Ringleaders, who were first and most active in creating the Disturbance, be made to smart severely, and all the rest be dismiss'd with the Impressions which such a Mixture of Severity and Goodness will naturally leave upon them.

S E C T. IX.

Sedition.

Sedition is a violent Commotion of the People against the Prince, or some of the Magistrates in subordination to him. The Causes of it are commonly Oppression and Fear. For those, who have been guilty of some high Misdemeanour

Ch. 3: Of Prudence in Government.

133

nour, are afraid of being brought to the Punishment they deserve; Others are jealous of their Privileges and Properties, and imagine, that the Government designs to invade and run them down. And both these sorts of Men are so strongly possessed with the Apprehensions of approaching Ruine, that they think the only way to save themselves, is by striking the first Blow. It also proceeds very often from too great Indulgence, Extravagance and Debauchery, Necessity, and extream Scarcity of Money, or want of other indispensable Supports of Human Life. So that the Persons who seem of all others to be cut out for this Trade, are your Spend-thrifts and Bankrupts, Indigent and Uneasie, Fickle and Lovers of Novelty; and all those Lewd and Profligate Wretches, who lie under the Lash of the Law, or at least are obnoxious to, and afraid of Justice. These several sorts of Men cannot continue quiet long: Peace is by no means for their purpose, but every whit as great a Calamity to Them, as War is to the rest of Mankind: They never sleep sweetly but in the midst of a Riot; and the Liberty they dote upon is Licentiousness and Confusion. But better to bring their Matters to bear, they contrive private Conferences, and send abroad their wicked Instruments to poison the World; make loud and grievous Complaints, scatter secret and vile Insinuations, at first in doubtful and suspicious Words, but afterwards in virulent and open Defamations of the Government; set up for Patriots, and pretend a mighty Zeal for Liberty and Property; profess the Publick Good to be their only Hope and End, and promise to redress the People's Grievances; These are constantly some of the Masks, put on to cover their Villany, and thus they draw Numbers after them, who for want of discerning better, and seeing through their Hypocrisie, swallow the bitter Pill thus gilded over.

Now the Remedies and Directions proper for such an Exigence of Affairs as this, are first of all such as have been already insisted upon, in the Section of *Popular Insurrections and Tumults*; that is, To draw them to a Parley, to have Matters truly represented, and so make them sensible of their Error, and the unreasonableness of their Complaints and Discontents; and all this to be done by the Mediation of Persons, whose unquestionable Credit and Character may render such a Negotiation successful. But if This do not succeed, the second thing must be for a Prince to take Arms, and strengthen himself against their Violence; yet so as not

- to be rash and hasty upon them, but to proceed slowly and with much Deliberation; that they may have Warning and Time to recollect and qualifie the Fierceness and Heat of their Passions; and so the ill Men among them, by thinking better, may return to their Duty; and those who are harmless, and good, may desert their Seducers, and unite with the right side. For Time is a most excellent Physician, and seldom fails to allay and cure the common People, who are much more disposed to quarrel, and be mutinous, than they are to come to Blows in good earnest. * *The Mobb* (says a wise Historian) *are furious and eager to rebel, but tame and poor-spirited in a regular Fight; and much better at making a push to stretch their Liberty, than at the lawful defence of it.*
3. A Third Expedient is, to be tampering with them all this while, and try to divide and disettle their Minds † by Hope and Fear; for these are the Two Passions that spur them on, and therefore these must be wrought upon to bring them off. And therefore a Wise Governour will be sure to be liberal, both of his Promises and Threatnings, that so these Passions way not want Matter enough to feed upon; but then Care must betaken too, that they may be so temper'd, as neither to encourage Presumption, nor drive to Despair.
4. A Fourth Remedy is, to sow Divisions among them, and break their Correspondence, by making them Jealous, and Dissatisfy'd at one another.
5. A Fifth will be, To get some of the Party over by secret Service, inviting them with Promises and Pensions, and privately rewarding what they privately do for your Advantage. And these Persons thus gain'd, are to be disposed in several Posts. Some of them should be drawn quite off, and come over to you, to weaken and intimidate them; Others should be still left behind to do your Business there, by giving Advice of all their Motions, and communicating their Intentions and Designs; by laying them asleep by false Securities, and watching all Opportunities to qualifie their Fury.
6. Then, Sixthly, Those who cannot be got thus far, and are still obstinate, should be cajoll'd by granting some part of what they demand, and giving them expectation of more; all which the expert Politicians will tell you, should be by large Promises, worded cunningly, that so the Ambiguity of the Ex-

* Ferocior Plebs ad rebellandum quàm bellandum: tentare magis quàm tueri Libertatem.

† Spem offer, metum intende.

pressions may leave room for a colourable Evasion afterwards : For a Prince may easily, when he thinks fit, revoke that which hath been extorted from him, and justly deny what Injustice hath compell'd him to give hopes of obtaining. This is Casuistical Policy at least ; but the only way to make it go down well with the People, is to varnish all over with Gentleness and Clemency, and to make them some Amends by Indulgences of another kind, for those Concessions, which without manifest Prejudice to his Pre-rogative and Government, he cannot but recede from. Lastly, If they shall return to a better Sense of Things, and act agreeably to Reason and their Duty, they should be dealt with tenderly ; and a Prince may very well content himself with chastising some few of the first Authors, and principal Incendiaries, without giving himself the Trouble so much as to enquire after all the Accomplices ; but managing the rest so, that they shall have reason to think themselves secure in his Pardon and Favour.

S E C T. X.

Tyranny and Rebellion.

BY Tyranny, we are to understand an Arbitrary, Lawless Government, a Domineering over the Subjects with Violence and Rigour, without regard had to the Rules or Measures of Power, or the Customs and Privileges of the Country. This is frequently the Cause of publick Disturbances, and general Discontents, which by degrees grow up into Rebellion. And Rebellion is a Rising of the People against their Prince, provok'd by his Tyrannical and unjust Oppressions, with a design to dethrone, and drive him from his Royal Post. So that Rebellion differs from Sedition in This, that it no longer acknowledges, or submits to the Prince as a Master and Governour ; whereas Sedition does not go so far ; but is dissatisfy'd with the Administration, and aims not at changing the Person, but his Measures, and the Reformation of what it conceives amiss. Now the Persons, who thus degenerate into Tyranny, are Men of base Dispositions, cruel in their Temper, Lovers and Encouragers of wicked and turbulent People, and Mischievous Pick-Thank Slaves, Parasites and Sycophants, and doers of ill Offices. But for Persons of Honour and Virtue, they have

an inward Dread and Aversion. * *The Virtue and good Qualities of deserving Persons, (says one) is formidable to them; Noble Blood, and Power and Interest, Honours and Offices of Trust well discharg'd, are look'd upon as Criminal; Worth and Honesty is their certain Ruin; and a great and good Name as dangerous under such Governours, as a scandalous and vile Character.*

But these Tyrants are generally punish'd to purpose, and as they deserve; for they are hated and detested, look'd upon as common Enemies; they live in perpetual Terrors and Apprehensions of the Revenge they have provok'd; every thing is suspected and dreaded, and they never think themselves safe; their own Consciences turn their Executioners, and all within is Scourges, and Racks, and Tortures; and at last they come to infamous and untimely Deaths; for the World hath seldom seen a Tyrant live to the fulness of Age, or die after the manner of common Men.

The Directions and Remedies proper for this Case are largely insisted upon in another place. And the Summ of them may be reduc'd to these Two Points. First, To hinder a Tyrant from getting the Power absolutely into his own Hands, and oppose his Government at the first; but if this be not done, and he be actually possess'd of it, then to bear and submit as well as we can. For, generally speaking, there is nothing got by Opposition, † *a Civil War being commonly a Remedy worse than the Disease*; and the Miseries and Disorders of it are more intolerable than the Tyranny and Oppression it undertakes to redress. For the being restiff in such Cases, does but exasperate the Cruelty of a Prince, and make that Disposition in him, which was bad before, ten times worse. * *Nothing (says Plutarch) inflames a Sore, so much as Impatience under the Pain of it.* Modesty and Submission, and Compliance with hard and rigorous Commands, have something of a softning Quality in them, which usually rebates the fiercest and most furious Dispositions. For, as *Alexander the Great* observ'd very truly, The Gentleness and good Temper of a Prince depends not alto-

* Quibus semper aliena Virtus formidolosa; Nobilitas, Opes, gestique Honores pro crimine habentur; ob Virtutes certissimum exitium; & non minus ex magnâ formâ quam malâ.

† Pejus deteriusque Tyrannide sive injusto imperio Bellum civile.

* Nihil tam exasperat fervorem vulneris quàm ferendi impatentia.

gether upon his own Humour, but in some measure upon that of his Subjects too; for They sometimes by their Sawciness and ill Language, by Stubbornness and perverse Behaviour, corrupt and sour their Governours, and make them quite other Men than Nature had made them. † *Men make Government easie, and secure themselves good Treatment by Obedience; and on the other hand, Insolence and Refractoriness in Subjects takes off from the Mildness and good Nature of a Prince: And this is the Misfortune, that the People had rather be Peremptory and Disobedient at the hazard of their own Ruin, than obey quietly, and live securely.*

S E C T. XI.

Civil Wars.

THE several publick Disorders hitherto treated of, are but crude and imperfect; the Beginnings of Evils, and as it were Matter void of Form. But when Riot, or Faction, or Sedition, or Rebellion, is come to its full Maturity of Strength, when it hath all the Perfection it is capable of, and continues any time; then it Commences, and is call'd *Civil War*. For this is nothing else, but the taking up of Arms by Subjects, either against one another, which is the Case of the two Former; or else against the Prince or Magistrate, and then it is one of the two latter. Now there is not in the World a more Calamitous, more scandalous Circumstance. It is not indeed a single, but a complicated Evil, an Ocean of Evils. And a wise Author says very truly, that it cannot with any propriety of Speech be styl'd a War, but is rather the Sickness, the Fever and Phrenzy of the State. The wicked Authors of it, whoever they be, ought to be swept away from the Land of the Living, and driven immediately, and without Mercy, from among Men. All manner of Wickedness is born and cherish'd under it; Impiety and Cruelty reign without controul; all Obligations of Humanity and Friendship are dissolv'd; and the nearest Ties of Blood and Natural Affection, broken and utterly lost. Murder, and Confusion, and Rapine cease to be Vices. * *Men have then licence to be barbarous, and kill with Authority in*

† Obsequio mitigantur imperia; & contrà, Contumacia inferiorum lenitatem imperantis diminuit; Contumaciam cum perniciè, quam obsequium cum securitate malunt.

* Occidere palam, Ignoscere non nisi fallendo licet. Non Ætas, non Dignitas quenquam protegit.

the Face of the Sun; but Pity and Mercy are Practis'd only by stealth. No Age, no Quality can give any Man Protection; but all Distinctions of Person and Condition are laid aside,

*The reeking Sword pours out a Crimson Flood,
And mingles Noble with Plebeian Blood.*

Laws and Order are quite out of Doors, and all Discipline utterly abolish'd. † *Men fly greedily at all, and are mercenary in Villany; they make no difference between Things Sacred and Common, but all are made a Prey alike.* The mean and vulgar are upon the Level with the best and greatest, and the Peasant *Hail Fellow* with the Prince.

∴ — *He was our General
I'th' German Wars; Here we are Fellows All.
Whom Treason soils, it makes of equal State.* May.

Persons in Authority dare not interpose, nor take upon them what is due to their Birth and Condition; for He, who is embark'd in the same Design, must not reprove his Companion in Wickedness. So dreadful is the Confusion where even the * *Commanders themselves are liable to the same Condemnation; and every Thing, and every Man driven to and fro by Fear and Necessity.* In a Word, This is a Misery in the very Abstract. And the very Victory it self is full of Misery; For supposing the best of the Matter, that Success falls on the side of Right and Justice, yet this renders the Conqueror insolent and furious; transports him to Barbarity and Rage, tho' otherwise of a Temper never so Human and Gentle; so scandalous are the very Triumphs of a Civil War; so apt to flesh even a good Man in Cruelty and Blood; so certain it is to poyson, nay to extinguish the Softnesses of Human Nature. And if we could imagine the Commanders not to have lost all the Remains of it, yet it will not be in their Power to restrain those under their Care, from their execrable Villanies.

Nobilitas cum plebe perit, latèque vagatur
Ensis.—

† In omne fas nefasque avidos, aut venales, non sãcro, non profano abstinentes.

∴ — Rheni mihi Cæsar in undis

Dux erat; hic socius, Facinus quos inquinat, æquat. *Lucan. l. 5.*

* Obnoxiiis Ducibus, & prohibere non ausis. — Metu ac necessitate huc illuc mutantur.

Now

Now there are two Causes of Civil Wars, which offer themselves to our consideration. The one is Secret and Myfterious, such as we cannot see through, nor come to any distinct Understanding of, and consequently not in the power of Man to prevent, or to cure; A certain Fatality, I mean, the Will and Decree of Almighty God, by which he sees fit to take Vengeance, and inflict this heaviest of Punishments upon the Sins of a Nation; or not only to chastise, but utterly overturn and exterminate a disobedient and rebellious People.

** Things to their Acme come, in course of Fate grow less;
And States too big for Foes, themselves oppress.*

The Other is sufficiently visible to Wise Men, as a sure Prognostick of Future Evils, and such, as if Men would give their Minds to, it might easily be remedy'd; especially if Those who sit at the Helm would shew themselves diligent and vigorous in the Application. And this is a general Corruption and Looseness of Manners, Remissness in Discipline, and want of executing good and wholesome Laws for the containing all sorts of People in their respective Duties. Hence the Vilest and Refuse of the People take Advantage; and Men of desperate Fortunes, who have no other Game to play, hope to find their Account, by putting all into Confusion. For, either they raise themselves upon other Men's Ruins, and heal their own Extravagancies by fishing in troubled Waters; or at least they cover their own private in the Croud of publick Misfortunes. For, where a Man hath nothing left to lose, it is some Mitigation to his Affliction, that it is general, and he does not fall alone. So the wise Historian Observes; † *That the Profuse and Turbulent, shelter themselves under a Common Calamity; and there is a kind of Malicious Comfort in the Nature of most Men, that make them better contented to be crushed in the Common Ruin, than to perish alone. For tho' a Man's own Sufferings be equal in either Case; yet they are less taken notice of, and cannot be distinguished, when he suffers in a great deal of Company.*

Now, the Advice fit to be given in this Extremity, is,

** In se magna ruunt, lætis hunc Numina rebus
Crescendi posuere modum. ——— Lucan. l. 1.*

† *Miscere cuncta & privata vulnera Reipublicæ malis operire.
Nam ita se res habet, ut publicâ ruinâ quisque malit quam suâ
proteri; & idem passurus minus conspici.*

To

To make the quickest End that such a War is capable of; and for this there can be but two Ways; Treaty and Agreement, or Victory. The former is certainly the better, even tho' ended with some Hardship and Inconvenience, and short of those Advantagious Terms we desire: For when once those tumultuous Proceedings are quieted, Time will do the rest for us: And a Man will do well sometimes to suffer himself to be imposed upon, when he is so largely paid for his Loss. As it was said of *Antipater*, † *That it was necessary to cheat him into a Peace, to gratifie his Inclination when he was eager to put an end to the War*, Victory is a very dangerous Conclusion, tho' a Successful one. For there is great reason to fear the abuse of it, and that the gaining such an Advantage may inspire Inclinations to Tyranny, and Oppression, and put mighty opportunities into a Prince's Hands, of ruling those he hath subdued, Arbitrarily and by Force, that so they may be effectually kept under for ever after. But, to make sure Work, it is necessary for a Prince to rid his Hands of the Principal Actors and Instigators of these Confusions; and such as he perceives to be Turbulent and Bloody-minded Men; without Regard to which Side they were of; for such Dispositions are always unsafe to be trusted. And This may be done conveniently enough under some fair Pretence of employing them in some remoter Parts, or sending them abroad into foreign Service; or else by dividing them, and breaking their Correspondence; or keeping them in play against a Common Enemy; and then, for the Prevention of any Discontents for the Time to come, to use the Common People well; and grant them all reasonable Indulgence; passing over what is already done by an Act of Oblivion, and ministring no just Occasion of Jealousie, but making his Government as easie as possible, in the preservation of their Rights and Privileges for the future.

S E C T. XII.

Advice for Private Persons, how they should behave themselves in any of the forementioned Divisions.

YOU have now taken a short View of the several sorts of Calamities and Confusions, to which the State is Obnoxious, and heard the Directions proper for each of them, so far as the Prince himself is concerned; it remains now in the last Place, to consider what Deportment will be

† *Bellum finire cupienti opus erat decipi,*

proper and prudent for Persons in a private Capacity, when any of these Troubles and Difficulties shall happen. Now this cannot be dispatched under any one general Topick; because there are two Scruples concerning it to be resolved; The One, whether it be lawful and fit for an honest and good Man, to fall in, and take the Part of some side or other in these Divisions; or whether he should rather keep himself quiet and sit still. The Other, what sort of Behaviour is advisable in either Case, that is, whether he do, or do not interest himself in the Quarrel.

As to the former of these two Questions; It is propounded for the Satisfaction of such, as are Loose and at their own Disposal, without any Engagements upon them, which should determine them to either Party. For if they are already under any Obligations, This first Query does not in any Degree concern them; They are got beyond it already; and all the Doubts for Them to entertain, must receive Satisfaction from the Second Question. I insert this Caution by the way, because it frequently falls out, that a Man is staked down, as it were to one Party, almost whether he will or no. For, tho' he may not make it any part of his Choice and Design, nay, tho', in his own private Judgment, he cannot but disapprove it; yet in delpight of Intention, Inclination, and Good Sense, he may find himself involved and intangled, by some Considerations so Powerful, that he cannot with any Decency break through them: And these being such Bands, as Nature hath ty'd him up in, or such as Counterbalance all Motives to the contrary, will at least carry a sufficient Excuse, for his doing as he does. Now, this first Question hath several Arguments *pro* and *con*; and abundance of eminent Instances might be produc'd, of Persons who have behaved themselves directly contrary to each other with regard to it. So that differing Judgments and Authorities, as well as different Reasons, minitter just ground of Scruple in the Case. The Resolutions which seem to me most convenient to be come to, according to the different Circumstances of the Persons concern'd in this Debate, are such as follow.

On the one Hand, Nothing seems more agreeable to the Character of a Wife and a Good Man, than to have nothing at all to do with the Follies and Factions of the World; and therefore such a one cannot do better than to stand by, and let them try it out by themselves. Especially too, if we consider what Account hath already been given of these Divisions,

Velleius,
lib. 3.

visions, how irregular and unlawful they are in their own Nature and first Causes ; what Wickedness, Barbarity, and Injustice of all sorts they engage Men in. That these are inseparable Attendants of such practices, and it is not possible to have any hand in them, and continue Innocent ; I say, If all these Considerations be fairly laid together, it scarce looks any longer like a Matter of free Choice, what a Man may, or may not do ; but seems rather a Point of Duty, than of bare Allowance and Permission, absolutely to decline any Concern in them. And accordingly it appears that several excellent Persons have had so great an abhorrence of these Things, and such a Sense of the Personal Obligations they violate, that no Considerations could prevail with them to come in ; particularly *Afinius Pollio*, who, the Historian tells us, excused himself for these very Reasons to *Augustus*, when he entreated his Company and Assistance in the Expedition against *Mark Antony*..

But then on the other Hand, What shall we say to those Reasons, which enforce our Obligation, to take part with good Men, to protect and strengthen such, as much as in us lies, and to defend Equity and Right, against all that oppose, and encroach upon it ? The Great *Solon* was so strongly possess'd in Favour of these Engagements, that he is for inflicting very severe Punishments, upon Them that affect Ease and Obscurity, and refuse to appear and act openly in such Exigencies of State. And that rigid Professor of Virtue, *Cato* Govern'd himself by this Rule ; for he did not only declare, and come into One Party in the Civil Wars of *Rome*, but took a Command among the Malecontents under *Pompey*.

Now, if we would know what Measures are fit to be taken, where Judgments are so divided, and Reason probable and plausible enough for each to alledge in his own Justification ; my poor Opinion is This : For Persons of Eminence and Character in the World ; such as are in publick Trust, or great Reputation, or extraordinary Abilities, and are known to be leading and significant Men in the State, These I conceive not only may fall into that Side, which they in their Conscience think the best ; but, so far as I am able to discern, they are bound to do it : For he is a very ill Pilot, that steers the Ship in calm and favourable Weather, and runs away from the Helm, when it grows Foul and Stormy : What shall become of the Vessel, if the best Hands let her drive, when there is the greatest need of Working her, and keeping her tight ? These Gentlemen ought, in Extre-

mities

mities especially, to stand in the Gap, and act like Men of Honour; the Care of the Government is upon them, and its Safety or Ruin lies at their Door. But then, for Persons in a private Capacity, such as make none at all, or but a very inconsiderable Figure in the Government, These are more at their own Liberty. For as their Condition supposes all the Assistance they can contribute, to be of no mighty consequence, so the with-holding that Assistance can do no great Damage: And therefore they may be allowed to retire into some Place of Security, and seek their own Ease and Quiet, at a Distance, from the Noise and Clutter of the contending Parties. But then both these kind of Men, those that do, and those that do not declare, lie under an Obligation to demean themselves, in such manner as I am going to prescribe. In the mean while I add thus much only upon the present Subject, concerning those who are disposed to come in and act: That in the choosing what Party they should side with, sometimes the Case is so plain, that it is almost impossible they can be mistaken. For where the Injustice of the Cause, and other Disadvantages are so evident, that they look one full in the Face, and forbid him; no Man of common Sense will go in thither. But it often happens, that there are Reasons on both sides; Each pretends Right and Justice: and each hath Advantages to invite us; and then the Difficulty of coming to a Resolution is very great; because a Man must not only weigh the Arguments on both Sides, and settle the Point of Right and Wrong first; but he hath several other Considerations to attend to, such as may and ought to carry some Weight with them, tho' they have not immediately respect to the Justice of the Cause.

And now it may be Seasonable to proceed to the other Part of this Advice; which relates to the Behaviour of the Persons under these several Capacities. To all which, I might satisfy my self with prescribing in one Word, Moderation and Temper; that they would particularly take *Atticus* for their Pattern, whose Name hath been so much celebrated for his Prudence and Modesty in the midst of that boisterous Age, in which he lived; One, who was always believed in his Judgment to favour the right Side, and respected by all good Men for doing so; but yet one, who behaved himself so Prudently and Inoffensively, that he never involved himself in the Common Confusions, nor drew down the Displeasure of ill Men, or any Inconvenience from that Party, who were sensible enough, he did not approve their Proceedings.

But,

But, to be a little more particular ; and first, for Them, who openly declare themselves ; it is certain, that These ought by no Means to be violent, or betray indecent Heats and Passions in their Conversation ; but carry themselves Modestly and Decently, and reserve their Warmth for times of Action, or 'till some very just Occasion happens to call for it. They should not be Pert, nor Forward, nor Officiously thrust themselves upon Business, till they are required, and in some measure importuned ; nay, compelled to it : For in such Circumstances no Man can be active without Odium ; and therefore it is sufficient that we obey our Call, and follow Duty, without being so eager, as to run before it, and start of our own accord. But when we are called, and must act, then we should take Care to render the Execution of our Duty as little invidious as may be ; to do all with such Temper and Tenderneſs, that the Storm may fly over our Heads, and no angry Resentments, or infamous Reflections remain behind ; never inflaming, or in any Degree encouraging, much less allowing our selves in the Commission of those abominable Outrages and Insolencies, usual upon such Occasions ; but employing our utmost endeavour to mollifie and sweeten Men ; to divert them from Injurious and Disorderly Methods ; and by all imaginable Arts trying to elude and break all Designs of this Nature.

Those who have not declared themselves openly, by actually engaging in any Party (whose Circumstances with regard to the Easiness and Tranquillity of them, are without doubt much to be preferred before the former,) Those, I say, who have given the World no visible and authentick Testimony of their Affections to one or other Party, (tho' at the same time they may in their own Breasts be much more inclined, and wish better to the one than the other ;) ought not to continue in a State of absolute Neutrality. My Meaning is, that they should not express a perfect Indifference how Matters go, and have no Solicitude beyond their own private Affairs ; for this is to sit like Spectators in a Play-House, and entertain themselves with the Tragical Misfortunes of other People ; which is a Coldness highly Criminal, where the Peace and Welfare of our Country lie at Stake. Such regardless Men as these, are justly detested by all Sides ; and if their own Personal Safety be what they aim at, the Imagination is very vain ; for no sort of People run a greater Risque, nor are worse treated than They. We see what was the Fate of *Thebes* in the War with *Xerxes*,
and

and of the Inhabitants of *Jabesh Gilead*, in the time of the *Judg. 21.* *Israelitish* Judges. *Livy* hath observed very justly to this 8. purpose, that * *Neutrality never makes one Friend the more, nor one Enemy the less.* It is indeed neither just nor becoming, and can never look well, or be so, except with Allowance of the Parties concerned. We see therefore what different Measures the Two great *Roman* Generals took in this Respect. *Cesar* declared that he took it for granted, all that stood Neuter, were His Friends; *Pompey* declared, he looked upon all such as his Enemies. In a Stranger indeed this is very allowable; for he is under no Obligation to meddle in the Concerns of a Country that is none of his own; and so it is likewise in Persons, whose Eminent Character and Quality may make it beneath them to become Parties, in such Differences, which they ought rather to be adressed to as Umpires, and Mediators to determine.

Nor may be Men, much less indeed may they shew themselves, fickle and inconstant; sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other; changing their Shape like *Proteus*, and in the worst Sense of the Words, becoming *All things to all Men.* These are Mungrels, and as such, an odious and despicable Breed, worse than the former, who continue in a State of Neutrality; and more offensive to All, while they make it their Business to please, and be more agreeable to All. For every Man ought to act upon Principles, and to stick for something.

But, tho' Men ought to incline to one side in their Wishes and Affections, because Wishes and Affections are entirely our own; yet in their Actions and Deportment, the Case is otherwise; these are what others have some Right and Interest in; and therefore, so far as relates to Conversation, these ought to be extended to all Parties in Common. There is a Title antecedent to all these accidental Differences and Divisions, which they cannot disannul; and therefore we are bound to be offensive, injurious, rude and unconvertable to none; but to do Offices of Kindness and Courtesy, and common Humanity to every Body, notwithstanding any Contrariety of Interests and Opinions. And thus far at least all should agree, to lament, and, as much as in them lies, to heal the publick Breaches and Misfortunes. Such Persons secure themselves from all the Inconveniencies mentioned before; they create no new Enemies, and they lose

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none of their old Friends. These are Persons of a Temper fit to be employ'd as Mediators, and the most likely of any to succeed in bringing Matters to a fair and amicable Composition; which Those who endeavour, do yet better, and are more serviceable, than They who content themselves with Expressions of Courtesie and common Friendship, to Men of all Parties indifferently. So then, It appears upon the whole Matter, that there may be Four sorts of Persons, who are not actually engaged in any Party; Two of which are Blameable, and these are the Neuter, or Indifferent, and the Veering, or Unsteady; the other Two are useful and commendable; and These are the Conversable or Courteous to All without Distinction; and the Mediators in Order to Agreement; But still in each of these Kinds, One exceeds the other; the Inconstant Man exceeds in Blame above the Neuter; and the Mediator Merit and Commendation above the Common Friend. Of those that declare and act openly, there are likewise Two sorts, with the same Differences, the Eager and Violent, and the Moderate and Well-Temper'd.

S E C T. XIII.

Of Private Differences and Disorders.

IT may very reasonably be expected, that I should not dismiss this Head of Prudence, without speaking to one very frequent Difficulty more; which is, How Men ought to behave themselves in the Quarrels or Misunderstanding of private Persons, and particular Families. And here One is to consider, both what is most convenient for his own Affairs, and what can in reason be expected from him. If the Persons thus at Enmity be such as have no indispensable Tie upon him, he may very fairly keep in with them both; and tho' perhaps he cannot love, or approve of both alike, yet he may, and will do well, to be obliging and kind to both, and give just Offence to neither. It is great Imprudence in these Cases, to engage so far with One Side, that they shall expect to have us entirely to themselves, and think us bound in Honour and Friendship, to espouse all their Interests, and make all their Resentments our own: And therefore the better way will be to keep upon a Reserve; to be content with a moderate Share of their Favour and good Graces. To say nothing in their Company tending to the Matter in Controversie; but to talk altogether of Indifferent Things; or at least such as we personally know to be true, or are other-

otherwise very well assur'd of : If we touch upon the Dispute, to say what may be for the Service of both, and may tend to their Reconciliation, and better Understanding. But by no means submitting to that vile practice of reporting idle Stories, or groundless Surmises ; or aggravating things that have some Foundation ; or currying Favour by discommending or railing at the Adversary of Him with whom we converse. For Matters here ought to be carry'd with such an even Hand, that nothing should pass in Company with the one, which we would not speak, if the other were by ; nay, that nothing should be said to the one, which we would not say to another in his Turn too ; allowing only for some little Alterations in the Forms and Manner of our Address ; which the different Circumstances of the Persons, or the Relation of Authority we pretend to with them, or some other accidental Consideration, foreign to the Subject of the Quarrel it self, may render seasonable, and seem to require from us.

Justice, the Second Cardinal Virtue.

C H A P. V.

Of Justice in General.

JUSTICE consists in rendring to every one whatsoever of ^{1.} Right belongs to him ; paying first to himself his Own *What it is,* Duty, and then to others Theirs. And, according to this Definition, it comprehends all manner of Duties and Offices, which each particular Person can be any way oblig'd to. Now these, as I hinted before, are of Two sorts, according to the Objects of them, which are Two : The First terminates in Man's own Person ; the Second in other People : All which in their utmost Latitude fall within the compass of that most extensive Command, which hath express'd the Substance and Summ of all Justice, in those very few, but significant Words, *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self.* For here it is very observable, that the Duty to others is put in the Second place ; that the Love and Duty we owe to our selves, is laid as the Ground-work upon which, that to our Neighbour is superstructed, and the Model by which it is to be proportion'd. For, as the old Hebrews, and not They only, but all the World use to say, *Charity begins at home.*

2. *Primitive and Original Justice.* The Beginning then, and Foundation of all Justice, is to be sought for within our selves ; and the most Ancient and Fundamental Right of all others, is that Dominion, which Reason hath over the Sensual part of us. A Man must be able to command and govern himself, before he can be qualify'd to exercise this Authority, in demanding Subjection from others. And this Government of one's Self consists in reserving to Reason the Power of bearing Sway, and keeping the Appetites under ; reducing and restraining them to their just Measures and Degrees, and bowing their stubborn Necks, till they become flexible, and obedient to Discipline. The preserving our Souls in this Order and Posture is what we may call, *Primitive, Original, and Internal Justice*, the most genuine, the brightest, and infinitely most beautiful, of any thing that goes by that Name. This Sovereignty and Dominion of the Rational, over that sensual and brutish part of the Soul, which is the Source of all our Passions, and by Them of all other Troubles and Disorders, hath been by some Authors, not unfitly resembl'd to a Rider managing his Horse ; keeping himself firm in the Saddle, and the Rein constantly in his Hand ; by which he rules and turns the Beast under him at pleasure.

3. *Distin- guished.* To give an exact and nice Account of that Justice which goes abroad, and is exercis'd in our Dealings with other People, it is necessary to observe first of all, that there are two sorts of it. The one Natural, Universal, Generous, and Brave, Rational and Philosophical ; the other in a great degree Artificial, Particular, Positive, and Political ; contrived and cramp'd up, according as the Exigencies of particular Countries and Constitutions would allow it a larger, or have confin'd it to a narrower Compass. The Former of these is much the more regular and uniform, more firm and inflexible, clearer and fairer of the Two : But alas ! it is antiquated and absolute, capable of doing very little Service to the World, as it now stands. This occasion'd that Complaint, * *That the Substance and express Image of true Right and Justice was long since fled and gone ; and all we live by now, is only some faint Shadows, and imperfect Copies of that Original Representation, taken from the Life it self.* These are like the first Sketches of a Night-piece ; but they are such as Mankind must be contented with, since, tho' the Darknests

* Veri Juris germanæque Justitiæ solidam & expressam effigiem nullam tenemus ; umbris & imaginibus utimur.

of their Conditions need a stronger Light, yet their present Infirmities cannot bear any thing so exquisitely bright. This is what they say of *Polycletus's* Rule, Inflexible, Unalterable. The other is more slack, and limber, and pliable; it comes to, and accommodates it self to the Necessities and the Weaknesses of Mankind, nay of the generality; and that to be sure is the worst and most ignorant part. This is a Leaden and a *Lesbian* Rule, a Nose of Wax, that bends into any Form, and may be wrought into any Figure; and indeed is bow'd and chang'd perpetually, according to the different Exigencies and Circumstances of Time, and Place, and Person; the Posture of Affairs, and the variety of Accidents. This in case of necessity and convenience dispenses with, allows, nay approves of several things, which the other will not so much as connive at, but must absolutely condemn and cannot admit upon any Consideration whatsoever. This establishes some Vices, and gives them not only the Countenance, but sometimes the Sanction of a Law; and rejects several Actions in themselves Innocent and Good, as unlawful and not to be practis'd. Natural Justice looks only at the Reason, the Equity, the Virtue, the Decency and Fitness of the thing: But Positive and Political Justice proceeds upon other sort of Considerations; it hath a great, I might almost say, principal Regard, to the Advantage, the Convenience; at least its main Aim and Business is to reconcile these two, and make Profit and Probity go Hand in Hand, and so mutually promote and assist each other. Since therefore this is the only kind, which the World is manag'd by, and the Design of the present Treatise is to reform Men's Manners, and to better them in such Points as are practicable, we will confine our selves wholly to this latter sort. For it must needs be to very little purpose to insist upon the former; of which there is nothing now but the *Idea* and bare Speculation left.

Now this Justice at present in common use, and that which is esteem'd the Judge and Standard of Human Actions, ^{4.} *Of Justice* is first of all Twofold, with regard to the Rules and Measures of it. The One is what we call Legal Justice, because ^{as now in use.} it is bound up by the Terms and Letter of the Law; and this is that Rule which Magistrates and Judges are obliged to determine, and proceed by. If any Injury be, as there often is great Injury done or suffer'd by such Decisions, they who pass the Sentence are in no degree accountable for it; because their Business is not to make the Law, but to be

govern'd by, and act according to the Law; and so there is no help, but they must take it, as it lies before them. The Other is term'd *Equitable Justice*; and this hath a larger Range allow'd it; it is not fetter'd up to Words and Syllables, but hath a Liberty left to consider the present Exigency, the Circumstances of the Person, the Hardships of his Case; and so can administer Relief, and determine the Point in Dispute, in a Latitude, not only beyond, but sometimes even above and contrary to the Letter of the Law. Or indeed, to speak more properly, This Equiry over-rules and manages the Law to the best Advantage, and directs it so, as to answer its proper End, by making the Execution of the Law agreeable to the Intention, and the Reasons of Enacting of it. Upon this account it is, that a Wise Man said very truly, that Laws and Justice were not sufficient of themselves, unless they fell into good Hands, and were justly and skilfully manag'd; that is, unless their Sentence proceed upon equitable Considerations. And this larger and freer way of Proceeding is the peculiar Province of the Supreme Judge; the Prince in Person, or those, who in the Construction and Practice of the Law, are commission'd by him for this purpose, and so equivalent in all they do to his own doing it. For his Authority is present, tho' his Person be not; and this is the more effectual, more powerful Presence of the Two.

Again, if we descend to consider this Justice more particularly, there will another Division offer it self to us, with regard to the different Methods of Proceeding. One of which is call'd *Commutative Justice*, because it consists in buying and selling, bargaining, and all manner of Commerce; for the several kinds of this are reduc'd to that one general Practice, of trucking and bartering one thing for another. And this is the Justice in exercise among private Men; the Rule whereof is Arithmetical Proportions; for our Care is to make what we give and what we receive in exchange, of equal value. The other is *Distributive Justice*; and this is administred by the Publick, in Rewards and Punishments: The Rule whereof is Geometrical Proportion; wherein an exact and nice Equivalent is not aim'd at, nor just the Merit and Quality of the Fact, and nothing else attended to; but several other Considerations taken in: And the last Result of the whole Debate is this, what, upon a fair Computation of all Circumstances put together, is reasonable and fitting for the one to give, or to award; and for the other to receive, or to suffer. Now

Now this Justice at present in common use, when it comes to be closely and critically examin'd, will be found to be no such thing, as strict and perfect Justice. For the Truth is, as I said before, Human Nature is not capable of such a thing; it is too refin'd for our gross Condition, and we cannot bear this, or any other thing in its abstracted Excellence or Purity. In all practicable Justice there is a Mixture of Injustice, Favour, and Rigour; too much and too little; these, like the Allay in our Coin, are properly call'd the *Remedy*; for such indeed they are to the corrupt and degenerate State of Mankind. There is no such thing as pure and true Standard current among us; that exact Mediocrity, which we can only form, and truly now can scarce form in our Imaginations. Hence proceed those Maxims of the Ancients, That he who designs to do Justice in the Gross, will find himself under an unavoidable Necessity to be unjust in the Retail; for no general Rule can be constantly observ'd, but some particular Persons and Cases will find themselves aggriev'd by it. And he, that will be just in great and important Occasions, must sometimes be unjust in those of less Consequence. These are Difficulties so well known, so generally felt and confess'd, that in Matters of Commerce and *Commutative Justice*, some Lawgivers heretofore were forc'd, in order to the bringing the Business of Trade under some Rule, and restraining the Exorbitancies of it somewhere, to give leave to Men to cheat to some certain Degree, (as for instance, not to exceed half of what the Commodity was really worth,) without being liable to the Law. And this they were forc'd to connive at, because they cou'd fix'd it no better. Again, in the Case of *Distributive Justice*, how many innocent Persons are clapp'd up? How many guilty acquitted and releas'd? And all this without any Corruption or Fault of the Judges. And to how much greater a Summ would this Account swell, if, to unjust Condemnations and Acquittals, we should add the Excesses and Defects in Punishments, how much more or less hath been awarded, than the Sufferer really deserv'd? For this is almost the constant daily Failure, even where Justice is administred with the cleanest Hands, and most unblemish'd Integrity of Heart. Justice indeed perplexes and hinders it self; and the greatest and most acute Understanding cannot penetrate into the bottom of Things. To see, and make Provision against all Inconveniencies, requires Abilities and Providence more than Human.

But, that we may not be thought to complain without cause, and shelter our selves in Generals, I will now give an Instance, and that a very considerable one, wherein *Distributive Justice* seems to me to fall exceeding short: And that is, in inflicting Punishments when Men do amiss, but not providing any Rewards to distinguish those that do well; and that too, notwithstanding the dispensing of these two, are the two great Branches, and, as it were, the two Hands of Justice; and yet, as this is commonly exercis'd in Courts of Judicature, Justice is maim'd and crippled, and inclines altogether to the punishing side. The greatest Favour we can hope to receive from this lame Goddess, is Indemnity, and a Manifestation of our own Innocence: And this alas! is short Commons; a poor Allowance for those to subsist upon, who have signaliz'd themselves by eminent and difficult Virtues. But this, as bad as it is, is not the worst of the Matter; for I will put you another Case that happens every Day. You shall be inform'd against, imprison'd, indicted wrongfully, and under these Calumnies suffer exceedingly, in your Person, your Purse, your Reputation; you are brought to Tryal, and acquitted; this you will say makes some, tho' but some Amends neither, to your Credit: Your Innocence is proclaim'd to all the World: And what now is the Fruit of all this Suffering and Expence? Why you escape the Severity of the Law: A goodly Satisfaction indeed! a Man is not punish'd that never deserv'd it. But where is the Reparation for all the Trouble and Charge you have been at? For this will stick by you, and can never be wip'd off, tho' the Suspicion, and Scandal, and all the Dirt that a false Accuser bespatter'd you with, may. The Plaintiff or Informer in the mean while, if he can but bring the least Colour of probability for what he depos'd against you, comes off clear; and a very easie thing it is, to make any thing look so suspicious, as shall suffice to prevent the recovering of Damages upon him: So very niggardly, so shamefully miserable is Justice in the Matter of Rewards, and gratifying Men for having deserv'd well; and so entirely addicted to Punishment. Inso-much, that now the Word is brought to signifie that by way of Eminence, and doing Justice, or being obnoxious to Justice, is constantly understood in the rigorous Sense, as if Justice had nothing else to do, but to scourge, and take Men off. And any Man, whose Disposition is litigious, and his Malice and Conscience wicked enough to put him upon it, may very

Ch. 6. *Of Justice, as it regards One's Self.*

193

very easily give his Neighbours a great deal of Trouble and Charge, and without any danger to himself, run them into such Difficulties, as will not be possible to get quit of again, without considerable Detriment and Disquiet.

Now if we would consider Justice as to the several parts of our Duty, and the Objects in which they terminate; these are principally Three. For every Man is, by virtue of his Nature and Condition, a Debtor to God, to Himself, and to his Neighbour: So that one of his Creditors is above him; another is upon the level with him; and the Third is Creditor and Debtor both in one Person. The Duty to God is but another Phrase for Piety and Religion; so that this Head of Justice hath been largely insisted upon already, in the Second Part of this Treatise. And therefore, without troubling the Reader any more upon that Subject, I shall betake my self to the other Two yet behind; the Duty to our Selves, and that to our Neighbour.

C H A P. VI.

Of Justice, as that regards a Man's Duty to Himself.

THis indeed is scatter'd throughout this whole Work, and every Chapter is full of it. For what else is the Design of the first Book, which attempts to bring Men thoroughly acquainted with themselves, and the Condition of Human Life? What else does the Second drive at in teaching Men Wisdom, and laying down general Rules for their attaining to it? What, Lastly, makes up this Third Book, but especially that part of it which treats of Fortitude and Temperance, which are both of them Virtues, that have a more direct tendency, and immediate Relation to this Matter? So that any thing industriously apply'd to this Topick in particular, might perhaps be well enough spared. But however, I will here lay down some Directions, and give the Matter an express and solemn Consideration, in the most compendious Method that conveniently I can.

1. The first Advice I shall give upon this Occasion, and that which in truth is the Foundation of all the rest, is, That Men would bethink themselves, and take up a Resolution not to live *Extempore*, and at Random, from Hand to Mouth, and without any Reflection of what they are, what will become of them, and why they are here; and yet, as
extra-

extravagant as all this may seem at first hearing, the greatest part of Mankind by far are guilty of it. They fool away their Time, and never live in good earnest; but pass Day after Day, without one serious Thought, or troubling themselves to look at all before them. They have no Relish, no Enjoyment of Life; nor make any other use of it, but only to employ it in unnecessary Trifles, and Things by the by. Their mighty Projects, and busie Cares are rather a Hindrance and Perplexity, than any Furtherance to the great Ends of Living: Such Men do every thing in earnest, but live. All their Actions, and the little broken Parcels of Life, are grave and full of Attention; but the Bulk and Substance of Life goes off without any Regard or Consideration at all. This is like a Self-evident Principle, or a Truth taken for granted in Speculation; upon which they never bestow a Second Thought. That which is Accidental and Insignificant is made their principal Care; and that which ought to be their main Business, neglected, as if it were only an additional and unnecessary thing. They are exceeding diligent, and importunately solicitous in other Matters; some in acquiring a vast compass of Learning; some in aspiring to Honours and Preferments; some in heaping up Riches: Others are intent upon Pleasures and Diversions; Hunting, or Play, or vain Contrivances to pass away their Time, as if this were a Burden, and hung upon their Hands: Others are taken up in useless Speculations, fanciful Notions, pretty Inventions: Other set up for Men of Business, and spend all their Days in Hurry and Noise: Others pursue Designs different from all these: But amidst this vast Variety of Follies, few or none apply themselves to the true Wisdom, by studying how to live indeed. They are thoughtful and anxious, entirely given up to, and eager of many Matters; but Life slips through their Fingers insensibly, and is turn'd to no Account. This is only in the Nature of a Term; a set Period of Time appointed to follow other Business in. Now all this is extremely injurious and unreasonable; the Source of our greatest Misery; the falsest and basest way of betraying our selves, and abandoning our true Interest: It is perfectly losing and throwing away our Life, and the most perfidious, as well as the most fatal Breach of Duty we can possibly be guilty of. For certainly every Man owes thus much to himself, not to trifle, and be wanting in his greatest Concern; to make Life as easie, as chearful, as desirable, and good to himself as he can; which

Ch. 6. Of Justice, as it regards One's Self.

155

which is to be done no other way, but by making the most of it in point of Usefulness, and good Management. For living well and advisedly is the only Expedient in order to dying so; and this is the great Task incumbent upon all Mortals. We ought to look upon Life as a Matter of the last Consequence; a precious Talent; an important Trust, of which we must render a strict and very particular Account; and therefore are bound to husband it thriftily, and improve it to the utmost of our Power; that we may be found faithful in our Stewardship, and gain by the Increase. This is our great Concern; all the rest are Toys and Jew-gaws in comparison; inconsiderable, and very superficial Advantages. I cannot deny indeed, but some there are, who bestow some Thought of this kind, and pretend to set about it with marvellous Application: But then this Thoughtfulness comes too late, and they begin to live when they are just going to die. Like foolish Chapmen, who put off their Bargains till the Shops are shut, and then complain of an ill Market. What, say they, shall I never get an Opportunity of retreating from the World, and living to some Purpose? Alas! ** How unseasonable it is to begin to live, when we can live no longer! What strange Infatuation makes us thus forget, that we are Mortal! While we put off to a farther Day, and intend to take up hereafter; that very Life which should have been employ'd, is lost and gone.* So good reason had all the Wise Men of Old to call upon us so often and so loudly, to make the best of our Time, and lose no Opportunities; so just is that Warning, that of all the Necessaries of Life, Time is the greatest, the most indispensable; what they who want, and are prodigal of, undo themselves to all Intents and Purposes. The shortness of Life, and the length of Art, is not more properly apply'd to the Study of Physick, and the Art of Healing, than it is to the Art of Living. For this is an Art too, and such as cannot be master'd without long Study, and great Application of Mind. This is the true, the only Wisdom; and therefore this present Direction is the first and most concerning; those that follow are but so many Deductions from, and Helps to it.

2. The next is, That we would learn to dwell alone; to be easie when by our selves; and, if Occasion so require,

** Quam serum est incipere vivere, cum desinendum est! quam stulta mortalitatis oblivio! Dum differtur vita transcurrit.*

well

well content to be deprived of the Company, and Comfort of all the World. It is an extraordinary Attainment, to know how to enjoy one's self; and a Virtue as well as Advantage to take Satisfaction and perfect Content in that Enjoyment. Let us therefore set about it in good earnest, and never rest till we have gain'd this Point upon our selves; the conquering of all our Fondnesses, and uneasie Hankerings after the Conversation of others; and the taking Delight in conversing with our own Souls; that so our Contentment may depend upon our selves alone, and not upon other People, nor upon any thing without us. But, though we should not seek Conversation as our Happiness, and what we cannot want; yet must not this Self-satisfaction degenerate into a cynical Moroseness, or a proud affected Solitude. It is a Fault to refuse, or to disdain the Company of our Friends; This is what we ought not only to accept, but to be glad of, and good humoured in; allowing and practising all those Diversions, which pleasant Discourse, and innocent Mirth are able to give us. My Meaning is only to keep Men from being Slaves to those Diversions, and unable to relish any Pleasure without them; and such are a great part of the World, almost quite lost, and sadly to seek, what to do with themselves, when they are alone. Now every Man ought to be sufficiently provided at Home for his own Entertainment; and he is very poorly supplied, who cannot subsist upon his private Stock for one Day at least. But the Man, who hath brought himself to do so every day, and needs be beholding to nobody for his Sustenance and Satisfaction of this kind, is sure to be always happy, always pleas'd. 'Tis true; In the midst of all this, he ought to be Civil and Complaisant; to put on an Air of Gaiety, or Business, comply with the Company, and do as they do; submit to the Necessity of Affairs, and when that calls; in a Word, it will be his Prudence to accommodate his Temper and Behaviour to any Thing that may happen; but howsoever those Considerations may alter his outward Appearance, and oblige him to make different Figures in the Eye of the World; to put on all Humours, and shift his Manner, as oft as the Scene changes; yet still at Home, and within himself he must be always the same. This is the Effect of Meditation, and serious Thought, which is indeed the Food, the Life, the Essence of the Soul. And it is a remarkable Instance, how kind Nature hath been to us, that we thus live upon, is the most frequent,

quent, the most lasting, the most easie and natural Employment of our Souls; for Thought is always with us, and most truly our own.

But, tho' all Men's Minds are employ'd, yet is not the Employment easie to all alike; nor the Matter they are employed upon, the same. In some, this Entertainment of themselves is meer Impotence and Childishness; the Doings of Idleness and Sloth, the want of Business, and meerly the Effect of having nothing else to do: But Great Souls make it their Choice, they court and covet the Opportunities for it, look upon it as their main Business, and most improving Study. And therefore they ply it close with their utmost Application, and Intenateness of Thought; their Faculties are all at Work, and, as was said of *Scipio*, they are never less alone, than when they are by themselves; never more full of Business than when retreated from the World, and sequestred from all that Men commonly call such. This, so far as Human Nature can aspire to the Resemblance of so bright an Excellence, is to imitate Almighty God; for He lives, and feeds upon the Reflections of his own Mind; and *Aristotle* guessed right, when he laid down this constant Employment as the Foundation of the Happiness, both of the Divine and Human Nature. For Self-sufficiency, and Self-satisfaction, are but other Words for Happiness; and These are never to be had, never to be tasted, but by learning to employ, and to entertain our selves well with our own Thoughts.

3. But then in order hereunto, great regard must be had to the Choice of fit Subjects for the Mind to dwell upon. For some People make so very ill Use of this solitary Retreat into themselves, that they are their own worst Tempters, and Company is their best Preservation. To the Intent therefore, that this Meditation may be an Employment indeed, and this Entertainment delightful; like His whose Image our Souls are, we must take Care not to trifle away our Time in vain Thoughts, and much more still, not to mispend it in Vice, The First is sure to do us no manner of Good, the Second a great deal of Harm. Some grave severe Study, some useful profound Knowledge, some Contrivance how to improve and exalt our Minds, and make our selves better Men, should be our great Employment and Concern. God hath given us Reason and Comprehension; and a large Possession, a Rich Soil it is; but the manuring, and cultivating, and making it fruitful, is our Duty; the principal

principal Task incumbent upon every Man ; what the Laws of Nature and Religion have covenanted for ; and what each of us must expect to give an Account of. It highly concerns us therefore to be serious and vigilant, to look narrowly into our selves ; and see how Matters stand with us ; to call in our Cares and Endeavours unprofitably spent abroad, and try to turn these to better Account, by laying them out upon Business more Important at Home. And when, upon Examination, we find, (as find we shall) that many things are out of Course, and go much amiss : Some through the Corruption of Vice ; Others from some defect of Nature ; a Third by Reason of the Infection we have taken from Ill Company ; a Fourth upon the Account of some Accident that disorders and confounds us ; when, I say, we shall thus perceive our several Failings, and the true Causes of them distinctly ; our next Endeavour must be, to go considerately to work ; correcting what was out of Order, providing against the like Inconveniencies, and cutting off the Occasions that draw us into Danger, for the time to come. A Man is by all means bound to bring himself to Reason, and tho' the Opposition made by unruly Appetites, and vicious Habits may be great, and the Difficulties very discouraging, yet Reformation is a Work that must be done. And therefore a Man ought to set about it with Resolution ; to bow the stubborn Neck of his Passions, whatever it cost him ; and not let all run to ruin, and lose himself by Cowardize, or Sloth, or a disdainful, unthinking Carelessness.

4. And indeed, above all things, a Man should beware of a sluggish sauntering way of Life ; for to do Nothing, is to do All ; the Soul gathers Rust, by lying Idle and out of Use ; and the Way to preserve our Minds as well as our Bodies in Health and Strength, is to keep them in Breath by constant Exercise, and Employment. And here too, the Prescription holds, that the Exercise should not be too violent, and laborious. There is no Occasion for a constant Intensity of Thought ; but it ought to be wholesome and fit for them ; that our Thoughts should be Serious and Grave, Virtuous and Becoming. And if there be not enough of this kind laid ready to our Hands, we ought rather to cut out Work for our selves, than not be doing at all. And thus we may consult our own Genius ; and form such Designs as may give us Pleasure and Entertainment, as well as find us Business ; we may read good Books, confer with good Men ;
and

Ch. 6. Of Justice, as it regards One's Self. 159

and easily contrive to lay out our Time so regularly, and in Method ; as never to be in a Hurry, never at a Loss what to do next, or how to dispose of our selves to very good Advantage.

5. Another good Direction will be, to manage all Occurrences so prudently, that all that offers, all that is done, or said may turn to Account ; To learn somewhat from every Company we come into, from every Action and Accident to take some warning, lay down some Rule, make some Application, and bring the Matter home to our selves, and all this in a way so silent, that no body shall perceive it. For all the Attempts of this kind prove nauseous and offensive, if we suffer them once to be corrupted with Noise, and Vanity, and Affectation.

6. But to be a little more particular. We cannot but be sensible, that as a Man hath Three things to take care of, as either Essential Parts of, or necessary Appendages to his Person ; so the Duty, which every one is obliged to himself in, is the regulating and wise Management of his Mind, his Body, and his Goods. As for the Mind, (which is the First and Principal, and for the Use and Benefit whereof those general Rules already laid down, are after a more peculiar manner calculated) All it's Operations, we know, may be reduced to these Two, Cogitation, and Volition ; consequently the two great Faculties to be cultivated, are the Understanding and the Will ; and the Fruits to be reaped from our Care and Pains, the Ornaments and Excellencies of the Soul are, Knowledge and Virtue. As to the former of these, the Understanding ; there are two vicious Extreams, and in some Sense indeed Contraries to each other, from which we should use all possible Care to preserve it untainted. The first of these is Folly ; by which I understand all sorts of Vanity, empty and insignificant Imaginations, Fopperies and Trifles, such as are excusable only in Children, but unworthy the Character, and far beneath the Dignity of a Man ; For this Noble Creature was not made to play the Fool ; * Jest and Sport may be his Recreation, but he is qualify'd and design'd for greater Things. Seriousness and severe Thought is his Business, and Matter of Weight and Importance expected from him. In the other part of my Division, I likewise include all fantastical, absurd, and extravagant Opinions ; vulgar Errors, and unrea-

* Non ad jocum & lusum genitus, sed ad severitatem potius.
sonable

sonable Prejudices. For as Vanity debases the Soul, damps it's Vigour, adulterates and basterdizes its genuine Greatness; so Prepossession and rash Mistakes, pollute and dishonour, and leave an Eternal Blemish upon it. We must therefore feed and cherish this Noble Creature, with Entertainment suitable to its generous Appetite and Nature; that is, with serious, substantial Studies, such as may be serviceable, and turn to some Account; we must tincture and soak it well (if I may so say) in Sound, agreeable Notions, such as are conformable to the Dictates of pure Nature, and right Reason; and our Care should be not so much to exalt, and refine, and fly it high; to render it Vigorous and Strong, Acute and Nice; as to regulate and methodize it, that all its Reasonings may be itanch; its Conclusions true, its Motions orderly, and its Dispositions virtuous: For the doing Things Pertinently and Properly, in due Method, and Time, and Measure, is the Effect of Wisdom, and that which makes the Soul and its Attainments truly valuable. And here again great Care must be taken to keep our selves from Pertness and Self-conceit, Positiveness and Presumption; all which are Vices exceeding common among Men of acute Parts, and a lively strong Mind. It would be much wiser to put a Check upon our Forwardness; to proceed slowly and deliberately; to be content to live in Doubt, and suspend our Judgment, and confess our Ignorance, in such Matters especially, as are controverted, and commonly opposed; where Reason is confronted with Reason, and Authority with Authority; and these two so plausible, so strong on both Sides, that they ask Time and Skill to consider and digest them thoroughly. Nor is this a mean Accomplishment, or below the Character of the Person I pretend to Instruct. For, let my Reader be well assured; it is a great Thing and a very valuable Quality, to know how to be Ignorant with Modesty and Decency; and keeping ones self in Doubt and Suspence is the surest and safest Way to true Knowledge. This is what the most celebrated Philosophers always pretended to do; and indeed it is one of the fairest and most generous Fruits of Learning and a well disciplined Mind.

7. As for the Will; This must be brought under Government, and made to submit it self in every Thing to the Directions of Right Reason. And the reducing it thus to Subjection is the Office of Virtue, which tames and subdues it, and inclines its Ear to this wise Guide, by drawing off its

At-

Ch. 6. *Of Justice, as it regards One's Self.* 161

Attention and Inclination from the Seducements of vain, fickle, and commonly false Opinions, and by delivering it from the Tyranny of Passion. For these are the Three Principles, some of which always push on our Souls to Action, and preside over them in it ; but They, who are under either of the latter, are lost and miserable to the last Degree. For, do but observe the mighty Difference betwixt them. The wise Man maintains his Post ; and hearkens to the true Word of Command ; the Dictates of his Mind, which are agreeable to Nature and Reason ; he keeps his Eye constantly upon his Duty, and regards not what he is dispos'd to by his Frailties and Corruptions, but what by the Law he is oblig'd to do. Whatever common Opinion would persuade him to, he always suspects for spurious ; whatever Passion would prompt him to, he certainly rejects and condemns. And the Effect of this is, that he lives at Ease and Quiet, finds Peace always within, goes on smoothly, and without disturbance ; is never driven to any necessity of altering his Measures, or acting in contradiction to himself, or repenting of what he had done ; for, let the Event be what it will, yet his Methods were right and proper ; he chose the best, and made the most of his present Circumstances. And then, another Advantage he gains too, which is, to do nothing with Heat and Violence ; for Reason is a Cool and Calm Principle. Whereas, on the other hand, the foolish Man who gives himself up to the other Two, is exorbitant and uncertain ; all his Motions are excentrick and wild ; he is in perpetual Confusion, at War with himself, and hath no Ease, no Satisfaction. He is doing and undoing, taking new Measures, beginning again, repenting and condemning what is past, unsteady in all his Resolutions, and dissatisfy'd with his own Choice. For indeed none but the Wise Man can ever be fix'd and contented ; and all other Principles but Reason and Virtue are too feeble, too fickle to settle or to satiate us. * *When This composes us to Rests, we may expect it shall be sweet and refreshing.* A good Man will always have regard to, and stand in awe of his own Conscience ; which is in reality what the Heathens use to call his good Genius or Angel ; and the Reverence he bears to This, will make him careful not to step awry, and ashamed of misbehaving himself in its Presence. And the true Rea-

* Nulla placidior Quies nisi quam Ratio composuit.

son why the World is no better, is, that † *so very few People pay that Respect which is due to themselves.*

8. The Body comes next to be consider'd; and to This we owe our Assistance and good Management. 'Tis a vain and ridiculous Attempt, to separate these two principal parts of our Persons, and pretend to lay out all our Care and Tenderness upon the one, to the Prejudice and Defrauding of its Fellow: On the contrary, a good Understanding, and mutual Kindness ought to be maintain'd between them; that by reciprocal Offices they may be still more closely ally'd more intimately join'd. Nature hath bestow'd a Body upon us, as our necessary Receptacle and Instrument of Life; and therefore the Soul, which is the Principal, ought to take the Guardianship and Protection of it. It must not enslave it self to the Body, 'tis true, for this were to draw the basest, most unjust, most dishonourable and reproachful of all Servitudes upon its own Head; but it is bound to succour, to direct, to advise, and to perform the part of an affectionate Husband, to this Flesh which Providence hath married it to. Care and Love is its due, tho' Submission be not; and the Soul should give it the Treatment of a Master, not the imperious and arbitrary usage of a Tyrant; it must cherish, but not cram it; and shew, that if it does not live for the Body, yet it cannot live here without the Body. One great part of the Artificers Excellence, is to be expert and dextrous in using the Tools that belong to his Trade: And it is no less Advantage, that a Wise Man finds in knowing how his Body ought to be used, and employing it as an Instrument excellently fitted for the Exercise and Promotion of Virtue. Now the way to preserve the Body in a good Condition, and in keeping it fit for Service, is by moderate Diet, and regular Exercise. What share the Mind ought to have in the Pleasures and Gratifications of Sense, and how far it is allow'd to bear the Body Company in them; hath been already shew'd in part, and will be explain'd more largely and particularly hereafter, when we come to treat of the Virtue of Temperance.

9. The last Branch of this Consideration concerns the Goods or Estate; and for the adjusting exactly what are the Duties of each particular Person in this respect, we shall do well to observe, that there are several Offices and Arts relating to this Matter. There is a Gathering or Increa-

† Rarum est, ut satis se quisque vereatur.

Ch. 6. *Of Justice, as it regards One's Self.* 163

fining part, the Keeping or Saving, the Managing, the Expending, the Trafficking, and Turning the Penny. For these are in a manner so many distinct Sciences; A Man may be very knowing, and a perfect Master in one, and yet altogether ignorant and unexperient'd in the rest of them. The Getting part seems to be more difficult and intricate, and to consist of more several parts than any of the others. The Expending part is that which brings most Honour and Reputation. The Saving and Managing part is the proper Province of the Mistress of a Family; and this is but a dull Business, obscure and mean in common Esteem, by reason the Methods and the Fruits of it are not so visible as the rest; but yet so necessary, that this is the Defence and Security of all, and, ordinarily speaking, our other Cares are to very little purpose without it.

There are two Extrems in this Case, both equally vicious and blameable; The one is the Fondness and inordinate Love of Riches; the other Hating and Refusing them. By Riches, at present I understand, all that Wealth, which is the Overplus of what Necessity and the Competency according to our Quality require to be supply'd with. Now a Wise Man will run into neither of these; but proportions his Desires according to that Prayer of *Solomon*, *Give me neither Prov. xxx, Poverty nor Riches; feed me with Food convenient for me.* He will do them Justice, and allow them their proper place in his Esteem, looking upon them as they really are, a Thing indifferent in its own Nature; the Occasion and Ground of either Good or Evil, according as they fall into Good or ill Hands; but capable of being made use of to many excellent Purposes: And this is all the Value they can fairly challenge from us.

The Miseries and Mischiefs which attend the immoderate Love of Riches, and the peevish and humourous Hatred of them, have been spoken to in the former parts of this Treatise. And therefore all I have now left me to do is, to lay down that Golden Rule, which consists in the Mean between these two Extrems; and that I think will be done in these Five Particulars.

First, It consists in preferring and being pleas'd with them, but not setting our Affections upon them. Thus the Philosopher describes his Wise Man, * *One that is not fond of Riches, but yet had rather have them than not.* A Man may be

* *Sapiens non amat divitias, sed mavult.*

sensible of the Convenience of a Thing, and know how to value it as it deserves, without placing his Heart, and his Happiness in it. Thus, for Instance, a Person of low Stature, and weak Limbs, would be glad and well pleas'd to be taller and better built; and yet it never breaks his Rest, nor makes him reflect upon himself as miserable, for not being so. He that seeks what Nature desires, without Passion and Uneasiness, puts himself out of the Power of Fortune; and he that is content with what Fortune cannot take away from him, is the Man agreeable to this first part of the Character.

But *Secondly*, If Passion and Anxiety be a Fault even in those who seek to enrich themselves by fair and honest Means only, much less can we be allow'd to endeavour our own Profit by the Loss and Detriment of others. For this is to feed and grow fat at their Expence. No, nor yet may we pursue Riches by base, and pitiful and sordid Arts; but should take care that all our Increase be so honourable and becoming, that no Man shall have any Temptation but his own Wickedness and Ill-nature, to complain of our Proceedings, or grudge us our good Fortune, or once to say, That it is pity such Blessings should be bestowed upon us.

Thirdly, When the good Providence of God puts these Opportunities and Advantages into our Hands, and Wealth comes in upon us in an honest and creditable Way, we are not to reject and disdain it; but receive it with Thankfulness and Satisfaction, and let it in, but not let it in too far. Riches should be admitted into our Houses, but not into our Hearts; we may take them into our Possession, but not into our Affections. For this is going too deep, and doing them an Honour, much greater than they can ever deserve.

Fourthly, When we have them, we should employ them honourably, virtuously, discreetly; and convert them into Instruments of doing good Offices, and being obliging to others. That the manner of their Going out may be at least as innocent, and as creditable, as that of their Coming in.

Lastly, Whenever they take their Flight, and forsake us; we are not to be dejected, nor melancholy at the Loss; but should consider, that tho' they took themselves away, they did not deprive us of any thing which was properly and truly our own. And therefore, * *If they give us the slip, there is no Robbery or Wrong in the Case*; for we had no indefeasible Right in them before. In one Word, that Man ill deserves the Love and and Favour of God, and ought to

* *Si Divitiæ effluxerint non auferent nisi semetipsas,*

quit

quit all his Pretensions to Virtue, and Philosophy, and Religion, who cannot support himself with these Comforts, but allows the Enjoyments of this World, the principal Place in his Esteem.

† *Dare to be Poor, accept of homely Food,
Be more than Man, and emulate a God.* Mr. Dryden.

*Of Justice between Man and Man : Or, The Duty
towards our Neighbour.*

ADVERTISEMENT.

THIS Duty is very comprehensive, and shoots out into a great many Branches; For the convenience of treating it more methodically, we will make our first Division into two general Parts. The First of these shall contain all such Duties as are Common and Universal, requir'd from All and every Man, to All and every Man : And that, whether they regard Thought, Word, or Deed : And these are Love, Fidelity, Truth, Freedom in Advising and Admonishing, Beneficence, Humanity, Liberality, and Gratitude. The Second extends it self to all special Duties ; such I mean, as depend upon particular Reasons, and express Obligations ; which concern some certain Persons and Relations, and not others : As those between Husband and Wife, Parents and Children, Masters and Servants, Princes and Subjects, Magistrates and Private Persons, the Great and the Mean Man.

C H A P. VII.

*The First Part of Justice ; or those Universal Duties, due from
All to All in Common. And first of Love.*

LOVE is a Pure, a Holy, and a Generous Fire, kindled ^{r.} in our Breasts by Nature ; Its Primitive and Original ^{What it is.} Warmths were first discern'd in the mutual Affection of Husband and Wife, Parents and Children, Brothers and Sisters : But then, cooling by degrees as it dilated it self, Art and Human Invention found means to blow it up again, and supply fresh Fuel by the Institution of Alliances, Societies, Fraternities, Colleges, and other Incorporations by which the parts of Mankind are cemented and united. Now in regard that these Artificial Flames underwent the same Fate

† *Aude Holpes contemnere opes, & Te quoque dignum—
Pinge Deo,* L 3 *with*

with those Natural ; and burnt more feeble and dim, as they were expanded and subdivided ; as also, that their Heat is much allay'd, by the Mixture of Profit, Convenience, Delight, and such other Selfish Considerations ; therefore to cherish and recruit this Fire again, Choice hath contriv'd to unite its scatter'd Forces, and contract them into the narrowest compass that can be, by the ferventest and tenderest of all Affections, that between true Friends. And this indeed is Love in Perfection ; as much more ardent, and endearing, and refin'd than any other, as the Vital Heat in the Heart is more intense than that of the Liver, or the Blood in the Veins.

2.

Love is the very Life and Soul of the World ; more necessary to its Subsistence and Well-being (say the Philosophers) than those two Servants which we cannot want, Fire and Water. The *Latins* therefore have given a good Intimation of this, in terming Friendship *Neceffitudo*, and Friends *Neceffarii* : This is the Sun, the Staff, the Salt of Life ; all is dark and comfortless without the Light of this cheering Fire ; all feeble and tottering without this firm Support ; all flat and insipid, till this Seasons, and gives a graceful Relish. To this purpose that Wise Man, * *A Faithful Friend is a strong Defence, the Medicine of Life ; and He that findeth him, findeth a great Treasure.*

Ecclef. vi.
14, 16.

3.
Its Usefulness.

Nor may we suppose this Virtue serviceable and necessary to private Persons only ; or that the Pleasures and Charms of it are confin'd to small Numbers, and secret Retirements ; Its Joys and its Beauties are equally, nay more ravishing and delightful, more useful and seasonable to larger Bodies, and publick Communities of Men. For this is the true Mother, the Bearer and Breeder up of Human Society ; and all States and Politick Constitutions are maintain'd and preserv'd by virtue of her Influence. None but Tyrants and Monsters are jealous of, or have a dislike to it ; not but that even they adore this Virtue in their Hearts, and have a secret Esteem for it ; but because they themselves cannot come within the Verge and Benefit of it therefore they bid it open Defiance. Love is powerful enough of it self to keep the World in order, without the Addition of any other Helps : And were it suffer'd to have free Course, and operate every where with its utmost Vigour, the necessity of all Laws would be quite superseded. For Laws were only a Refuge taken in to help at a dead Lift, and as the best Remedy that could then be found, to supply the Defect and

Decays

Decays of Love; and the very End and Aim of these, is to bring Men by Authority and Compulsion, to do That almost whether they will or no, which they ought to have done freely and out of Inclination, upon a Principle of Kindness. But still Laws fall far short of This, in Point of Efficacy and Extent: For these can only take cognizance of Overt-Acts, and pretend not to restrain or make Provision against any other: Whereas Love goes to the Bottom, regulates the Heart as well as the Tongue and the Hands; purifies the Will and directs its Operations; thus sweetning the very Spring, whence all our Actions flow. Upon this Account *Aristotle* seems to have said, That Wise and Good Lawgivers have a greater regard to Love, than to Justice. And because in this wretched Degeneracy of Mankind, both the one and the other of these are but too often slighted and defeated, therefore a Third Remedy hath been thought of, but that still less effectual in its Operations, and less valuable in it self, than either of the Former; which is Force of Arms; than which nothing can be more directly contrary to that first Principle of Love. And thus you have a short Scheme laid before you of Politick Institutions and Government; and by what Steps they grew, or rather indeed fell and sunk down into that Condition we now see them in. But still the first and single Principle of Amity is worth All, incomparably above all the rest; as indeed it usually happens in other Cases, that the Second and Subsidiary Remedies never come up to the First and Principal; for these are the Effects of Choice, and taken for their own Sakes; but Those the last Shifts of necessitated Men, who in their Extremity lay hold on any thing that comes next, and must be content to take what they can get.

There is, it must be confest, great Ambiguity in this Term of Love, and many Distinctions have accordingly been made, which were but needful to give Us a true Idea of the Variety of Passions proceeding from it. The Ancients were wont to divide it into Four sorts, Natural, Social, Hospitable, and Venereal. But this Division, so far as I can apprehend, does not do the Business; and therefore we will try another Method, and distinguish it these Three following ways.

First, with regard to the Causes that create it; and they are Four. Nature, Virtue, Profit, and Pleasure; and these sometimes advance all together in a Body; sometimes Two or Three of them; and very often One of them appears

single. But of all these, Virtue is the noblest Cause, and the most powerful ; for this is pure and refin'd, and hath it's Residence in the Heart, the Seat of Love it self. Nature runs in the Blood, Profit lies in the Purse, and Pleasure is confin'd to some particular Part, and works but upon the Senses of the Body, except at a distance, and by Reflection only. Accordingly Virtue is more free, and open, and pure, and firm in its Affection ; for all the other Causes, when destitute of this, are sordid and mean, fickle and of short Continuance. He that loves upon the Account of Virtue, can never be weary, because there are always fresh Charms to attract and entertain him ; and if such a Friendship happen to break off, he hath no reason to complain, because the Breach could not have been, if all that was worth his Love had not fail'd. He that Loves for Profit, if a Breach happen there, is full of immoderate Complaints ; but exposed to very just Reproach, for having spared no Pains, and yet gaining nothing by all his Trouble. He that Loves for Pleasure, when the Satisfaction ceases, the Passion ceases too ; and he takes leave of the Object, without murmuring or complaint.

5.
*The Per-
sons.*

The Second Distinction relates to the Parties concern'd in this Affection ; and of these there are Three sorts remarkable. One proceeds in a direct Line between Superiours and Inferiours ; and this descending Line is either Natural, as between Parents and Children, Uncles and Nephews ; or Legal and Political, as between a Prince and his Subjects, a Lord and his Vassals, a Master and his Servants, a Tutor and his Pupil ; a Prelate, or Preacher, or Magistrate, and the People under his Care. Now, if one would speak properly, and go to the Nicety of the thing, this is not true Love ; by reason of the Distance and great Disparity between the Circumstances of the Parties, which hinders that Easiness and Privacy, that Familiarity and entire Communication, which is the Principal Fruit and Consequence of Love ; as also, upon the Account of that Obligation there lies upon them, which leaves such Persons very little at their own Disposal in this Matter, and so takes off from that Freedom suppos'd in this Virtue, making the Affection rather an Effect of Duty and Necessity, than of Choice. And in consideration of this it is, that we call it by other Names more suitable to those Engagements. Thus Inferiours, we say, owe Honour and Respect, and Obedience to those above them ; and Superiours owe Care, and Protection, and Vigilance, and kind Condescension to those beneath them.

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The Second sort of Love, with regard to the Parties, proceeds in a Collateral Line; and this is between such as are either almost or altogether Equals. This again is Twofold, either Natural, or Voluntary. The Natural first, as between Brothers, Sisters, Cousins, and the like; which is more properly call'd Love than the Former, because there is less Disparity in their Condition, and so more room for Familiarity and free Converse; But then here is an Obligation from Nature too, and that such a one that loosens or slackens that Knot in one respect, which it ties and binds us by in another. For many Quarrels and Misunderstandings commonly arise between these Relations, upon the Account of Portion, Inheritance, and that variety of Business and Interests, wherein they are mutually concern'd. Besides, that very frequently there wants that Similitude and exact Agreement of Humours and Inclinations, which is the very Life and Essence of true and entire Affection. *I must confess he is an ill Man, or a Fool, but he is my Brother, or my Relation,* are Complaints exceeding common in the Mouths of such Persons: But then there is likewise a free and voluntary Love between Equals, such as that of intimate Acquaintance, and Friends; which hath no other Band of Union but Affection only; and this is what in the strict and proper Signification of the Word, we call *Amity* or *Love*.

The Third sort, with respect to the Persons concern'd, is a Mixture and Compound of the two Former; from whence it follows, that each Ingredient having its due Force, this Composition ought to be much stronger than either of the other can possibly be alone. And such is the Conjugal Affection between Husband and Wife. This hath somewhat of the direct and descending Line, by reason of the Superiority of the Husband, and the Subjection of the Wife; and it hath a great deal of the Collateral Line too, upon the account that this is a Society instituted for Familiarity and mutual Comfort. An Imitation whereof Almighty God himself seems to have given us, in the first Creation of Woman, by taking her out of the Substance of Man, yet not out of his Head, nor his Feet, but his Side. And thus married Persons do, and are oblig'd to exercise these two sorts of Affection in their Behaviour to each other; but each of them so, as may be most seasonable and becoming. In Publick, the Duties of the direct Line take place; for a Wise Woman will always be sure to treat her Husband before Company with Submission and Respect; but in private and alone, the Familiar-

Familiarities of the Collateral Line, and all imaginable Freedoms are to be practis'd. This Conjugal Affection is likewise twofold; and of a compounded Nature in another Respect. For it is both Spiritual and Corporeal; an Union of Bodies as well as Souls; which is a Qualification peculiar to this alone, and such as no other kind of Love can pretend to, except that which is abusively and most injuriously styl'd so, and such as not only all wholsom Laws, but even Reason and Nature it self have always disallow'd and condemn'd. Upon these several Accounts then this Affection of a married State is fitted to be exceeding great and strong, powerful and endearing. But yet there are two or three Rubs in the way, that check and cool it, and very seldom suffer it to rise up to all the Perfections of a just Friendship. One is, That no part here is left to their own Liberty, but the first Entrance upon it. When once they are in, they must make their best on't, for there is no getting out again. The persisting and continuance in this Society is irreversibly bound upon them; and this Constraint is the universal Condition of all the best and most Religious, that is of all Christian Marriages; For in other Persuasions Men are left more to their Liberty, by the allowing Divorces, final Separations, and Nullities of this Obligation. Another (if the Ladies will give us leave to say so) is the Weakness of the Sex; whose Strength of Mind is not sufficient to keep up, and hold pace in a perfect Conference, and unreserv'd Communication of all a Man's Thoughts; and the Contemplations of a penetrating judicious Mind. So that here is quite another Turn of Soul; it wants Substance and Solidity to keep the Knot tight; and this Conjunction is like the fastening of one thing which is stubborn and inflexible, to another that is slender, and limber, and yielding; which, for want of Strength to bear up against it, buckles under, and slips away from it. A Third Impediment to that entire Affection in a Conjugal State, may be imputed to the great Intricacy of Business that attends it; the Children, the Relations on both sides; and a great many other Uneasinesses and Perplexities, which, tho' but an Accidental Inconvenience, and not constant and unavoidable, as the two former are, yet is frequent and considerable enough to deserve a Remark here, and too often disturbs the Happiness and Quiet, and cools the vigour of that Affection, which is the Blessing and Ornament of the State.

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The Third Distinction of Love concerns the Strength and Intensity, or the Weakness and Remissness of it. With regard to this Consideration it is again Twofold. One Common and Imperfect, which indeed ought rather to be term'd Benevolence or Well-wishing, Familiarity, particular Acquaintance: And this varies exceedingly, and may differ almost infinitely in the degrees of it, each of which may be more or less close, and intimate, and strong than other: The other is perfect; and this is a sort of *Phoenix*, few, if any one Instance of it to be seen in the World; so far from being practis'd by Mankind, that they can scarce form a tolerable Idea of it to themselves; or reach up to the Force and Excellencies of the thing, by all the Strength of mere Imagination.

For the clearer and more distinct Understanding of this Difference, it may be of some Service to us to give a Description of each, and to confront them with one another; as for Example:

1. The Common may be conciliated, and come to its utmost Pinch in a very little while; but long Time, and great Deliberation must go to the finishing a perfect Amity. Such Persons, according to the Proverb, must eat at least a Bushel of Salt together, before they can be qualify'd to contract an entire Friendship.

2. That which is Common may be contracted and carried on by an infinite variety of Accidents, which contribute to our Profit and Delight; whereupon a Wise Man prescribed these two Rules for the attaining to it; That a Man should be entertaining in his Discourse, and obliging and serviceable in his Actions; for if the one of these do but furnish our Pleasure, and the other promote the Interest of the Persons with whom we converse, all that a Common Friendship pretends to, is done effectually: But now, That which I call a Perfect Friendship is never built upon such mean Considerations. Nothing less than the Contemplation and mutual Experience of an unfeign'd and vigorous Virtue can be Foundation strong enough for so noble a Superstructure.

3. The Common Friendships may extend themselves to a great Number of Persons: But the true entire Friendship admits but of one Partner; and this is to all Intents and Purposes a Second Self: So that altho' the Persons are Two, yet their Hearts and Affections are one and the same. And the necessity of confining such Friendships to Two only, is very

very evident from the Nature of the thing. For to suppose more, destroys the Notion, and obstructs all the Offices and Operations of it. For instance, To succour and assist a Friend in his Distress, is an indispensable Obligation; but if we put the Case of Two such standing in need of our Help at the same time; and not only so, but desiring Kindnesses which are inconsistent and contrary to one another, which way shall I turn my self; or how can I discharge my Obligations, when one of these is favour'd and reliev'd to the Prejudice and Neglect of the other? Again, My Friend imparts a Secret to me, What Distraction is here? If I reveal it, This is a Breach of Trust and Friendship, which obliges me to be Faithful in keeping what is thus deposited with me: But then, if I do not communicate it to my other Friend, this is Unfaithfulness too; for it is another Law of true and entire Friendship, to unbosom themselves freely, and to have no Reserves from each other. Thus you see the Confusion and Perplexity, the Impracticableness and utter Impossibility indeed of more Friends than one, in the highest and most genuine Acception of the Word. And, no doubt, Multiplication of Parts, and Division, is, generally speaking, an Enemy to Perfection, as Union is a natural and inseparable Property of it.

4. The Common Friendship admits of Diminution, and Increase; it is subject to Exceptions, Limitations, different Modifications and Forms; it grows warmer and colder; and comes and goes by Fits, like an intermitting Fever; according as the Person is absent or present; as his Merits are more or less; and the Kindness he does more or less frequent and engaging; and many other Considerations there are, capable of making an Alteration in our Affections of this kind. But now, That Friendship, which is perfect and entire, is much otherwise; firm and constant to it self, even and steady: Its Warmths are healthful, its Temper regular, and all its Motions vigorous and uniform.

5, The Common Friendship admits and stands in need of several Rules for its Direction; several wise Cautions contriv'd by considerate Persons for the regulating and restraining it, and preventing any future Inconveniences, which may happen to arise from Unwariness, and an unguarded Conversation. One of these is, To love our Friend so far as may be consistent with the Preservation of our Piety, and Truth, and Virtue. For even that old Expression of *Amicus usque ad Aras*, implies this Restriction. Another is to love

love him so, as if you were sure one Day to hate him ; and to hate a Man so, as if you were hereafter to love him ; that is, To be prudent and reserv'd in your Passions and Affections, and not abandon one's self so entirely, or be so violent in either Extreme, that a Man should have just occasion to repent, and condemn his former Behaviour, if, at any time hereafter there should happen to be a Breach, or any Coldness grow betwixt them. A Third is, to come into our Friend's Assistance of our own accord, and without being call'd. For it puts a Friend out of Countenance to demand his Right ; and he buys a Kindness dear, when forc'd to ask what he looks upon as his just Due, and that which he conceives he ought to be prevented in. Therefore these Obligations are never fully satisfy'd, except we be always ready and early in our Courtesies, and, if that be possible, beforehand with his very Wishes. A Fourth is not to be troublesome to our Friends, by entertaining them with dismal Stories of our own Misfortunes, and being always in the complaining Strain. Like Women, that make it their whole Business to move Pity, and are constantly magnifying their own Hardships and Sufferings. Now all these are very useful and seasonable Directions, fit to be observ'd in common Friendships : But in that more sublime and perfect one, there is no occasion at all for these ; this disdains all Forms, and is above the Pedantick Niceties of Ceremony and Reserve.

This is what we shall attain to a more just and distinct 8: Notion of, by giving the Reader a Draught and Description of Friendship in Perfection : Which is no other, in *Perfect Friendship*, short, than a free, full, and entire mingling of Souls through-*what* out, and in every part and point. To explain this now in Three Particulars. I say first, it must be a mingling and (if I may so express it) an Incorporating, and not a Conjunction of Souls only. For this gives us a Resemblance of Solid Bodies, which, how strongly and artificially soever they may be tack'd together in one part, yet do not touch in all ; and not only so, but that very Ligament which joins them together, may be dissolv'd, or cut asunder, and each of these Bodies may subsist, and remain, and feel it self entire, after Separation. But now in these perfect Friendships, the Souls of Men are entirely absorpt in each other ; so confounded, as never to be distinguish'd, never to be parted again ; like Liquors well mix'd, which can never be drawn off from each other. And that is the perfect, the universal

versal Communion of Minds, that entire Agreement of Judgments and Inclinations which I rather chose to express mingling of Souls, as a Phrase that gives us a stronger Idea of this Union, than any Resemblance taken from Solids could possibly do. Secondly, it is a free, and purely the Work of Choice, a generous and spontaneous Act of the Will, without any Obligation, or distant Inducement, foreign to the Worth and Agreeableness of the Parties. For nothing is more voluntary than Love; and so much of Constraint as you put upon it, so much you weaken the Affection, and take off from the true Nature and Commendation of the Virtue. Thirdly, it is universal, and without Exception; no Reservation of any thing, nothing that can be call'd ours in bar to our Friend's Title and Pretensions. Estates, Honours, Preferments, Judgments, Thoughts, Will, all laid open and in common; nay, even Life it self is what both have equal Right in. From this so universal and entire Communication it is, that those Maxims have taken place, of *Friendship finding or making all equal*; of *Friends having no Property*; and the like; such can no longer lend or borrow; they cannot give or receive; there is no such thing as Beneficence and Obligation, Acknowledgments or Returns, or any such Offices of Kindness or Gratitude practicable or in force for their Condition. These indeed are the Arts and Methods by which ordinary Friendships are cherish'd and maintain'd; but at the same time that they are Testimonies of Affection, they are Marks of Distinction too. Whereas, in this Case, it is as with one's own self; and as a Man cannot be oblig'd to himself for any Service done to his own Person, nor owe any Gratitude upon the account of that Kindness and Readiness to relieve his own Wants, which he feels in his own Breast, no more can one true Friend be indebted to another upon any the like Occasions. Nay, even Marriage, tho' it gives us the best, yet is even that but a distant and feeble Resemblance of the Divine Union we are now treating of. The Laws allow no such thing as distinct Properties, and Donations betwixt Man and Wife. And therefore in Friendship there could be any such thing as giving and receiving, the Benefactor would be that Person who made use of his Friend's Kindness, and so put it in his Power to do what became him. For the principal Design, and eagerest Wish of each Party, being to snatch every occasion of mutual Assistance and Benefit; he who furnishes the Opportunity, and gratifies this Desire, is properly the

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Donor. Since it is to his Bounty that the other owes his greatest Happiness; for such is the Satisfaction of compassing his Desires; and effecting that which is incomparably more pleasant and dear to him, than all the Advantages and Enjoyments in the World besides.

Some few Instances there are of this entire Friendship, and unreserv'd Communication of Souls in ancient Story: ^{9.} *Examples* When *Blossius* was apprehended, upon the Account of a mighty *of Friend-* Friendship known to be between him and *Tiberius Gracchus*, who was already under Sentence of Condemnation for Seditious Practices; upon Examination what he would have done for his Sake, he reply'd, that he would have stuck at nothing to do him Service. The Judges proceeded further, and asked, Whether if *Gracchus* had desir'd him to set the Temples on Fire, he would have comply'd with so Sacrilegious a Request: He answer'd again, That *Gracchus* was not capable of desiring so wicked a Proof of his Friendship; but upon supposition that he could, he should not have refused it. Now this was a very bold and dangerous Answer. The first part of it indeed, that *Gracchus* could not entertain a Thought so impious, was no more than he might well enough venture to say, because, according to the Account we have already given of this Matter, every Friend in perfection is not only fully acquainted with the Disposition, and all the Thoughts of his Friend, which sufficiently qualifies him to be responsible for them all; but he is absolute Master of them, and so can dispose of them, as much as of his own. But that last Clause of doing so if *Gracchus* had requir'd it, was idle and impertinent; for it does not in any degree take off from what he had affirm'd before, concerning his Assurance of *Gracchus* not entertaining any such Desire, nor making the thing one whit better or worse. Now this Instance shews us the perfect Harmony of Souls, with regard to the concurring Judgments and Inclinations of such Friends.

The Second Instance relates to their Fortunes. To which purpose we read of Three Friends, (This Number of Three I confess is a Contradiction to the Rules here propos'd, and tempts us to think that this Friendship, tho' very extraordinary, had not yet attained to all the Degrees of just a Perfection) but three however there were: Two of them in very plentiful, the other in as low Circumstances, who had a poor old Mother, and a young unmarried Daughter, both lying upon his Hands. The Person upon his Death-
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bed makes a Will, and bequeaths to one of his Friends his poor feeble Mother to maintain ; to the other his Daughter, with a Charge to see her as well match'd as possibly he could ; and in case either of these happen'd to fail, the whole Care of both was to devolve upon the other. A notable Legacy you'll say ; and so the World then thought it ; for every Body made themselves extremely merry with so odd a Bequest. But, while the World ridicul'd this unusual piece of Execut orship, the Heirs themselves took the Administration upon them with wonderful Satisfaction ; and each was greedy to get his Legacy into his possession. Within a very few Days after, the Legatee to whose share the Mother fell, happen'd to die too ; and then the surviving Coheir, succeeding into the whole Concern, took particular good Care of the Mother ; and, as soon as conveniently he could, enquired out convenient Matches for both, marry'd his own only Daughter, and that of his deceas'd Friend, upon one and the same Day, and divided his whole Estate equally between them. Now, according to this Case thus stated, as you see, it hath been the constant Opinion of the wisest Men, that he who dy'd first, gave greater Demonstrations of his Friendship, and was a more bountiful Benefactor, than either of the Survivors ; that he really bequeath'd them the most valuable Inheritance, by putting into their Hands such occasions of doing good ; and allowing them the Satisfaction of laying themselves out in his Service, as became their Character, and the Necessities of his own Family requir'd.

The third Example goes higher still, and reaches to Life itself. And here we may reflect upon that well known Story of two Friends. That a Tyrant had condemn'd one of them to die, and had appointed the Day and Hour of his Execution ; but he with great Importunity obtain'd Leave to go and take Care of his Affairs and Family, upon this Condition, that he should give Security, and find one to be bound Body for Body, for his surrendring himself again at the Time prefix'd ; and in case he fail'd, then his Bail to undergo the same Capital punishment, which had been awarded to his Principal. The Condition was readily accepted, and the Prisoner produces his Friend to be bound for him, who accordingly was imprison'd in the other's stead. The Day of Execution came, and this Bondsman prepar'd himself to die with all imaginable Chearfulness. But, as he was going about it, the Condemn'd Person came in, releas'd his Security,

city, and offer'd himself to the fatal Stroke. This strange Generosity made such Impression upon the Tyrant, that much out of Countenance, and full of Astonishment, he was conquer'd into Mercy; set them both at Liberty, and made it his Request, that these brave Men would accept of the Proffers he made of his Kindness and Affection, and do him the Honour to admit him into their Number, and reckon that they had now a Third sincere and generous Friend.

C H A P. VIII.

Mutual Faith, Fidelity; Perfidiousness, Secrecy.

ALL Mankind are highly sensible, and unanimously agreed, that Mutual Faith is the common Band and Cement, by which Human Society is held together, the very Bottom and Groundwork of all Justice; and even those perfidious Wretches, who are the most infamous in practice, and delight most in Falshood and Wrong, cannot but acknowledge the Excellence of this Virtue, and that it is of infinite consequence to have it strictly and religiously observ'd. T.
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Fidelity.
* *Nothing, says Tully, is more noble, nothing more venerable than Fidelity; for this is the Foundation of Justice; it knits Men to one another, and contributes as much as any one thing whatsoever, both to the Security of the Publick, and that of Private Persons. Faithfulness and Truth are the most Sacred, most reverend Excellencies and Endowments of a Human Mind.*

* *Eternal Truth, Sister and Twin to Jove,
Glory of Men below, and Gods above;
The vast expanded Globe's diffusive Soul,
By the fix'd Law, Sun, Stars, and Seas do roul.
Firm on thy Base, and knit in Sacred Band,
Peace, mutual Trust, and equal Justice stand.
In Man thy Native Light is shed abroad,
And every Breast is fill'd with a Domestick Good.*

* *Nihil augustius Fide. quæ Justitiæ Fundamentum est; nec ulla res vehementius Rempublicam continet & vitam. Sanctissimum humani pectoris Bonum.*

† *Ante Jovem generata, Decus Divûmque Hominumque;
Quâ sine non Tellus pacem, non æquora nôrunt;
Justitiæ Consors, tacitumque in pectore Numen.*

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2. And yet, notwithstanding this general Consent in the Speculative Part, Men differ extremely, and in Practice contradict themselves. For the World is full of Treachery and Falshood; and very few shall we be able to find who are truly and entirely true and just in their Dealings. Nay, even those who make a Conscience of being so, yet are frequently guilty of Breach of Faith, such as not only the World does not easily discover, but such as they themselves who commit it, are not sensible of. For if they can but fix upon any colourable Pretence to varnish over such an Action, and give it a tolerable good Face; they presently persuade themselves, that all is well, and they have done nothing amiss. Others there are eternally upon the Hunt for Niceties and subtle Evasions, by which to justify their Proceedings; and here they retreat and shelter themselves. If the World take upon them to censure their Doings, or their own Conscience be either scrupulous before, or clamorous afterward, they cast up an Intrenchment of Distinctions round about them; and under this Covert go on, without boggling, or being ashamed of any thing. Now, in order to the clearing all the Difficulties that may arise upon this Occasion, I shall endeavour to set this whole Matter in its true Light, and direct Men how to behave themselves. And the whole, I think, of what needs to be said, may conveniently enough be reduced to Four Considerations. The Person that engages his Faith; the Party to whom that Engagement is made; the Subject-Matter, or the Thing covenanted for; and the Manner or Form of entering into that Engagement.

First, As to the Person engaging his Faith, it is one necessary Qualification to the rendering that Promise valid and legal, that he have Power to promise, and to make it Good; if he be under the Direction, and at the Disposal of another, he is in no Condition to engage at all; nor is there any Force in such a Covenant, till it be ratified and confirmed by the Person, under whose Authority the Promiser is. Thus God himself hath determined and stated the Matter at large, under the Levitical Law; where the Vows of Wives, and Children, and others in a State of Pupillage and Subjection, are declared of none Effect, till known and approved by their Husbands, or Parents, or Guardians. And the Reason of this is plain, because Nature and Duty have vested those Persons with an Original and Antecedent Right in those under their Care, which no After-act of such, without

Num. ch.
xxx.

out their consent, can convey away, or disanul: They have nothing to give, and therefore they promise what is none of their own. Thus in the *Roman* Story, the Tribune *Saturninus*, and his Accomplices, are esteemed to have been justly put to Death, notwithstanding they quitted the Capitol, (which they had rebelliously invaded, and possess'd themselves of,) upon the Consuls Word of Honour. For these very Consuls were Subjects to the Commonwealth and Ministers of Publick Justice only; and therefore they had no Right to promise Indemnity, for Crimes against the State and People of *Rome* in general. But, when a Man is entirely at his own Disposal, and covenants for such Things as he hath an indisputable Right to make good, he is obliged to keep his Word punctually, let him be otherwise never so Great, never so Absolute. The rather indeed upon these Considerations; because the more Absolute he is, the more Free he is to promise, and the better able to perform. And therefore that common Maxim is a very just and a true One, *That the bare Word of a Prince, ought to be as Sacred and Obligatory, as the solemnest Oath of a Private Man.*

As to the Person, to whom the Engagement is made, This is a Consideration, which makes but little Difference in the Case; for let him be who or what he will, it ought to be discharged. There are but Two Exceptions which are sufficient to dissolve this Obligation, according to the Judgment of those who have discuss'd this Point. The one is, if he did not accept of this Engagement, so as to rest satisfied in, or place his Dependance upon it, but required some other Security, and rested his Faith upon that: For, as the giving of Faith ought to be look'd upon as Sacred, so should the receiving it be too; and distrust in the one Party is no less a Disparagement to it, than Fallacy and Trick in the other. If it be not relied upon for the Sake of its own binding Force, the Confidence is lost and broke; and it ceases to be mutual Faith any longer. The demanding of Hostages, and keeping Men under Guard, and so entering into Caution, and requiring Pledges of any sort, is not trusting to Men's Truth, but to their Security; and it is Ridiculous and Senseless, to call this trusting to Men's Honesty. He that is confined, either by a Keeper, or a Prison, hath been false to no Engagement, if he make his Escape; nor can he be said to have deceived those, who never repos'd any Confidence in him. Had such an one been left at large upon his Parole, or had he prevail'd with o-

thers to stand bound for his Appearance; Honour and Conscience would have obliged him to suffer any Inconvenience rather than falsify his Word, or give up his Bail, or any manner of way disappoint the Expectations, and betray the Trust of those who depended upon him. And therefore the Reason of that Roman seems to carry a great deal of Force, ** Every Man is desirous to find Credit; and a Promise is then binding indeed, when an entire Dependance is repos'd in it; For Faith is mutual, it implies and requires Trust and Belief in the Person to whom it is given; these two are Relatives, and, as such, stand and fall together.*

The other Exception is, if the Promise were conditional, and mutual, and the Person to whom it was made, broke Articles first. For this in Case (say some old Authors) Men are to be paid in their own Coin, and † *He that breaks his Word, gives those he deals with a Privilege of doing so too; according to that Declaration of the Roman Senator; When you cease to treat me as a Member of the Senate, I shall think my self dispens'd with from paying you the Respect due to a Consul.* The false and perfidious Man hath forfeited all his Natural Right to Truth and Fair-dealing; for the Obligations of this kind, so far as they are founded in Nature, are Reciprocal and Universal; and therefore, whatever such an one can challenge, must be from some Supervening Title. But whatever is indented by positive Agreement afterwards, cancels all the Advantage, that might otherwise have been taken of his former Unfaithfulness, and makes it unreasonable to revenge and retaliate it. These Two Cases are generally look'd upon, as Reservations from the general Rule of being punctual to one's Word; and we shall do well to give even these a careful Consideration, for perhaps there are some Junctures and Occasions, in which they may not be able to bear us out; or at best, if it be our Privilege to regulate our selves by them, it is not our Duty to do so; and a Man may sometimes see good Cause, rather to submit to an Inconvenience, and forego the Use of his Liberty, than to stretch it to the utmost Point, and do all, that in Point of Rigour he might well enough justify himself in. But however; allowing the most that can

* Vult sibi quisq; credi, & habita Fides ipsam sibi obligat Fidem. Fides requirit Fiduciam, & relativa sunt.

† Frangenti fidem fides frangatur eidem. - Quando Tu me non habes pro Senatore, nec ego Te pro Consule.

be made of the Matter, where the Promise does not fall within the compass of these two Cases, no Consideration relating to the Party for whose Assurance it was made, can excuse us from looking upon it as Sacred and Indispensable.

1. For First, a Man is obliged to keep his Word with Ch. 16. his Subjects, as will be proved and enforced more at large in the following part of this Treatise; and no Authority, tho' never so Arbitrary and Full, can set him above the Obligations of Conscience in this particular.

2. So is he likewise towards his Enemy; witness that so much Celebrated Act of *Regulus*, the Edict of the *Roman* Senate, against all those to whom *Pyrrhus* had given leave to go to *Rome* upon their Promise of returning; Witness again *Camillus*, who would not so much as reap the Advantage of another's Treachery, tho' he was to have had no part in the Fact it self, but sent the Children and their villainous Schoolmaster back to the *Falisci*.

3. Nor have considering Persons thought themselves at Liberty to be unfaithful even to Robbers, and notorious Malefactors; for *Pompey* was punctual with the Pirates and *Banditi*, and *Augustus* was so to *Crocotas*.

4. As little Privilege to be false, does any Difference in Religion give one; as is sufficiently evident from the Instance of *Joshua* and the *Gibeonites*. The safer and more honourable Way therefore, is never to treat, or enter into any manner of Terms with those whom we think unworthy of common Honesty from us; to disdain any Capitulation, and contracting any sort of Alliance with Wretches we pretend such Detestation to, is much more agreeable to the Pretensions Men make to Zeal and Religion. And to Persons possess'd with so great an Abhorrence to Hereticks and Apostates, much may be said for this. Perhaps indeed, no other Reason but extream Necessity, and the hope of reducing them; or the Prospect of some very great and Publick Good, by amicable Accommodations, should be sufficient to induce them to plight their Faith to them; but if they condescend thus far, no question they are bound to stand by their own Act and Deed; for sure they that are good enough to be treated with, are fit to have the Terms of the Treaty made good to them.

As to our Third Consideration, which respects the Matter of the Promise, if that be unlawful or impossible to be performed by us, we are absolutely discharged from the Obligation; And in all Cases of Injustice, the best thing

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we can do, is to disclaim and get quit of it ; for the Performance would but aggravate our Crime, and make our Guilt double, by the obstinate persisting in it. All other Excuses, such as Loss, or Displeasure, Difficulty, Inconvenience, the Trouble, or the Expence of their Undertaking, are too Weak to pass Muster. And of this, the old *Romans* have left us many brave Examples, who very frequently * used to forego very considerable Advantages, rather than be guilty of any thing, that might bring Truth and Fidelity into Question.

6.
The Man-
ner of pro-
mising.

The last Particular relates to the Manner or Formalities made use of in the Act of engaging ; for, as all the Ways of binding our Consciences are not equally Solemn, so neither are allequally Obligatory ; and therefore several Doubts and Controversies have been started upon this Point. Several Persons are of Opinion, that a Promise extorted by Force, and Fear, or obtain'd Fraudulently and by Surprise, does leave no Tye upon the Conscience : Because, in both these Cases, the Will hath not its free Course ; nor can the Judgment act with that impartiality and clearness, which is necessary to the making its just Determination : Others again tell you quite otherwise ; that the Will is not capable of being constrain'd ; and tho' the Choice be not absolutely voluntary and free, yet there is Choice enough left to induce an Obligation. Accordingly we find, that *Joshua* was far from thinking himself at Liberty ; nay, that he was commanded to fulfil the Covenant made with the *Gibeonites* ; tho' perfectly trick'd into it by surprise, and a false Representation of their Case. The most I think that can be said, (if thus much may be said) in Favour of the Former Opinion is, That the bare Promise may be dispensed with in such Circumstances ; but if that Engagement were confirm'd by the Solemnity of an Oath, a Man must look upon himself to be bound by it : Bound, tho' not in Respect of strict Equity, and the Merits of the Cause ; yet in Respect to the Name of the Just and Holy God, who was invoked as a Witness and a Judge upon that Occasion. But that a Man in such Cases may be very well allowed to seek any Redress or Reparation, which the Laws will give him, and which he hath not positively ty'd up his own Hands from requiring, for such Violence or Deceit. And this Resolution too seems to have some Countenance given to it, by the Method

* Quibus tantâ utilitate Fides antiquior fuit.

Joshua took, who, when the Fraud was discovered, did not treat those *Gibeonites* as common Friends and Allies, but made them *Hewers of Wood, and Drawers of Water*; and tho' he spared their Lives, revenged their Falshood, and crafty Diffimulation, by keeping them under, and employing them in servile and laborious Offices. That the Formality of an Oath, and interesting Almighty God in our Promises, adds to the Engagement, and makes it more forcible and binding, no Doubt can be made; for Breach of Faith, is then a double Offence, and Aggravates that Unfaithfulness which is bad in its self, with the Addition of wilful Perjury, which is much worse. But to think to tie Men up by new and fantastick Oaths, as some do, is altogether useless and unnecessary; and so is the multiplying of common Oaths without some urgent and very important Occasion. For it is certain, that honest Men need not be thus dealt with; and those that are not so, will be bound by nothing we can devise. The best and most commendable Course, is to Swear by the Name of the One True Everlasting God; and to do this with a becoming Reverence, and serious Deliberation; as considering, that he is a severe Avenger of those who take his Name in vain; that they must give Account for all breach of Faith, and Trust; but especially, that he will be very rigorous with those, who by a most monstrous Hardiness, and detestible Impiety, take Advantage of the Solemnity of an Oath; and turn the Use of his Name into an Opportunity of deceiving the more effectually.

For in Truth, if we consider the Matter nicely, it will appear, that Perfidiousness and Perjury are more execrable Villainies, and higher Affronts to Almighty God, than even bold and avowed Atheism it self. The Atheist, who disbelieves a God, acts more consistently with his own Principles, and dishonours him less, in thinking there is no such Being at all; than he who is persuaded, and acknowledges that there is a God, and yet in despite of his own Sense, and in defiance of the Divine Justice, mocks him, by calling upon him to attest a Lye, and will not stand by what he hath appealed to that All-seeing Judge for the Confirmation of. Now he that swears with an Intention to deceive, does plainly mock God; and shews that he is afraid of Man only, but under no Concern for what God can do in vindication of his injured Honour. And sure to be mistaken in one's Notions concerning God, is much more pardonable, than to be rightly informed, and fully convinced, and yet

7.

to trample all those Convictions under Foot, and put a studied Affront upon the Deity we confess, and pretend to adore. The Horror and Absurdity of Falshood and Perjury, cannot be more fully and significantly exprest, than by that Character given of it, by one of the Ancients, who calls this, The giving a publick Testimony of our Despising God, and standing in Awe of Men. And what can be more Monstrous, than to shew one's self a Coward with regard to poor Mortals, of the same Frailties and Infirmities with our selves, and Hectors with regard to the Irresistible Vengeance and Power of an Omnipotent God? But, besides the horrible Impiety and Irreligion of such Proceeding, the False and Treacherous Man is a Traitor and Mortal declared Enemy to all Laws, and the very Being of Human Society: For mutual Confidence is the very Link that holds all this together; and if once that Knot be untwisted or broken asunder, the whole Chain falls to pieces immediately, Words are then but Air and empty Noise; and yet by these it is, that all Commerce can only be maintained; so that when Credit can no longer be given with Safety to what People say, all Business is at an end, and no new Method can be found to hold them in.

8. *Keeping of Secrets.* One Branch of this Fidelity remains yet unmention'd; which is that of Keeping the Secrets imparted to, and intrusted with us. And this is more troublesome than People commonly imagine; especially, when they are such as Great Men have either committed to us, or are concerned in. Were the Difficulties that attend this Duty rightly considered, it would give a mighty Check to curious and inquisitive Tempers: For sure, that Man acts most prudently, who declines this Trust as much, and knows as little of this kind, as possibly he can: For he that thrusts himself under these Obligations, entangles himself in more Snares, and Uneasinesses, than he is aware of. For, besides the constant Guard he must keep upon his Tongue, that none of these Things make their Escape, he falls under a Necessity many times of lying or disowning what he knows, in a manner irreconcilable with Sincerity and a Good Conscience; or at least of evading it by such mean and little Shifts, as are very grating to a Man of Generosity and a great Soul. This therefore of avoiding such Troublesome and Dangerous Knowledge, is the first and best Advice. But if there be no Remedy, and the Men will unlock their Breasts to us, notwithstanding all the Pains we are at to be excused, the

the next Rule is, To be faithful and Exact in the safe Custody of all committed to us under the Seal of Secrecy; and to this Purpose to practise a prudent Reserve in all our Conversation; Which is an Art, that every Man cannot be Master of; for it requires something of a Disposition in Nature, as well as Art and Industry afterwards, and the Sense of that Obligation we are under in these Cases; Attendency to Silence, as well as a Custom of it: For the open and gay Tempers are always in Danger; and they who affect to Talk much in all Companies, will be sure very often to say a great many Things, which ought to have been suppress'd.

C H A P. IX.

Truth, and Freedom in Advising and Reproving.

BY Truth here, I mean the venturing to bold and unacceptable things; for free and cordial Advice, and Reproof is a most wholesome and admirable Medicine: It is one of the most noble and useful Offices of Friendship; the best Argument, that a Man's Affection is Sincere, when he is content to run the Hazard of giving some little Uneasiness, in Prospect of doing a great deal of Good: For it is Profiting, and not Pleasing, that every Friend should aim at; and one of the most important, as well as most express Commands, which the Gospel hath left upon us with regard to Conversation, is this; *If thy Brother offend against thee, admonish him.*

There is no Man so perfect, so circumspect in all his Behaviour, as not sometimes to stand in need of having this Physick apply'd to him. But those, who are prosperous and great in the World, seem to require it more than others; For there is somewhat in that Condition, which by naturally disposing Men to a loose Gayety, and unthinking Heedlessness, makes it exceeding difficult and rare, to be very fortunate and very wise at the same time. But especially Princes, who are always in view, and curiously watch'd; who sustain a publick Character, and have an infinite deal of Business constantly upon their Hands; who are fain to take things upon Trust, from the Observation and Report of other People; and who are used to have by much the greatest part of what is true, and highly concerns them to know, concealed from them; These Persons above all others have very great need to be freely dealt with, and set right in their

1.

*Its Excell-
lence.*

2.

The Usefulness.

their Proceedings : And they who are not so by the Persons about them, either run a desperate Hazard for want of it, or else are wise and penetrating, much above the rate of common Men, if they do well without it.

3.
*The rarity
and diffi-
culty of it.*

And yet this Office, as necessary and useful as it is, is discharged faithfully by very few. For indeed, few are capable of discharging it ; There being Three Qualifications requisite to capacitate Men for it. These are, Judgment or Discretion ; Freedom or Courage to speak what one thinks ; and Affection or Fidelity. All these make the Composition perfect ; and all must concur, to give a Relish and due Temper to each other. But if Men had all these Accomplishments, yet it is to be question'd, whether they would put them in practice. So that the Difficulty is double : For very few undertake this ungrateful Office for fear of displeasing ; and of those who have Sincerity enough to attempt, few have Skill enough to perform it as it should be. Now this is an extream nice undertaking ; and if ill done, like a Medicine improperly given, tho' never so Sovereign in its own Nature, it puts the Patient to a World of Uneasiness, and is sure to do more hurt than good. The Effect of it is only to harden him the more ; and thus Reproof hath the same Operation that Flattery would have ; only with this Difference, that the one gives Pain and Resentment, and the other Pleasure and Self-Satisfaction. For, as excellent and noble as Truth is, yet hath it not the Privilege of being always seasonable and becoming ; but requires a great many favourable Circumstances to soften and recommend it. For, let a Man's Intention and Meaning be never so Holy, and the Substance of his Advice never so excellent, yet there may be Faults in the applying of it ; and such as, that it were as well, and perhaps much better let alone.

4.
Rules for it

Now, that we may know how to govern our selves in so very ticklish a Point, I shall take the Liberty to offer these following Directions. Which yet are to be look'd upon, as calculated for such Persons and Circumstances, where something of Distance, and Ceremony, and a Fear of being offensive, may be expected. For, in case there be any intimate Familiarity, or particular Confidence ; any Power and Authority in the Person reproving, that may set them above such Formalities, then all necessity of observing these following Rules, is quite superseded. But they, who cannot pretend to the Privilege of an open and unrestrain'd Freedom will do well.

Ch. 9. Of Freedom in Advice and Reproof. 187

1. To have a due regard to Time and Place ; for a great deal depends upon the Nicking of these Two. For Instance, It should not be done at a Publick Entertainment ; nor amongst Persons met together for Mirth and Diversion ; for this is to be very impertinent, and to spoil good Company. Nor is it seasonable, when we see the Party in some more than ordinary Trouble, Melancholy, and out of Humour, or some very sore Affliction. This looks like an Act of Hostility, and Barbarous Insulting ; as if we took the Advantage of his Misfortunes, or Dejection of Mind, and only waited for an Opportunity to grieve, and teaze, and quite oppress him ; when his Condition calls rather for our Comfort, and Encouragement, and Assistance. It is an Act of great Cruelty to chide Men in Distress ; and *Perseus* King *Macedon* was so incens'd at this ill Treatment, that he killed two of his particular Friends, for presuming to make this Addition to his Calamity.

2. It must not be done for all Faults indifferently ; Nor for such as are inconsiderable, and of no very ill Consequence ; for this favours of Peevishness and Ill-nature, and betrays too much of Eagerness and Delight in this, at best ungrateful Office. A Man will be apt to tell himself, that such a Man is fond and glad of such Opportunities, and makes use of them, more to gratifie his own Spleen, than with any Design of profiting his Friend. Nor yet should it be done for very gross, notorious, and dangerous Actions ; such as cannot but leave a Sting behind them, and the Enormity whereof he must needs be affected with, without our awakening his Conscience, or taking the trouble of working him up to a Sense of them. For he will be sure, upon such Occasions, to dread the Reproach and the Uneasiness of an Admonition ; and will fancy that we lie upon the Catch for his Fall, and labour to put him quite out of Conceit with himself.

3. This Admonition and Reproof ought to be private, that there may be no Witnesses of his Disgrace ; for it is very grievous to be publicly expos'd. We are told of a Young Man, who was so overwhelm'd with Shame and Confusion at a Rebuke given him by *Pythagoras*, that he could not bear to out-live it, but immediately went and Hang'd himself. And *Plutarch* delivers it as his Opinion, that the Provocation which enrag'd *Alexander*, and transported him to the killing his old Friend *Clytus*, was not so much any Offence he took at what he said, as the Rudeness of

of saying what he did before Company. More particularly yet, We must be sure to forbear all Liberties of this kind, before those Persons, whose Approbation and Esteem, either the Person is ambitious and tender of, or the Character he bears renders necessary to him. And therefore it is not to be done to either Husband or Wife before each other; nor to a Parent before Children; nor to a Master before his Servants; nor to a Minister or Teacher before his Parishioners or Scholars.

4. It should be deliver'd with a plain, easie, unaffected Freedom; somewhat that looks unstudy'd, and as it were by the bye: And, to be sure, without any regard to private Interest, or the least Appearance of Passion and Disorder.

5. This is capable of being soften'd a little, by including our own selves, and not seeming to confine the Blame to him alone, as if it were a strange or particular thing; expressing our Sense likewise in general Terms; as thus, *We are all apt to forget our selves upon these Occasions; One would wonder what Men think of, when they do such things; or the like.*

6. A Man should always begin with the Commendations of something that is good or well-done in his Friend, and close all with Tenders of Service and Assistance; (This sweetens and takes off very much from the Smart and Severity of the Correction; and makes the necessary bitter Pill go down more glibly.) And then by comparing these things together, we may shew the Miscarriage more evidently; as thus: *Such a Thing becomes you, and you do mighty well in it; I wish I could say as much of this: Or, good lack! what a difference there is between such an Action of Yours, and such an one! Who could ever imagine that Pieces so unlike could ever be done by the same Hand?*

7. It is likewise advisable, to express the Fault in Phrases as soft and gentle as we can, and such as fall very much short of the Enormity and real Proportion of the thing. For instance; instead of *You have done very ill*; to say, *Sure you did not consider what you did; you were mistaken, or not well aware*; or the like. Instead of *Have nothing to do with this Woman, why should you ruin your self upon her Account?* Pray never think of entertaining a Woman, who will certainly be the Ruin of you: Instead of desiring him not to bear such an one a Grudge; to beg, that he would engage in no dispute, nor concern himself with him.

8. Lastly, When the Business is over, a Man must not immediately leave the Party with uncase Impreſſions upon his

his Mind ; for these will but ferment there, and gall him ; and therefore it is necessary he should stay with him till all that Uneasiness be got over : In order whereunto, he must contrive to turn his Discourse upon some common entertaining Subject, which may divert the present remembrance of the Reprehension, and bring them to part very good Friends, and in perfect Humour.

C H A P. X.

Of Flattery, Lying, and Dissimulation.

FLattery is a most dangerous Poison to all private Persons; that drink and suck it in. But as for Princes, it is almost the Only, the Universal Cause of their Ruin, and infinitely fruitful in Mischiefs to their Subjects and Government in general, by betraying them to, and supporting them in their Tyranny and Male-Administration. It is a Thousand times wore than False-witness : That deceives and mis-leads the Judge, it draws a Sentence from him, wicked and unreasonable in it self ; but not so with regard to Him ; for his Will and Judgment are blameless : They proceed according as Matters appear in Evidence ; and so the Man preserves his Integrity still : But here the very Mind and Judgment is debauch'd ; the Soul is charm'd and bewitch'd, made incapable of improving in the Knowledge of the Truth, and utterly averse from the Love of it. It is a Rank and spreading Evil ; for if once a Prince be corrupted by Flattery, and fond of it, there is a necessity that all about him, who desire to be well in his Opinion, and hope to make their Fortunes by his Favour, should turn Flatterers. For Interest and Ambition will not fail to make Converts enough ; and the Rule these govern themselves by, is to study and practise what they see agreeable, and likely to recommend them most to the good Graces of their Patron. Whatever can be said to shew the Excellence of Truth, all that proves the Baseness and Deformity of Flattery : They who esteem and adore the one, must in proportion despise and detest the other ; which indeed is nothing else but the Corruption and Perverting of the Truth. It is a pitiful mean Vice, the Submission of a poor degenerate Spirit ; an Effeminacy and Weakness, as unbecoming a Man, as Garishness, and Affected Confidence is to a Woman.

*1.
Flattery.*

* *Not Friends and faithless Flatterers differ more,
Than a chaste Woman, and a common Whore.*

Upon this Account, Flatterers are compar'd to Strumpets, to Sorcerers, Poisoners, Publick Cheats, Debauchers of Mankind; nay, to Wolves, and Foxes; and a wise Author declares it better to fall among Birds of Prey, and be Crow's Meat, than come into the Hands of Flatterers.

2. There are two sorts of Persons, who lie open to Flattery; and as they never want fawning People, who are always ready to offer them this Trash; so they for the most part, as greedily swallow it. These are Princes, with whom these Hucksters get into Credit, and grow acceptable by this means; and the Ladies, who are so marvellously delighted with hearing well of themselves, that the most usual and successful Stratagem for corrupting their Virtue, is generally thought to be the entertaining them with their own Commendations.

3. It is really very hard to avoid the Danger of Flattery, and so to arm and strengthen our Minds, that they shall be proof against all its Insinuations. 'Tis particularly so to Women, by reason of their natural Disposition, which by a Weakness almost universal to the Sex, inclines them to be fond of Vanity, and greedy of Praise. And it must needs be so to Princes; by reason their Relations, and Friends, and prime Ministers, such as they must of necessity hold constant conversation with, are all bred up to this Trade, and value themselves upon being expert and dextrous at it. *Alexander*, who was so great a Monarch, with all the Philosophy of his Tutor *Aristotle* to Arm him, could not stand against it. And, tho' we commonly pretend to lessen and condemn Kings for suffering themselves to be thus imposed upon, yet there is never an one of us all, but, if we were in their Circumstances, and perpetually laid at by Parasites and Sycophants, as they are, we should be a Thousand times worse than they. No Man of an ordinary Condition can be a competent Judge in this case, because he cannot have any thing like the Tryals and Temptations of an Elevated Post. But, tho' Flattery, like Diseases, do not seize all Persons and Constitutions alike, yet contagious it is, and no Man lives utterly out of the reach of its venomous Infection. There is somewhat so agreeable, that even They, who hate and seem most to

* Ut Matrona Meritrici dispar erit, atque
Discolor, infido Scurræ distabit Amicus. *Horat, Lib. XVIII.*
reject

reject it, conceive a secret Pleasure, and shut the Door against it so faintly, that after many pretended Denials, it is let in, and kindly entertain'd in private. That which adds to the danger is, that Men are tainted by it insensibly; for it is so cunningly varnish'd over, so disguis'd with a Mask of Friendship, which it affects always to wear, that one cannot very easily distinguish between them. It usurps and invades all her good Offices, puts on her Air and Countenance, calls it self by her Name, counterfeits her Voice; in short, observes the Tone, the Meen, the Readiness, the Zeal; so that you would swear it could be none but she. The Business of Flattery is to please, and be taking: It pays marvellous Respects and Deference, is very liberal in Praises, exceeding officious and eager to serve the Person apply'd to, and careful to be always in good Humour; or indeed in any Humour that prevails, and will be most agreeable at that time. Nay, to shew how exquisite the Hypocrisie of this Vice is, it goes a great deal farther, and ventures upon the last and highest, the severest and most dangerous Act of Friendship, and is free and full in its Expostulations and Reproofs. In one word, the Flatterer's Care is always to profess and make himself believ'd much more sincere and passionate in his Affection and Concern for the Person whom he addresses to, than he is or can be to Him in return. But all these boasting and pompous Pretensions notwithstanding, there is not in the World any thing more destructive of true Friendship: Ill Language, Affronts, open and avowed Enmity, are not in reality greater Contradictions, how different soever they are in Figure and outward Shew. It is the very Bane of all Sincerity and true Love; they are irreconcilable, and cannot dwell together. * When once I am your Friend, I cease to Flatter; and when I begin to Flatter, from that very instant you may conclude me none of your Friend. And therefore that Observation is most true, † That the Wounds and Strokes of a Friend are better and more desirable, than the Kisses of a Flatterer. Those, tho' we feel some Pain in them, are yet well intended, and may contribute to our Benefit and Amendment. These are soft and smooth, but full of Treachery and Mischief; and the End of all those kind Caresses, is to keep us unacquainted with our selves, and so to lead us hoodwink'd into Ruin.

* Non potes me simul Amico & Adulatore uti.

† Meliora vulnera diligentis, quam oscula blandientis.

4.

Since therefore it so highly concerns us not to be mistaken upon this Occasion, and since the knowing these two so very contrary Qualities asunder, is no such obvious and easie Matter; I shall endeavour to draw off the Vizor; and draw, if not the whole Face, yet so many of the Features and principal Lines of it, as that by these Strokes my Reader may be able to distinguish Flattery and Friendship from each other.

1. Flattery is always follow'd close at the Heels by private Interest and Advantage: This is the *Scent it follows, and you may know it by the manner of Hunting, and the Game it pursues: But a Friend is generous, and undesigning; hath no By-Ends, nor is Self at the bottom of what he does continually.

2. A Flatterer is perpetually veering and changeable in his Judgment and Opinion of Things; like a Looking-Glass, that readily reflects all Faces, or Wax prepar'd to receive any manner of Impressions. He is a Camelion, a Polypus, never of one Colour and Complexion, longer than you determine and encourage him to it. If you appear to commend and love a Man, he admires and exalts him to the Skies; pretend Dislike, or Resentment, or Aversion, He racks about streight, and is in with you there too; he censures, condemns, aggravates, as he finds You stand affected: For You are the Principal, the Substance, the Original; and He your Image, your Representation, the Shadow, the Copy, the constant Attendant and Mimick of all you are, and say, and do; affecting every Motion, and putting on every Shape, as he sees his Pattern alter. Whereas a Friend is firm, and uniform, and consistent with himself; For Truth and Reason are the Compass he steers by, and these are fix'd and unchangeable.

3. Another Mark to distinguish him by, is his Carriage; which is always eager, and officious to a great excess; and especially in such things as he is sensible will be observ'd, or otherwise like to come to the Knowledge of the Person he addresses to; and, as in all other respects, so is he particularly forward in his Commendations, in proffering his Service, and doing every little thing that may look like Deference and Zeal. In all his Behaviour, there is nothing of Seadiness or Moderation; and yet, as fair a Shew as all this makes outwardly to the World, there is not any solid Bottom, not one Grain of cordial Affection within. Now a Friend is the very Reverse of all this; an Enemy to Ostentation and large Pretences; and content, that the Sincerity of his Kindness

ness should prove it self by solid and substantial Testimonies: Not at all the less disposed to act as becomes his Character, tho' he were sure that he should never be taken notice of, or thank'd for it: And therefore the Integrity of his Heart and Intentions, often puts him upon studying secret ways of obliging; and, provided his own Duty be done, and his Conscience satisfy'd, he can very well abate the publishing his Endeavours to serve his Friend.

4. The Flatterer constantly yields the Prize to his Patron, declares him in the Right in all he says, applauds his Prudence in all he does, and this without any other Design, but only to please, and render himself agreeable. Hence it is, that he over-shoots the Mark so much, commending All without Distinction, and All extravagantly and in excess. Nay sometimes he will not grudge to do it at his own expence, and to lessen his own Desert, that he may magnifie his Patron's. Like Wrestlers, that stoop and bend, only to shew the Cunning of their Play, and mend their Hold; that so they may gain the Advantage of throwing the Adversary a fairer Fall. Now a Friend goes to work plainly and bluntly; Preference and Esteem are of small Consideration with Him; nor is his Design so much to please and minister Delight, as to bring substantial Profit, and to do much Good; and what way this is done, is of little concern to him; he is not nice and scrupulous in the Choice of Methods; but, like a good Physician, considers the Case and the Necessities of his Patient; and prepares his sharp and painful, or his gentler Remedies, not according as they suit the Palate, but the Exigencies of his Friend. Recovery and Amendment is his End and Business, and all things else are indifferent to him, except so far as they may prove subservient to this Great Design.

5. Sometimes he will needs take upon him to rebuke his Friend, but he does it so very awkwardly, that a Man may easily discern this to be only a Copy of his Countenance; and that at the same time he puts on the Hardiness of a Friend, his chief Care is not to incur Displeasure by handling Matters too roughly. To this purpose he will be sure to fix upon light and trivial Faults only, or some very excusable Defect, pretending himself blind all the while to those that are grosser, and much more obnoxious to Censure and Reproach. He will express himself with great Severity and Bitterness against Relations, or Acquaintance, or Servants, as if they were wanting in the Diligence and Respects due

from them. Or else he will introduce the Liberty he takes with a Pretence of some idle Stories he hath heard, and profess Solicitude to be inform'd of the Truth from his own Mouth, that so he may be capable of doing him Service in a just Vindication of his Innocence. And when his Patron either denies the Fact, or excuses himself, he will not fail to catch at this Opportunity of expatiating in his Praise, "I confess, *Sir, says he*, this was a wonderful Surprize to me, "and what I could not prevail with my self to give Credit "to. I was satisfied I knew you better; for how is it possible you should be guilty of any such Thing? I told your "Enemies, who taxed you with Injustice, that they must "pardon me, if I was peremptory, to the Contrary. For "who could imagine that you should invade another's "Right, who are so far from insisting Rigorously upon your "own? One, who to my Knowledge is so Generous, so "Bountiful, so Charitable, could never, you may be sure, "pass upon me for a griping or covetous Man. Such Jealousies, I said, might find Entertainment with Strangers, "but with me, who have the Honour to be so well acquainted with your Virtues, they would all go for nothing. Or else he takes Occasion to chide him kindly, for having no more care of himself, and exposing that Person so much, which is of such infinite Importance to the Publick; as one of the Senators particularly is said to have curried Favour with *Tiberius*, in a full Senate, after a very nauseous and fulsome manner of Complementing.

6. In a Word; I shall need to add but this one Mark of Distinction more. A true Friend always regards, and advises, and promotes that which is agreeable to Reason, and Duty; he consults the Character and Circumstances of the Person; and observes what is fittest and most becoming; but the Flatterer spies out a blind Side, and strikes in with Pleasure, and Interest, and Inclination. So that no Man is so proper an Instrument for corrupting Mens Principles, and soothing them in all manner of Extravagance and Vice: None so improper for the putting forward any thing of Virtue, or Difficulty, or Danger. Indeed he is like an Ape, that serves to none of those necessary Uses which other Creatures are assisting to us in; but seems cut out meerly for the Jest and Diversion of Mankind.

To this Vice of Flattery, that of Lying is very near of Kin, and usually goes along with it: And this is likewise of the same infamous Quality; a mean, and dishonourable, and

and rascally Vice. For what can be more Despicable and Base, than for a Man to speak contrary to his own Knowledge and Sense of Things? The first and boldest Step towards the Corruption of Manners, is the banishing Truth out of our Discourse; as on the Contrary, the Courage and Resolution to be true, is, according to *Pindar's* Account of it, the Beginning and Foundation of a Brave and Eminent Virtue. But, besides the Despicableness of this Vice in it self, it is likewise highly Destructive to Human Society. For we cease to be Men, and are loose from all the mutual Ties, and Securities possible to be had upon one another, when mutual Confidence, and Truth, the only ground of it, is lost. Speech indeed, is rightly said to capacitate Mankind for Society; but if once that be abused to Falshood and Deceit, Silence is a Thousand times the more sociable Quality of the Two. If a Lye indeed were constant to it self, and wore but one Face, as Truth does, then there would be some Hopes at least, and the Mischief were more tolerable; for we might depend upon it, that the direct Contrary of what the Lyar says is True. But alas! it is our Misfortune, that the Reverse of Truth hath a Hundred Thousand several Shapes, and the Space it ranges in is Infinite. Good, (that is, Virtue and Truth) is certain and circumscribed, staked down to one single Spot, and fixed beyond the Power of Variation, as there can be but one Way to hit the Mark. But Evil, (that is, Vice and Error) is Infinite and Uncertain, and there are a Thousand Ways to shoot besides the Mark: For short or beyond, too high or too low, on this or on that Side, all are wide of the Matter. Without all Doubt, could Mankind be made duly sensible of the Horror, and mischievous Consequences of Lying, they would be so far from practising or giving the least Countenance to such Wickedness, that they would set themselves to drive it out of the World with Fire and Sword; and think no Punishments too severe, no Methods too cruel for the utter Extermination of it. And this is a good Hint to those, who make the Education of Youth their Care, with what Vigilance the very first Tendencies to this Evil ought to be observed, and the Growth of it prevented and opposed. This should be their first Business, and the Checking of a positive and obstinate Humour their next; and both these should be taken down betimes; for otherwise the Corruption of Nature will be beforehand with us; and it is scarce to be conceived indeed, how very early such rank

Weeds spring, and how prodigiously they shoot, if not nipt in the Bud.

6. *Hypocrisie.* But Men may be guilty of Lying in their Actions, as well as in their Discourse; for what else is all that Hypocrisie and Dissimulation, so generally practised in the World? This, I confess, is represented as an Accomplishment, and hath obtain'd the Character and Reputation of Complaisance and good Breeding. But yet, let the Men of refined Manners say what they will, it is in reality a Blemish and Dishonour, a mean Submission, and base Degeneracy of Soul, for a Man to appear abroad always in Disguise. To walk with a Mask, and not dare to shew his Face to the World. Let Men talk of Honour as long as they will, Honour can never be consistent with Dissimulation; and He that is an Hypocrite is certainly the greatest Coward, the most abject Slave.

7. Now, whoever he be, that sets up his Trade, he will find enough to do to maintain his Credit, or his Ease by it. For a Hypocrite is under perpetual Constraint. And what a Torment must it needs be, for a Man always to appear Different from what he is really, and in his own Nature? What a constant Eye must he have upon every Word, and Action, what Jealousies of all he converses with, what anxious Fears of being discover'd and exposed? The Difficulty and Disquiet of concealing one's Temper, is a perfect Hell upon Earth; and the being found out is an intolerable Confusion and Reproach. If there be such a Thing as perfect Ease and Pleasure attainable here below, it is certainly to be found only in a Freedom and Openness, and Security of Mind and Conversation. And a Man had better let the World see the Worst of him, tho' he happen to be something less in their Esteem for his plain downright Behaviour; than be always straining to counterfeit some good Qualities which he hath not, or to keep some ill one's out of Sight. So Amiable, so Noble is this Frankness of Temper, that even Reputation it self, as valuable as it is, cannot make sufficient Reparation for the parting with it.

8. But, besides that this is a difficult and laborious Trade, it is a poor and paltry One; for most Men Break of it in a very little while. Dissimulation cannot go very far; It will be discovered at one time or other, and leave those that depend upon it, in the Lurch. It is a common Observation, and daily Experience proves it to be as true as it is common, that Nothing which is either Violent or Counter-

feit continues long. Herein, Art and Force differ from Nature, that they decay by Time, and this improves by it. And, when once such Men are detected, all they get by it is, never to be trusted afterwards; to have no Strefs laid upon what they Do, nor any Credit given to what they Say. Nay, Truth it self suffers by this means, and can gain no reception, when it comes out of their Mouths. And how Despicable a Wretch is that, whose Authority is lost, and whose Example goes for nothing; whose whole Life is look'd upon as one continued Banter; and his most serious Actions are thought to smell so rank of Trick and Design, that they only serve to awaken Mens Suspicion, and warn them to be more upon their Guard?

Now, this is a Case capable of being misunderstood, and misapply'd; and therefore, as there is some room left for, so indeed there is great need of Prudence and Moderation, to prevent an Error in the other Extream. For if a Man's Disposition be crooked and deform'd; if there be any thing vicious and offensive to the World; this ought certainly to be kept in; or, to speak more properly, be brought into Shape: For there is a vast Difference between living easie and unconstrained; and being rude, and slovenly, and careless in our Behaviour. We should not rake Pains to impose upon those we converse with; but we are not therefore bound to turn their Stomachs. A Man should not tell a Lye; but he is not oblig'd to tell all the Truth neither. That then, which we are to take Care of in this Point, is, to speak as much as is convenient, and to be sure that all we do speak be True; To distinguish between Twatling and Openness in Conversation; and in Behaviour between a Freedom consistent with Sincerity and Good Manners, and a Morose Indifference, which breaks through all Reserves, and declares War with all Decency and Respect.

There are indeed Two sorts of People, in whom Hypocrisy is in some Degree excusable; I might say indeed, Necessary and Becoming; but the Reasons which vindicate and uphold them in it, are very different from each other. The First are Princes, who, as I have observed before, may sometimes be obliged to dissemble upon very important Considerations. The Publick Good, the Safety of their Persons, the Peace of the Government may require it; all these might be ruined and lost, if the Counsels and Methods that support them, were carried so openly, that every Stander by could see through, and penetrate into the bottom of the

Governour's Designs. And therefore, taking the Condition of the World as it now stands, so full of Treachery and Villany; it is no Derogation to Justice or Religion, to say, that Princes may be allowed some Measures in their Publick Character, which neither they, nor any other Man, is privileged to take in his private one. Would all their Subjects be Faithful and do their Duty, then indeed the Rules of Political, and Private Virtue would be the same; but now Men must be governed, not according to what they should be, but to what they actually are. And, as Laws, when made for the Reformation of Vice, suppose the worst of Men; so the Administrators of those Laws, must by their Wariness and Wisdom, provide against the Worst.

The second sort of Diffimulation in some Degree allowable, is in Women; and the Reason that enforces it, is Decency, and the Gracefulness of Modesty and Reserve, in their Sex more especially: For what would be interpreted Freedom and Assuredness in a Man, would in one of them be condemned for Impudence. And therefore the little Disguises in their Carriage and Looks, the making up their Mouth, and affected Ignorances, look pretty enough, and have a becoming Air of Bashfulness and Innocence: And besides, these do no manner of hurt; for they pass for Things of course, and no body but Fools, and Men utterly unacquainted with the World, can ever be imposed upon by them. But this is a Trouble I might have spared myself; for the Sex are so naturally addicted to Hypocrisie, that it is very needless to recommend, or to instruct them in it. They are indeed a fair Outside all over; their Faces, their Cloths, their Talk, their Looks, their Smiles, their Tears, have all but too much of Art in them; and are contrived to make a Shew: Nay, which is still Worse, they do not only dissemble with the Living, but with the Dead too; The Long Veil, and the Dark Room; the Bed so many Days, and the Chamber so many Weeks; what are these, but the Pomp and Pretence of Sorrow. Appearances which all indifferently are obliged to make, whether for good or bad Husbands, in point of Decency, forsooth, and conformity to Custom; when yet there is so little at the Bottom of this composed Formality, and the Farce is so very Gross, that many of these disconsolate Widows have much ado to hold their Countenances: It was observ'd
long

long since, that * Counterfeit Grief is always most Ambitious to shew it self; and a Man would almost be tempted to suspect, that all those Solemn Fopperies, above the Reasonable and comely Expressions of Grief, were invented to make out in Ostentation, what was wanting in the Reality of their Concern.

C H A P. XI.

Of Beneficence and Gratitude.

THE Art of doing and receiving Good Offices, as that Respects the Beneficence of the Donor, and the Obligation and Gratitude in a Person to whom they are done, is a Subject of great Compass, and Extent; of great Use, but withal of much Intricacy, and Difficulty. There is not any one Instance, in which Men are more Deficient. Very few know, either how to oblige, or how to be obliged, as becomes them. It looks as if Goodness, and Desert, and Gratitude were in the Declension; and Revenge and Ingratitude in the Ascendant; as if Those were a Loss and Diminution, and These a Gain and Privilege; so eager and zealous we are generally in the former, so very cold and indifferent, so averse indeed to the latter. Thus Tacitus observes, that † *Thanks are reputed Trouble, but Revenge an Advantage*; and Seneca, *That Injuries and Affronts make much deeper Impression than Favours and Kindness*. We will therefore endeavour at present to correct and redress this so common Defect; (or Corruption rather) of Mankind; by treating at present, First of Beneficence, under which I comprehend Humanity, Liberality, Charity, or Relief of the Poor and Distressed; and of their Contraries, Inhumanity, Niggardliness, want of Compassion: And then Secondly, of the Obligation, the Gratitude of the Receiver, or the Neglect, and Ingratitude after such Kindnesses received.

Which Way soever we turn our Eyes, they are every where presented with Arguments and Instances, for the Exercise of Kindness, and Beneficence. God, and Nature, and Universal Reason, and Equity, All join in their Invi-

i.
Motive to
Beneficence

* Jactantiùs moerent quæ minus dolent.

† Gratia oneri est, Ultio in quæstu habetur. Altius Injuriæ quàm merita descendunt.

tations to it. In God, whether we consider his Essence, or his Providence, what he is, and what he does, we see nothing but Goodness; for He is the very Perfection of it, Goodness it self; and * *of all the Resemblances and Imitations of the Divinity that Human Nature is capable of, the nearest Approach we can make toward him is in this Particular;* as Tully very justly observed. And Pliny; *when one Man succours another, he does an Act more than Human, and becomes as it were a God to his Brother.* The Inducements, which Nature furnishes us with, are many. Such as, The sensible Satisfaction a Man feels in seeing the Person whom he hath obliged; the Consideration, that he is a Person of the same Condition with himself, cast in the same Mould, wrought up of the same Materials, a Transcript of the same Original; For † *nothing is so agreeable to the Dictates of Nature, as to assist one who is a Partaker of the same Nature;* It is a Generous and Noble Act; worthy a Person of Honour and Virtue, to be useful and beneficial to others, to embrace, and improve, nay, to seek Opportunities of being so. For the ∴ *Liberal Man does not content himself with taking them when they come in his Way; but he goes out to meet, and takes Pains to find them.* And it is an old Adage, that truly Noble Blood will neither let a Man tell a Lye, nor be wanting in good Offices, where they are Seasonable. There is somewhat of Greatness and a commendable Pride in doing Kindnesses, as there is of Meanness in having them done to us; and this may be one convenient Sense of that Saying, which St. Paul ascribes to our Saviour; *It is more Blessed to give than to receive.* He that gives, gets himself Honour, and gains an Advantage; he becomes Master of the Receiver, and acquires a Right in him; as on the other hand, the Receiver sells his Freedom, and is no longer at his own disposal. The first Invenrer of Good Offices, (says one with Ingenuity enough) contrived the strongest Fetters that ever were, to bind and captivate Mankind. Upon this Account, several People have refused to accept of Kindnesses, because they would not suffer their Liberty to be entrenched upon; and particularly, if the Person conferring the Favour, were

* Nulla re propius ad Dei naturam accedimus, quam Beneficentia. Dei est mortalem succurrere mortali.

† Nihil tam secundum Naturam, quam juvare consortem Naturæ.

∴ Liberalis etiam dandi causas querit.

one, whom they had no Kindness for, and did not care to be obliged to. For which Reason it is, that the old Philosophers forbid us to receive any Kindnesses from ill Men, because in so doing we let them get a Hank upon us. *Cæsar* used to say, that no Musick was so charming in his Ears, as the Requests of his Friends, and the Supplications of those in want. The Motto of Greatness is, *Ask me*. And that Command and Promise gives us a Noble Idea of the Majesty of God, *Call upon me in the time of Trouble; so will I bear thee, and thou shalt glorifie me.* Psal. l. 15. This is likewise the most Honourable way of employing our Power and Plenty; which, while we keep by us, and in our own private Possession, are called by the mean Names, of Houses, and Lands, and Money; but when drawn out into Use, and expended to the Benefit of our Brethren, they dignified with new and August Titles; and from thenceforth commence Good Actions, Liberality, Magnificence, Alms, and Treasures in Heaven. Nay, it is not only the most Honourable, but the most prudent and profitable Method of trafficking with them; * *the gainfullest of all Arts, the best and least hazardous Way of Merchandise*; for here the Principal is secured, and the Interest arising upon it rises exceeding high. And, to say the very truth, no part of what we have is so properly our own, none turns to such a prodigious Increase, so comfortable Account, as that which we expend upon good Uses. What lies by us is lock'd up, and hid privately; it lies and wastes; or at least it never grows upon our Hands; and it is sure to give us the Slip at last, either by some of those infinite Accidents, by which all such Things are liable to be snatch'd from Us; or by that certain and inevitable Separation, by which Death will shortly snatch Us away from them. But so much of these as is thus put out, can never fail, never be wrested from us; never rust, or decay, or lie buried in Unprofitableness. Hence it was, that *Mark Anthony*, when deprest, and at an Ebb of Fortune so low, that he had nothing but Death left at his own Disposal, cry'd out, that † *he had lost All, except what he had given away*. And thus you see, what a brave, and noble, and becoming Temper, this Compassionate, and good Natured Frame of Soul is; how worthily a ready Inclination to do Good to all the World, at-

* *Ars quaestuosissima, optima Negotiatio.*

† *Hoc habeo quodcunque dedi.*

tracts the Love and Admiration of all that consider it ; How Amiable and Engaging, how Powerful and Irresistible the Charms of Generosity are. As indeed, on the other Hand, nothing is so Mean and Sneaking, so Detestable and Despicable, so Deformed and Unnatural, as Hard-heartedness, and Insensibility of other Peoples Misfortunes ; It is therefore deservedly styled Inhumanity ; to intimate by that Name, that such People are Monsters, and not Men. And, as the Vices themselves, so the Source and Causes of them stand in direct Opposition to each other. For, as Beneficence springs from Greatness and Gallantry of Spirit, so unreasonable Parsimony and Hard-heartedness is the Spawn of Cowardize, and Brutish Degeneracy of Soul.

2.
Several
sorts of it.

Now, there are two ways of becoming Beneficial to our Neighbours ; either as we minister to their Profit, or to their Pleasure. The First procures us Admiration and Esteem ; the Second Love, and good Will. The first is much more valuable, because it regards Mens Necessities and Distresses ; it is acting the Part of a Tender Father, and a true Friend. There is likewise a Difference in these Acts of Kindness themselves ; Some are due from us, such as the Laws of Nature, or positive Institution require at our Hands ; Others are free, and what we are under no express Obligation for, but the Effect of pure Choice, and Love. The Latter of these Two sorts, seem to be more Brave and Generous ; But yet the Former too, when discharged with Application, and Prudence, and sincere Affection, are very Excellent and Commendable, tho' they have the Nature of a Debt, and are such as we cannot be faithful to our Duty, and dispence with our selves in.

3.
Internal
and External.

Now the true Beneficence or Kindness is not properly in the Gift it self, that which a Man sees, and feels, and tastes ; this is too gross a Notion ; and all we can allow, is that These are the Matter, the Signs, and the Demonstrations of our Kindness ; but the Thing it self, is the Disposition and good Heart. The Outward and visible part may be very small and inconsiderable ; and yet that within may at the same time be wondrous great. For this may have proceeded from an exceeding Eagerness and Affection ; a hunger and thirst of doing good ; watching, and contriving, and seeking Occasions for it ; and esteeming such Actions in our Saviour's Terms, *One's Meat and Drink* ; snatching them as greedily, and receiving as sensible a Satisfaction and Delight from them, as from the most necessary Refreshments,

by

by which this Life of ours is sustain'd. A Man may have given to the very utmost of his Ability, and by this means exhaust that little Store, which is scarce sufficient for his own Occasions ; or he may part with that which is particularly valuable and dear to him. These are the Considerations, that enhanced the value of the Widow's Mite ; and render'd one small piece of Money, not equal only, but far superior to all the large Donations of the Rich Contributors. And thus Heathen Authors have likewise concurr'd in their Estimate of good Works. * *In every Benefit, say they, we are to have a more than ordinary respect to that, which a Man by relieving his Neighbour, streightens himself in ; and for the sake of another's Convenience and Advantage, postpones and forgets his own.* On the other Hand, where the Gift it self is large, the Obligation may be very small ; and indeed, in great Gifts there are some Circumstances, which most commonly make it so. For such are bestow'd frequently with Unwillingness and Reluctancy : The expect to be much intreated, and long attended for them, and take time to consider, whether they shall bestow them or not : Now this hath too much of Pomp and Formality in it ; such a Man is desirous to magnifie his own Bounty ; and after all, he gives more to gratifie his own Vanity and Ambition, than to supply the Necessities of them that want ; and so Himself is the Giver and Receiver both. But that which gives another very just Preference in the Case before us, is, That the External Benefit may be presently wrested from us again ; or if not by Fraud and Force, yet it may be spent, or lost ; it may decay upon our Hands, and in process of time vanish quite ; but the inward Disposition, with which it was conferred, is permanent and firm. The Liberty, or the Health, the Wealth, or Honour, or Preferment bestow'd upon us, may by some fresh Accident be lost in an instant ; but still the Kindness and the Obligation remains entire.

Now the Directions, by which a Man may do well to govern himself in the exercise of this excellent Virtue, are such as follow.

4.
Rule for
Beneficence

First, with regard to the Persons ; who are the proper Objects of our Liberality, and whether it be fit to extend it to All, as their Wants, and our own Abilities furnish Op-

* In Beneficio Hoc suspiciendum, quod alteri dedit, ablaturus sibi, utilitatis suæ oblitus.

portunities for it. This is a very reasonable Enquiry, and highly necessary to be resolv'd; because, by doing good to wicked Men, and such as do not deserve our Kindness, a Man may seem to be guilty of a great many Faults at once. This derives Censure and an ill Name upon the Donor, and exposes his Bounty to very vile interpretations; It hardens and supports such People in their Wickedness and Extravagance; breeds Envy and malicious Thoughts; takes away all Distinctions between the Good and the Bad, by allowing the same Countenance and Encouragement to Vice, which is due to Virtue and Desert. For certainly those Assistances, which depend upon our own free Choice, and are the Effect of Grace, and not any Debt by virtue of Obligation and Duty, Worth and Goodness have the best Title to; but yet extreme Necessity, and the general Good of Mankind lay all in common. In these two Cases none are excluded, but even the Wicked and the Ingrateful have Right to come in for a Share, if their Necessities are urgent; and if they be so mingled and interspers'd with the Good, that one cannot enjoy the Benefit, without the other partaking of it too. And undoubtedly it is much better to do good to those who do not deserve it for the sake of them that do; than to withhold our Assistance from those that do deserve, in revenge, and for the discouragement of them who do not. Accordingly we see, that God sets us a daily Example of Universal Beneficence, *He causeth his Sun to rise on the Evil and on the Good; and giveth Rain to the Just and to the Unjust.* These are the Effects of a general Providence: But then he bestows, over and above these, some special Blessings, which are the Effects of a distinguishing Providence; There he makes choice of his own Faithful and Beloved ones; and that Rule mention'd by our Blessed Lord takes place; *It is not meet to take the Children's Bread, and to cast it unto Dogs.* * *There is a vast deal of difference* (says the Philosopher) *between not excluding a Man, and making him your Choice.* In Cases of Extremity, when Affliction and Necessity cry aloud for present Redress and Assistance, we should extend our Charity without Distinction of Merit, and it will not serve us to say, that Men are unworthy. † *Nature calls upon us to be serviceable to all without exception;* and the Consideration of

* Multum refert, utrum aliquem non excludas, an eligas.

† Hominibus prodesse Natura jubet ubicunque Homini beneficio locus.

his being a Man is sufficient to excite our Compassion, when Opportunities of doing Good offer themselves to us. Humanity bids us bear a tender regard, and lend our Endeavours to those that seek, and stretch out their Hands to implore our help; not to pursue them, who turn their Backs upon us: And our Kindness is much more due, much better bestow'd, where we are able to do good, than where they who receive it are capable of doing good to us. It is an Act of Generosity to take the weaker Side, to support those that are sinking, to heal a broken Fortune, and support a drooping Spirit, and to rob the Conqueror of his Pride and Triumph, by snatching the Spoils, and rescuing the vanquish'd Prey out of his Hand. Thus *Chelomis* is said to have done. She was both the Wife and Daughter of a King. These two Princes had a Dispute with one another; in which, while her Husband had the Advantage, she shewed her self a dutiful Daughter, and follow'd her Father's Fortunes, never forsaking him in his greatest Distress; but when the Chance of War turn'd, and cast the Scale on the other side, then she turn'd too, and left her Father to enjoy his Prosperity; and thought this a proper Season to exert the Affection and Fidelity of a Wife, by sticking close to her Husband in his Calamitous Condition.

A Second Rule for the Exercise of this Virtue, is to do it frankly and chearfully; *Not grudgingly, or of Necessity*, says *St. Paul*; *for God loveth a chearful giver*. And *∴ The Kindness you do is doubly welcome, when what is seasonable and necessary comes of its own accord*, without staying to be ask'd or press'd to it. For so much of Entreaty and Attendance as it costs, so much of the Value and Satisfaction is abated. And * *No Man takes any great Joy in being beholding to a Man for that which he did not so properly receive, as extort*. That which is gotten by Importunity is dear bought: He that obtains by dint of asking, ought not to esteem his Supply a Gift; for Attendance, and Address, and earnest Supplications are a very high Price, and pay well for the Purchase. He that asks, humbles and debases himself; he acknowledges himself inferiour; is ashamed and out of Countenance; pays mighty Deference and Respect to the

5-

∴ Bis est gratum quod opus est, si ultro offeras.

* *Nemo lubenter debet, quod non accepit, sed expressit.*

Non tulit gratus, qui accepit rogans; imò nihil charius emittur, quàm quod Precibus, Party

Party apply'd to ; and the true *English* of all his Behaviour is that beggarly Form, *Your Petitioner, as in Duty bound, &c.* This is the very Ground of what I observ'd of *Cæsar* ; it was the Pride of his Heart that made him say, after the Defeat of *Pompey*, that he never took so much Delight in anything, as in being supplicated and sought to ; and, to gratifie his own Vanity in this particular, he gave All, even his Enemies, some Hopes of obtaining their Requests in time, that so he might drill them on to repeat and continue their Applications to him. And what can we make of this ? It was not out of any good Intentions to others, but meerly to please himself, that he shew'd himself exorable, and easie of Access. For Kindness comes easie ; and therefore as an Emblem of its doing so, the Graces of old were described and painted, with loose, transparent Garments ; not girt close about their Bodies, but flowing and free ; to shew, that Favours should have nothing of Trick or Design, nothing strait-lac'd, or of Constraint in them.

6.

A Third Qualification necessary to recommend any Favour, is the conferring it readily, and out of Hand ; This indeed seems to have some Connexion and Dependence upon the former. For all Kindnesses are to be rated by the Good-Will and Disposition of the Donor ; And † He who delays his Relief, was so long in a State of Unwillingness to give it. And as that Loathsomeness is a very great Rebate, so the speedy Compliance and Alacrity of the Mind is a great Enhancement, and doubles the Gift. That cold Indifferency, and those trifling Put-off's, commonly practis'd upon such Occasions, are approv'd by no Body, but Men of Insolence, who make it their Diversion to banter and abuse People : For Diligence and Dispatch are commendable in all Cases, and in none more requisite than in this now before us. There are Five different Methods of proceeding in it ; Three of which are liable to Censure, and the other Two as worthy of Commendation. A Man may deny, but he may keep one in Suspence and Expectation a great while first ; This is a double Injury. He may refuse immediately, or he may grant at last ; and both these amount much to one, when the Matter comes to be fairly computed ; at last, *∴ He that is soon said Nay, is less deceiv'd.* The Fourth is to grant speedily ; and this is

† Qui tardè facit, din noluit.

∴ Minus decipitur. cui negatur celeriter.

very

very well : But the best of all is, to prevent a Request ; to foresee Men's Wants and Wishes, and never put them to the Expence of asking at all.

A Fourth Commendation is the Giving without any prospect of a Requit ; and indeed this is the very thing, wherein the Virtue of Beneficence chiefly consists ; for when once you make it mercenary, it ceases to be a Virtue.

* There is a great deal of less Kindness where there are Expectations cherish'd of the Benefit reflecting back again upon the first Mover. But when there is no Opportunity, no Possibility of a Return ; nay, when Matters are carry'd so privately, that the Party oblig'd does not so much as know his Benefactor, then the Benefit shines in its full Lustre. If a Man study the Point of Retaliation, he will give but slowly, and by Piece-meals ; because this is the thrifty way of being as little out of pocket as he can. Now it were much better to renounce all Thoughts of being paid again, than to be slack in doing good ; because by covering this Return, which is accidental only, and foreign to the purpose, he loses that which is the true and natural Recompence, the inward Complacency of Mind, and the ravishing Satisfactions which result from a Sense of doing good. A Man should not need to be twice intreated for the same thing. For, as the being guilty of Injustice is of it self abominable and base, and there needs no other Consideration, than the Dishonour and Obliquity of the Thing to defer us from it ; so the doing Good is a generous and becoming Act, and it is a Fault to want any other Motive, more than its Native Beauty and Excellence ; the staying till we are argu'd and importun'd into Matters of this Nature, betrays either much Ignorance, or great Indifference. In a Word, † To keep one's Eye upon the Return, and the Account our Kindness is like to turn to, is not properly doing good with our Substance, but turning the Penny, and putting it out to Interest ; These are Methods too distant to be reconcil'd, and confounded together ; and ∴ we should always distinguish between Giving, and driving such a Trade. Such Men are right enough serv'd, when their Expectations are disappointed. As that Woman must not pretend to Honour and Virtue, who denies her Lover, only to inflame his Passion

* Tunc est Virtus dare Beneficia non reditura.

† Non est Beneficium quod in quæstum mittitur.

∴ Demus Beneficium, non foeneremus. Dignus est decipi, qui de recipiendo cogitavit, cum daret. the

the more; and in Hopes that he will renew his Courtship; so that Man must not think to pass for Liberal and Generous, who sends away his Petitioner to Day, that he may see him again to Morrow, or expends that which he hopes will shortly come home to him. For this Reason *Hesiod*, and the old Poets, describ'd the Graces in a State of Virginity; that no Man when he does good Offices, should have regard to multiplying and increase. And especially this falls infinitely short of a Christian's Virtue, whose Master hath positively commanded him, upon these Occasions, to hope for nothing again, to look at no other Recompence than that distant and future one, reserv'd for him by his Paymaster in Heaven; and hath describ'd the very Heathens and Publicans, the most ignorant and most scandalous sort of Men by this Character, that even they will give and lend to those, from whom they have any hopes of receiving as much again.

8. Another Rule is, To oblige Men in their own way, so as may be most to the Satisfaction of the Receiver; for this convinces him, that what we do of this kind, is entirely for his Sake and Service. And here we shall do well to take notice, that there are two sort of good Offices. Some are such, as derive Credit and Honour upon the Receiver, and these should be contriv'd in as publick a manner as possible; Others tend to his Profit only; they supply his Wants, or support his Weakness, or cover his Shame, or assist him in some other Necessity or Distress. And these should be carry'd with all the Privacy imaginable; so much that, if it be possible, none but the Person himself should know it: Nay, if that can any way serve his Interest, or be more acceptable to him, it will be very fit and prudent to keep Him in Ignorance too; to let the Kindness drop into his Mouth, and convey it to him under-hand. For many times a Man's Circumstances require a Relief, which he is out of Countenance to accept; and there is a Tenderness due to the Modesty of Persons reduc'd by Afflictions and Casualties, who cannot change their Souls with their Fortunes. Besides, that all divulging of Kindness is perfectly useless to one that does it upon a true Principle; for a Man's own Conscience cannot possibly be ignorant of his Merit, and this single Witness is as good as Ten Thousand others.

9. It must likewise be done without the Detriment or just Offence of any other Person whatever; but especially without the least Violation of Equity and Justice. For a Man

cannot with any tolerable Sense be said to do good, when he does ill at the same time ; those that want our Relief ought to have it ; but we must not relieve them at other People's Expence. What the Wise Man says of the Hypocrite's Piety is every whit as true of his Liberality and Charity, *He that sacrificeth of a thing wrongfully gotten, his Offering is ridiculous, and he is as one that killeth the Son before his Father's Eyes.* Ecclus. xxxiv. 18, 20.

A Seventh Qualification is, To do it prudently and considerately. A Man is sometimes very hard put to it to answer People's Requests, and at a loss, either how to grant, or how to refuse them. This is a Difficulty owing to a very ill Disposition common to most Men, but most predominant in those that make the Requests ; which inclines them to resent a Denial, tho' never so reasonable in its self, and never so tenderly express'd. Some by this means are driven to a very poor, and indeed a very dishonest Refuge ; which is, to promise every thing to every Body, tho' they are sensible oftentimes, that it is not in their power ; and, which is still worse, conscious to themselves, that it never was in their Intention to make it good ; but, all this notwithstanding, they shift off the Difficulty, till it comes to the very Point of Performance ; and trust to some Accident or other, to bring them off, by making such an Alteration in their Affairs, that the Obligation shall cease : Or else, if it be still expected, that they should stand by their Engagements, some paltry Evasions are laid hold of in their Excuse : But still the Evil Day is put far from them ; and the Suitor's Mouth is stopp'd for the present. Now all this is quite wrong, and a miserable Instance of Human Frailty ; for no Man ought to promise, or encourage the Expectation of any thing which he either is not able, or may not lawfully, or does not really and sincerely design, to make good to the uttermost. And when he finds himself at a Bay, enclos'd between these two Difficulties, of making a Promise, which is either unjust, or inexpedient, or dishonourable and unbecoming his Character to fulfil ; or else of giving a Denial, which is sure to be ill taken, and breed Mischief and Discontent ; the best Course to extricate himself, is to break, to evade the Blow ; either by declining a positive Answer, or else by wording his Promise so cautiously, and in general Expressions of Civility and good Inclination, that the Person may have nothing of a punctual Engagement to fasten upon. There is, I confess, somewhat of Management

and Cunning in doing so, which may make this Advice seem strange and inconsistent, with that Frankness of Temper, and Sincerity in Conversation, which I have been lately recommending; but we are to consider this as a Case of Necessity, that when Men will be unreasonable, we must deal with them as we can, and that they deserve at least to be thus treated.

11. An Eighth necessary Ingredient is, that all Things of this Kind be done with a true Spirit of Humanity, and sincere Affection; for such a Temper will be very sensibly concern'd for the Benefit of all Mankind; but more particularly it will bear a very tender regard to the Miseries of the Indigent and Afflicted; which is a Virtue more particularly distinguish'd by the Name of Mercy and Pity. Those who want these Bowels, are Irregularities and Deviations from Nature, and so distant from Grace and Goodness, that the Apostle reckons this, as one of the Characters of the last and worst Times. But then, the Compassion I mean here, is a Brave, and Masculine, and Generous Quality; not a Softness and Effeminacy of Soul, which melts into Tears, and creates Perplexity and Disorder of Thought. For this is a faulty Passion, such as weak and wicked People are capable of falling under; concerning which I have already made some Remarks in its proper Place; and demonstrated, that there is a criminal and foolish Pity, as well as a wise, well-govern'd, and commendable one. We ought indeed to succour the Afflicted; but we must not afflict our selves for them, nor make their Miseries our own. This were unprofitable to them, and greatly prejudicial to us; nor may we strain a Point of Decency or Duty upon their Account; for Charity cannot dispense with Justice, nor set aside our other Obligations. God himself hath positively forbidden us to favour a Poor Man in his Cause. And God himself and the Saints are said to be Pitiful and Compassionate; but yet not so, as to give any Disturbance to the Perfection of their own Happiness; any more than to impair the Perfection of their Holiness; in the Methods made use of for the succour of those they do pity.

12. A Ninth Rule is, to avoid Boasting of our Kindness, and all manner of unnecessary Publication of it. This is a sort of Upbraiding and Reproach; it cancels the Obligation quite, and is the most invidious way of making Men our Enemies; by turning our Favours into Provocations; and therefore it is very well observ'd to this purpose, That he
who

who receives a good Turn, should never forget it ; but he who does one, should never remember it.

A Tenth is, to proceed, and not be weary of well-doing. but keep our old Favours always fresh, by the Addition of new ones. This will be a powerful Charm to attract the Affection of all the World, and make Men ambitious of our Friendship. Nor should a Man ever repent of his past Obligations, tho' sensible, that he hath had the Misfortune to scatter his Seed in a barren and ungrateful Soil. † *Let even the Miscarriage of your Kindness give you Satisfaction,* (says the Philosopher) *and let not any such Expression escape you, as, I wish I had never done so ;* For indeed there can be no just Foundation for grudging our Kindness. The Unthankful Wretch injures no Body but himself ; and the Favour, that was misplaced, is not utterly lost or thrown away, it is devoted to a Holy and Excellent use, and cannot be destroy'd or profan'd by the Receiver's Fault. If another will needs be wicked, and act otherwise than becomes him, this can never justify my ceasing to be good. But further, the generous and noble Spirit distinguishes it self by Perseverance ; an triumphs in the Conquest of Ingratitude and Ill-nature, when invincible Beneficence hath heaped Coals of Fire upon their Heads, melted them down, and softned them into good Temper, and a better Sense of Things. So says the Moralist, * *A Great Soul bears the ingrateful Man so long, till at last he makes them grateful ; for obstinate and resolute Goodness will conquer the worst of Men.*

The last Direction I shall lay down upon this Occasion is, That when a thing is given, we should let a Man use and enjoy it quietly, and not be troublesome and unreasonable with him ; like some, who when they have put one into any Office or Preferment, will needs be thrusting in their Oar, and execute it for him : Or else procure a Man some considerable Advantage, and then make over what proportion of the Profits they see fit, to themselves. Receivers in such Cases ought not to endure the being thus imposed upon ; and any Resentments or Refusals made upon this Account, are by no means the Marks of Ingratitude, but a preservation of their own Rights. And whatever the

† Beneficii tui etiam infœlicitas placeat : nusquam hæc vox Vellem non fecisse.

* Optimi & ingentis animi est tam diu ferre ingratum, donec feceris gratum ; vincit malos pertinax Bonitas.

Benefactor may have contributed to our Preferment, he wipes out the whole Score, and acquits us of all our Obligations, by these imperious and busie Interpositions. The Story is not amiss concerning one of the Popes, who being press'd hard by one of the Cardinals to do somewhat inconvenient, or perhaps unjust, in his Favour; and (as a Motive, which was thought irresistible, or at least a Resentment which he look'd upon as reasonable in case of refusal) the Cardinal re-minding him that his Interest had been formerly at his Service, and his Popedom was owing to it; His Holiness very pertinently reply'd, *If you made me Pope, pray let me be so, and do not take back again the Authority you gave me.*

15.
Several
sorts of
Kindnesses.

After these several Rules for the directing Men in the Exercise of Beneficence, it may be seasonable to observe, that there are Benefits of several sorts; some of them much more acceptable than others, and thus some more, and others less engaging. Those are more welcome that come from the Hand of a Friend, and one whom we are strongly dispos'd to love, without any such Inducement: As, on the contrary, it is very grievous and grating to be oblig'd by one, of whom we have no Opinion, and desire of all things not to be indebted to. Those are likewise so, which proceed from a Person whom we have formerly oblig'd our selves; because this is not so much Gratitude, as Justice and Payment of Arrears, and so draws very little or no new Debt upon us. Such again are those done in a time of Necessity, and when our Occasions were very urgent: These have a mighty Influence; they utterly deface all past Injuries and Misunderstandings, if any such there were; and leave a strong Tie upon a Man's Honour; as, on the other Hand, the denying our Assistance in Cases of Extremity, is extremely unkind, and wipes out all Remembrances of any former Benefits. Such, once more, are Those, that can be easily acknowledged, and admit of a suitable Return; as, on the contrary, such as the Receiver is out of all Capacity to require, commonly breed Hatred and a secret Dislike: For there is a Pride in most Men, that makes them uneasie to be always behind-hand; and hence he who is sensible, that he can never make amends for all he hath receiv'd, every time that he sees his Benefactor, fancies himself dogg'd by a Creditor, upbraided by a living Witness of his Insufficiency or Ingratitude; and these secret Reproaches of his own Mind, give great Uneasiness and Discontent; for no Bankrupt can bear being twitted with his Poverty. Some again there are, which

which the more free and honourable, and respectful they are, the more burdensome and weighty they are ; provided the Receiver be a Person of Honour and Principle : Such, I mean, as bind the Consciences and the Wills of Men ; for they tie a Man up faster, keep him more tight, and render him more cautious and fearful of failing, or forgetfulness. A Man is Ten times more a Prisoner, when confin'd by his his own Word, that if he were under Lock and Key. It is easier to be bound by Legal and publick Restraints, and Forms of Engagements, than by the Laws of Honour and Conscience ; and two Notaries in this Case are better than one. When a Man says, *I desire nothing but your Word, I depend upon your Honesty* ; such a one indeed shews greater respect : But if he be sure of his Man, he puts him upon a stricter Obligation, and himself upon better Security than Bonds and Judgments. A Man who engages nothing but his Word, is always in Fear and Constraint, and upon his Guard, lest he should forfeit or forget it. Your Mortgage, and he that is under the power of Legal Forms, is deliver'd from that Anxiety, and depends upon his Creditor's Instruments, which will not fail to refresh his Memory, when the Bonds become due. Where there is any external Force, the Will is always less intent ; and where the Constraint is less, there in proportion the Application of the Will is greater. * *What the Law compels me to, is very hardly my own Choice ; for I do not properly choose, but submit to it.*

Benefits produce Obligations, and from Obligations again 16.
fresh Benefits spring up : So that Beneficence is reciprocal-Of the Ob-
ly the Child and the Parent, the Effect and the Cause ; and ligation.
there is a twofold Obligation, which we may distinguish by an Active and a Passive Obligation. Parents, and Princes, and all Superiours are bound in Duty, and by virtue of their Station, to procure the Benefit and Advantage of Those, whom either the Laws and Order of Nature, or the political Constitutions of Government, or any other Law relating to their Post, have committed to their Inspection and Care. And not only so, but All in general, whether their Character be Publick or not, if they have Wealth and Power, are by the Law of Nature oblig'd to extend their Help and Bounty towards the Necessitous and Distressed. And this is the first sort of Obligation. But then from good Offices thus done, whether they be in some regard

* Quod me Jus cogit, vix à Voluntate impetrem.

owing to us, as flowing from the Duty incumbent upon the Benefactor, by virtue of this former Engagement; Or whether they be the effect of pure Choice, entirely Grace, and nothing of Debt, there arises the Second sort of Obligation, whereby the Receivers are bound to acknowledge the Kindness, and to be thankful for it. All this mutual Exchange, and propagation of Engagements and good Turns, *Hesiod* hath intimated to us by his Discription of the *Graces*, when he Paints them Three in Number, and all joining Hands.

17.
The first
Original
Obligation.

The First, or Original Obligation, is satisfy'd by the due Performance of those particular Offices, which each Person's respective Station requires from him. And what these are, we shall very shortly take occasion to explain at large, when the Special Duties, which make up the other Branch of Justice to our Neighbour, come to be consider'd. In the mean while I desire my Reader to observe, that the Primitive Engagement we are treating of at present, tho' it cannot be utterly dissolv'd, yet it may be tied faster and closer, or slacken and sit more loose upon us, by several accidental Circumstances; and particularly, it may be mightily strengthened, or diminished, by the Conditions and Behaviour of those we have to deal with. If the very Relation of a Subject or a Child bind us to them, the Affectionate and Dutiful Carriage of good Subjects, and good Children, enforce the Obligations of Kindness yet more. And so again; Their Misdemeanours, their Ingratitude, their Insolence and Unworthy Behaviour, do in a great Measure discharge us of that Tenderness and Care, which they have otherwise a Right to expect from us. And I cannot tell, whether this Observation may not hold in some Degree, with regard to Natural Defects also. A Man may; perhaps indeed he cannot, but have less Affection for a Child, or a Kinsman, or a Servant, not only if he be Ill-tempered and Perverse; but if he be deformed, or crooked, or unfortunate in his Person. For God, who made Beauty an attractive Excellence, seems himself to have lower'd the Natural Value such Persons are to be rated at. But then, whatever Influence this Consideration may have upon our Minds and Inclinations, it must have none at all upon the outward Administration of our Office. These unhappy Persons have the same Title to our Justice and Charity; their Necessities put in the same common Claim to our Assistance and Relief; and all the Good we are engaged to
upon

upon any publick and general Account, is still to be Punctually performed towards them ; and indeed the less to be neglected, because, those Natural Defects are their Misfortunes only, not their Faults ; and as such should excite our Pity to supply the Place of Inclination.

But that Obligation, which lies before us at present, is the Second Sort ; such as arises from Benefits received : *The Second* And for our better Direction in this Matter, we shall do *Obligation.* well to observe ;

First of all ; That the Laws of Acknowledgement and grateful Returns are Natural and Universal ; they are not confined to Humanity alone, but even Brutes themselves have a Sense of, and share in them. Nay, and those too, not only tame, and manageable, and Domestick Animals, which might tempt us to think this Disposition the Effect of Art or Custom ; but even the Wildest and most Savage Creatures : For in them we meet with several notable Instances of Gratitude ; One Example whereof I have formerly mention'd, in the Behaviour of a Lyon, to the *Roman* Slave, who was expos'd in the Theatre to be devoured by him.

Book I.
Chap. 8.
Sect. 12.

Secondly, It is a Virtuous Act, and a certain Indication of a good Mind ; for which Reason it is really more valuable, than Beneficence it self: For Liberality often proceeds from Plenty, or Power ; Regard to one's own Interest or Reputation, and not very often from pure Virtue ; But Gratitude cannot spring from any other Cause than an ingenuous Disposition. And therefore, tho' the doing of good Offices may be the more desireable, yet the grateful Acknowledgement, and studying to requite them when they are done, is the more commendable of the Two.

Thirdly, Gratitude is likewise an easie and a pleasant Duty ; and yet such as no body can be excused from, upon the Pretence of Disability, or Want of Opportunity ; because it is always in our own Disposal, always present with us. Now, nothing is so easie, as to obey and follow the Dictates of Nature ; and nothing so Pleasant and Satisfactory, as for a Man to acquit himself of Obligations, to come out of Debt, and set himself Free, and upon the Level with his Neighbours.

From all that hath been said upon this Subject, we cannot but discern, how much of Baseness, and Meanness of Spirit, the Vices of Ingratitude and Neglect carry with them ; how deservedly Odious they are to all the World.

19.

* *To call a Man Ingrateful, is the worst and blackest Accusation you can lay to his Charge.* It is an Offence against Nature, and a certain Indication of an ill Temper; a scandalous and reproachful Vice; such as is not to be endured, because it breaks all Society and good Correspondence. The Revenge which follows upon an Injury, and the Ingratitude which follows a Kindness, are both Bad and Blameable, but not equally so. Revenge is indeed the stronger and more violent Passion; but it hath less of Deformity and Degeneracy of Soul, than Ingratitude. The Evils and Diseases of our Minds, are like those incident to our Bodies; where those that are more Dangerous and Moral are not always the most Painful and Acute. And therefore Revenge may disorder a Man more, but Ingratitude corrupts his Virtue more. In the Former there is some Appearance of Justice, Men are not ashamed to pursue and own that publicly; but the latter is all over Infamy and Baseness, and no Man was ever yet so abandoned or hardy, to confess or glory in it.

20. Now Gratitude, to render it compleat, and in all Points what it ought to be, must have these following Qualifications.

*First, A Man must receive the Kindnesses done to him, cheerfully and friendly; he must look and express himself well pleased with them. † He that gives a Favour kind Entertainment, hath made the first Payment already. Secondly, He must never forget, or be unmindful of it. ∴ He that forgets his Benefactor, is of all others the farthest from Gratitude; for how is it possible a Man should discharge this Duty, who hath suffered the Foundation of it to slip quite from under him? Thirdly, He must not be sparing to own and publish it, * It is an argument of Ingenuity and becoming Modesty, frankly to confess who we have been the better for; and this is a Reward due to the Maker of our Fortunes. As we have found by comfortable Experience, the Hearts and Hands of our*

* *Dixeris Maledicta cuncta, cum ingratum hominem dixeris. Ingratitudo grave vitium, intolerabile quod dissociat homines.*

† *Qui gratè Beneficium accepit, primam ejus Pensionem solvit.*

∴ *Ingratissimus omnium, qui oblitus; nusquam enim gratus fieri potest, cui totum Beneficium elapsus est.*

* *Ingenui pudoris est fateri per quos profeceremus, & hæc quasi merces Authoris.*

Friends

Friends open to our Advantage, so it is fit they should find our Mouths open too, and our Tongues liberal in the Declarations of their Readiness to assist us. And that our Memory upon this occasion may never want Refreshing, it will be Decent to mention the Advantage we have receiv'd, by the Title of his Gifts, who conferred it upon us. The *Fourth* and *Last* is, to make a Return, and Restitution, wherein we may govern our selves according to these Four Rules.

First, That this be not done too hastily ; We should not be extreamly Eager and Anxious in the Thing ; for this hath a very ill Savour : It looks like Pride, as if we were loth, and scorn'd to be oblig'd ; and for that Reason were impatient to get out of their Debt. This ministers a very just cause of Jealousie to our Benefactor, that his Kindness was not well taken, when we shew our selves so very uneasie under the Engagements it lays upon us. A convenient time therefore is necessary to be taken, and a favourable Oportunity waited for, tho' this ought not to be very distant neither, nor be put off to too long a Day. For the *Graces* are painted Young, to hint, that Favours should not grow old upon our Hands. I add farther, that this Oportunity should be one that offers it self of its own Accord ; or if of Our seeking, yet so contrived, that it may be void of all Suspicion of Vanity and Ostentation.

Secondly, We should pay back with Interest, and exceed the Proportion of what we receive ; like a good Soil, which cannot maintain the Character, if it only produce the Seed again ; So a grateful Man * will forfeit that Title, if he restore no more than the Principal. But the least we must do, is to return as much as we received ; and that with all possible Demonstrations, that we thought our selves under an Obligation, and wish'd it our Power to do more. That what we have done in the mean while, is not look'd upon as a full Satisfaction, but only as an Acknowledgment of the Debt, and a Testimony of our Sincerity, and Respect.

Thirdly, That these Returns be made willingly and chearfully ; for † *he is not Grateful, whom Fear, or Force, make de-*

* Ingratus est, qui Beneficium reddit sine usurâ.

† Ingratus est, qui metu gratus est—Eodem animo beneficium debetur quo datur—Errat si quis Beneficium libentius accipit quàm reddit.

sirom to appear so. Especially too, if the Kindness was done Frankly and generously ; For we should pay back in the same Coin, and with all the commendable Qualities the Favour brought along to recommend it ; *And that Man is much to blame, who is more ready and cheerful when he is to receive a Kindness, than when it is expected he should requite one.*

Fourthly, If a Man's Circumstances be such, as render him Incapable of actual Restitution, at least he ought to take Care that he be not wanting in Will, and this Grateful Disposition is the First and Principal Part of the Thing ; the very Life and Soul both of the Benefit, and of the Acknowledgement in return for it. This indeed, can have no Witness but it self to testify for it. But, as the Thanks of the Heart, ought to be well accepted, where People are in no Condition to pay more ; so the Desires and Offers of obliging us, either when our Friends could not compass their Desires, or when we had no need, or did not think fit to accept their Services, must be acknowledged, as if we had actually received them. For here was the Will, tho' not the Deed ; and this, as I said, is the Chief, and of it self a sufficient Ground of Obligation to Gratitude.

T H E
Second P A R T
O F
J U S T I C E:
C O N S I S T I N G

Of Duties owing to, and from certain Persons, and arising from Special and Personal Obligations.

The P R E F A C E.

MY Design is, in the next Place, to treat of such Duties, as are peculiar to some Men, and not to others. And These differ according as the Persons concern'd in them, and their respective Conditions differ. Some of them are unequal, as Superiours, and Inferiours: Others are equal and upon the same Level. I shall begin with married Persons because this is a Relation mixt and compounded of both; They being in some Respects Equal, and in Others Unequal. Besides, it will be convenient to set out with such Instances of Justice, as are Private and Domestick, These being in the very Nature and Order of Things antecedent to those that are Publick and Political. For Families are the Foundation, and first Matter of Common-wealths, and Kingdoms. And therefore the Justice exercised here, is the Source, and Model, and first Draught of Publick Administrations. Now, these Domestick Relations are Three; Husband and Wife, Parents

and

and Children, Masters and Servants. These are the Principal Parts of a Family, but that of Husband and Wife is the Ground-work, and beginning of all the rest. And therefore That hath a right to be first considered.

CHAP. XII.

The Duties of a Married State.

1.

IN Regard the Persons under this Condition may be considered in different Respects, according to that Mixture of Equality and Inequality, which I have observed to be in their Circumstances, it must needs follow, that the Duties peculiar to such a State, are of Two Sorts ; Some common to both, and Others appropriated to each of the Parties. Now, of those that are reciprocal, the Obligation is entirely the same ; and the Consciences of both are equally violated by the Breach of them ; though, according to the Customs of the World, the Penalty, and Reproach, and Inconvenience fall more Heavy on one side, than they do on the other. By these reciprocal Duties, I understand, an Entire Affection, steady Loyalty, uncorrupted Fidelity, and unreserved Communication of all things whatsoever ; so that neither of them have any thing they can call their own, exclusive to the Right and Claim of the Other. To these we may add a prudent, and provident Care, and the Exercise of a just Authority over their Family, a diligent Inspection into their Manners, and consulting the Advantage of all that belong to them. Of this Subject we have spoken more at large in the first Part of this Treatise.

Book. I.
Chap. 42.

2.

*Husband's
Duty.*

The other sort are Duties peculiar to each of the Parties ; and these differ, according to the Terms of that unequal Relation, in which they stand. For, those of the Husband, considered as Superiour, are. 1. Instructing his Wife, conferring with, and directing her in every Particular, that may any way contribute to their Honour and Advantage ; taking Care, that she may be Ignorant in no Part of the Duty expected from her Character, nor defective in any useful and necessary Accomplishments, which she is capable of attaining to ; and all this to be done, not in a Rough and Magisterial Way ; but with all possible Gentleness and Sweetness,

Sweetness, in the softest and most engaging manner, with the Tenderness of a Parent, and the respectful Affection of a Friend. 2. The maintaining her as his Wife; as befits One, whom he hath made the same with himself; and therefore without any regard to her former Circumstances. Whether she did, or did not bring a Fortune, That alters not the Case one whit; such Considerations are quite out of Doors, and nothing now lies before him, but the present Relation between them. He is indeed to be governed by his own Abilities, and will do well to secure the main Chance; but then all the Frugality upon this Account must extend to the retrenching his own Expences too: For whatever Figure he allows himself to make; his Wife ought to be supported Suitably, and in Proportion to it. 3. The providing her with Clothes, which is a Right so undoubted, that all Laws concur in giving a Wife this Privilege; and that in so Solemn and Incommunicable a manner, that they have denied the Husband a Power, of disposing any thing of this Kind away from her; and have not left them liable to the Payment of his just Debts. 4. The Rights of the Bed. 5. The Loving, Cherishing, and Protecting her. Those two Extreams, which the World are apt to run into, are Vicious and Abominable. The keeping them under, and treating them like Servants; and the submitting to them as if they were absolute Mistresses. These I take to be the principal and constant Duties. Others there are, Accidental, and Occasional Duties, secondary to, and consequent upon the former: Such as, taking Care of her, if she be Sick; Ransoming her, if she be taken Captive; Burying her Honourably, and according to her Quality, if she happen to die; and Making Provision by his last Will, for her decent Support in her Widowhood, and the comfortable Subsistence of the Children she hath brought him.

The Duties of the Wife are to pay all becoming Honour, and Reverence, and Respect to her Husband; looking upon him, as a kind and Affectionate Master. Accordingly the Scripture takes Notice, that Women eminent for their Conjugal Virtues, used to call their Husbands *Lord*; and it is observable, that the same Word in the *Hebrew* Tongue, signifies *Lord* and *Husband* both. 3.
Wife's
Duty.

The Imagination, that a Woman lessens her self by this respectful and submissive Behaviour, is most Frivolous and Foolish; for she that discharges this part of her Duty well,
con-

consults her own, more than her Husband's Honour ; and she that is Insolent and Imperious, Humoursome and Perverse, does the greatest Injury to her self. A Second Duty is Obedience to all his lawful and just Commands, complying with his Humours, and bringing over her own Inclinations to His : For a good and a prudent Wife, is like a true Glass, which makes an exact Reflection of the Face that looks in it. She should have no Design, no Passion, no Thought particular to her self ; but to be sure, none in Opposition to His. Like Dimensions and Accidents, which have no Motion, no separate Existence of their own, but constantly move with, and subsist in the Body whereunto they belong ; so Wives should always keep close, and be from the very Heart, and even Affections of their Souls, entirely, and inseparably united to their Husbands. A Third is Service, That part especially, which relates to the providing him seasonable and Necessary Refreshments, over-looking the Kitchen, ordering the Table, and not disdaining to do any Offices, or give him any kind of Assistance about his Person ; a Duty so fit to be condescended to, that the Antients were wont to reckon Washing the Feet in particular, among the Instances of Service, due from the Wife to the Husband. *Fourthly*, Keeping much at Home, upon which Account a Wife is compar'd to a Tortoise, that carries her House upon her Back ; and used heretofore to be painted with her Feet Naked, an Emblem of her not being provided for stirring abroad. This is a modest and decent Reserve, requisite at all Times, but more especially in the Absence of her Husband. For a good Wife is the exact Reverse of the Moon ; she shines abroad, and in full Lustre, when near her Sun ; but disappears, and is totally invisible, when at a Distance from him. A *Fifth*, is Silence ; for she should never give her self the Liberty of talking much, except with her Husband, or for him ; Here indeed her Tongue may take a Loose, and is subject to no other Restraint, than the speaking no more, than is convenient. This, I confess, is a very difficult Point, hard of Digestion in this lavish Age ; where Multitude of Words sets up for a Female Virtue ; and so rare in all Ages, that the Wise Son of *Sirach* calls a silent Woman, a Precious and Particular Gift of God. The *Sixth* is applying her self to Housewifery and good Management ; for tho' *Solomon's* Description of a wise and good Woman may be thought too Mean and Mechanical for

Eccus.
xxvi. 14.

Prov.
xxxi.

Ch. 12. *The Duties of a Married State.* 223

for this refined Generation, yet certain it is, that the Business of a Family is the most Profitable, nay, the most Honourable Study they can employ themselves in. This is the Reigning Accomplishment, That, which so far as Fortune is concerned, ought to be principally esteemed and regarded in the Choice of a Wife; To say the Truth, this is a Fortune singly, and by it self; the Observation, or the Neglect of it, without the Addition of any Casualties, is sufficient to ruin, or to preserve, nay, to make a Family. But this hath the Fate of all other Excellencies too, which is to be exceeding rare and scarce. There are, I confess, a great many sordid and scraping Wives, but very few good Managers. But alas! there is a vast deal of Difference between the Avarice and Parsimony, and provident Care and good Housewifery.

As to the Enjoyments indulged in a Married State; Men should always remember, that this is a Chast, a Pure, and a Religious Union; Consecrated to Excellent Mysteries, and Holy Purposes; and therefore, that all the Pleasures of it should be used with Moderation and Sobriety: In such Measures only, as Prudence and Conscience would direct, when consulted seriously, and without any Byas from gross and carnal Affections. And sure it would very ill become a Society instituted for mutual Comfort, and the Advancement of Religion, and the preservation of Purity, to throw off all Restraint; and convert their Privilege of Lawful Delights, into an Occasion of abandoning themselves to Sensuality and Licentiousness. This is one of those Cases, where no certain Bounds can be prescribed; but it will highly concern all Persons engaged in this State, to consider the Dignity and the Design of it, and to keep themselves under such Reserves, as may neither profane the one, nor evacuate the other.

4.

C H A P. XIII.

Good Management.

THIS is a very becoming and necessary Care. An Employment, not hard to be attained to ; every Man of common Discretion is capable of it. But, though the Art be easily learned, the constant Exercise of it is Intricate and Laborious ; by Reason of that Great Variety of Business, in which it engages us ; and, tho' many Matters about which it is managed, be small and inconsiderable in themselves ; yet the constant Succession of them is very troublesome. Domestick Cares give great Uneasiness, because they allow of no Intermiſſion ; but, if the Difficulties are occasion'd by the principal Persons in the Family, they fret, and gall, and wrangle inward, and scarce admit of any Rest or Remedy.

The best Method of rendring this Care easie and effectual, is, to procure some faithful Servants, in whose Honesty we can have entire Confidence, and Security. To buy in Provisions in their proper Seasons, and wait for the best Markets ; To prevent all unnecessary Waste, which is the Province, proper to the Mistress of the House. To make Necessity, and Cleanliness, and Order, our first Care ; and when These are served, if our Circumstances will extend farther, then to provide for Plenty, and Shew, and Niceness ; a gentile Appearance, and every Thing fashionable in it's Kind. To regulate our Expences, by cutting off our Superfluous Charge ; yet so, as to have a Regard to Decency and Convenience, and grudge Nothing, which either Necessity or Duty call for from us. One Shilling saved, with these Limitations, will do us more Credit, than Ten idly squandered away. But to the avoiding Profuseness, we should also add the other commendable Quality, of good Contrivance ; for it is a Mark of great Address, when we can make our Penny go a great Way, and appear Handsomely with little Charge : But above all things, a Man must be sure to keep within Compass, and suit his way of Living to his present Circumstances : For the most probable Prospects, are still but Futurities ; and, as such, they must needs be uncertain ; so that there cannot be a more ridiculous

Ch. 14. *The Duty of Parents and Children.* 225

ridiculous Folly, than to spend high in Confidence of Rever-
sions, and distant Expectations.

A Master's Eye must be every where ; and if either He or the Mistress be ignorant and unexperienced in Business, they must take Care to conceal this Infirmary, and pretend at least to understand all that belongs to them. But especially, they must never appear Negligent or Remiss, but put on an Air of Diligence and Concern however. For, if once the Servants get a Notion of their being Careless, how their Affairs are managed, they will not fail to make their Advantage, and in a short time, leave them little or nothing to take Care of.

C H A P. XIV.

The Duty of Parents and Children.

THE Duty of Parents and Children is Reciprocal, and Natural on both sides ; Thus far they both agree. But, if the Obligation be somewhat stricter on the Child's Part, that Difference is compensated by being more Ancient on the Parents side : For Parents are the Authors, and first Cause ; and, of the Two, of much greater Consequence to the Publick. The Peopling the World with Good Men and Good Patriots, is their Work ; the Education and Instruction of Youth is the only Method of effecting it, so that here the first Seeds of Political Societies and Institutions are first laid. And, of the two Inconveniencies, That is much less, which the State suffers from the Disobedience and Ingratitude of Children toward their Parents, than from the Remissness and Neglect Parents are guilty of toward their Children. Hence, in the *Lacedemonian*, and some other very wise Governments, there were Mulcts and other Penalties inflicted upon Parents, when their Children prov'd Perverse and Ill-temper'd. And *Plato* declared, he knew no one Instance, that needed a Man's Care more, or deserved it better, than the endeavouring to make a good Son. And *Crates* in great Wrath expostulated thus with his Country-men, " To what Purpose is all this Pains to heap up great Estates, while it is no part of your Concern what manner of Heirs you leave them to ? This is like a Man's being

P

" nice

“ nice of his Shoe, and negligent of his Foot. What
 “ should a Man do with Riches, who hath not the Sense,
 “ nor the Heart to make a good Uſe of them ? This is
 “ like an embroidered Saddle, and ſumptuous Furniture
 “ upon a Jaded Horſe. Parents indeed are doubly obliged
 to the Performance of the Duty. In Kindneſs to them-
 ſelves, as they are their own Off-ſpring ; and in Regard to
 the Publick, becauſe theſe young Suckers are the Hopes of
 the Tree, the promiſing Shoots, upon the thriving and kindly
 cultivating whereof, the Strength and Succeſſion of the
 Body Politick depends. So that this is killing two Birds
 with one Stone, ſerving one’s own private Intereſt, and pro-
 moting the Welfare and Honour of one’s Country, at the
 ſame time.

2. Now, this Duty conſiſts of Four Parts ; each of which
 ſucceed in order one to the other ; and theſe are proportion’d
 to the Four Advantages which Children ought to receive
 from their Parents in their proper Seasons. Life, and
 Nouriſhment, Inſtruction, and partaking of the Advantages
 of Life with them. The *Fiſt* reſpects the Time of a Child’s
 Exiſtence, till his Birth incluſively ; The *Second* his Infan-
 cy ; the *Third* his Youth, and the *Laſt* his riper Age.

3. Concerning the *Fiſt* of theſe, I ſhall only ſay, That
 though it be very little attended to, yet it is of mighty
 Conſequence, and of ſtrict Obligation : For no Man, who
 hath any the leaſt Inſight into Nature, can be ignorant,
 how hereditary Conſtitutions and Complexions are : And
 therefore we may be good or ill Parents, even before our
 Children are born. And I am ſure, among other Induce-
 ments to the care of Health, and a regular way of living,
 This ought not to be the leaſt, that Thoſe who derive
 their Being from us, do depend upon this Care for a great part
 of their Happineſs ; For by what hath been largely diſcourſed
 in the fiſt Book, it may plainly appear, that the Capac-
 ity and Turn of Men’s Minds, and the Soundneſs and Vi-
 gour of their Bodies, are in great Meaſure owing to a
 Parents good Conſtitution. And certainly, To Men of any
 Conſcience, it ſhould be an Eternal String and Reproach,
 to reflect what Rotteneſs and Diſeaſes, they entail upon
 their Poſterity, by abandoning themſelves to Lewdneſs and
 Debauchery ; how dearly thoſe Innocents pay for their
 Anceſtor’s Exceſſes, and what a Barbarity it is to ſend poor
 Wretches into the World, to languish out a Life of Miſery
 and Pain, and ſuffer for Sins, which they never commit-
 ted.

Ch. 14. *The Duty of Parents and Children.* 227

red. So Necessary, so Important a Virtue is Temperance to Successions and Families, as well as to Mens own Persons : So Mischievous is Vice, and so Subtilly does it propagate its dismal Effects, even to those that are yet unborn.

The *Second* of these Heads I leave to Physicians and Nurses ; and having thus briefly dispatch'd the Two First, because somewhat foreign to our present Design, and necessary to be mention'd, only for the rendring this Division compleat, I shall proceed to the *Third*, which concerns the Instructing of them; and is a Subject more worthy our serious Consideration.

So soon as the Child begins to move his Soul ; and the Faculties of That, as well as the Organs of his Body shew that he is a Rational, and not only a Living Creatur ; great Application should be used to form him well at first. And this Care may be allowed to take Place about Four or Five Years Old, for by that time the Memory and Imagination, and some little Strokes of Reason begin to dawn and display themselves. It is not to be imagined, of what consequence these first Tinctures and Impressions are to the following part of Life ; and what wonderful Efficacy and Influence they have, even to the changing and conquering Nature it self : For Education is frequently observed to be Stronger than Natural Disposition ; either for the bettering or corrupting of the Man. *Lycurgus* made People sensible of this, by taking Two Whelps of the same Litter, which he had brought up different Ways, and in the Presence of a great Company, setting before them Broth and a young Leveret ; the Dog which had been brought up tenderly, and within Doors, fell to the Broth ; but the other which had been used to range and hunt, neglected his Meat, and pursued his Game.

Now that which renders such Instructions so marvellously powerful, is, that they are taken in very easily, and as hardly lost again : For that which comes first, takes absolute Possession ; and carries all the Authority you can desire ; there being no Antecedent Notions to dispute the Title, or call the Truth of it in Question. While therefore the Soul is fresh and clear, a fair and perfect Blank, flexible and tender, there can be no Difficulty in making it what you please ; for this Condition disposes it to receive any manner of Impression, and to be moulded into any manner of Form.

6. Now, the laying these first Foundations, is no such trivial Matter as is generally believed ; rather indeed the Difficulty of doing it well, is proportionable to the Importance of its being done so. Nay, not of private only, but publick and general Importance ; which makes me think the Complaint of *Aristotle* and *Plutarch* most just, though there is little or no Care taken to redress it, when they cry'd out Loudly against the Education of Children being left entirely to the Mercy and disposal of Parents, as a most notorious, deplorable, and destructive Injury to the State, For why should this rest wholly upon Persons, who are so often found to be Careless, or Ignorant, or Indiscreet, and by no means fit to govern themselves ? Why should not the Publick concern themselves at the Thing, and order some better Care to be taken of it, rather than suffer what they Daily do, by sitting still and seeing their own Ruin ? *Lacedemon* and *Crete* are almost the only Constitutions, where the disciplining of Children hath been prescribed by National Laws. And *Sparta* was indeed the best School in the World ; which made *Agésilaw* persuade *Xenophon*, to send his Children thither, because there they would be sure to be instructed in the Best and Noblest Science ; that of Governing, and of Obeying well ; and because this was the Work-house, where they made admirable Law-givers, Generals, Civil-Magistrates, and private Subjects. They seem'd indeed to be more intent upon the Instruction of Youth, and to lay greater stress upon it, than upon any other Thing whatsoever. Insomuch that when *Antipater* demanded Fifty Children for Hostages, they Reply'd, That they did not care to part with any at that Age, and had much rather give him twice as many grown Men.

7. Now, before I enter upon this Subject particularly, permit me, by the way, to give one Advertisement ; which seems to carry somewhat of Weight in it. Many People take a great deal of Pains to find out the Inclinations of their Children, and what sort of Business they are fit for. But alas ! This at those Years is somewhat so very tender, so much in the Dark, and so very uncertain ; that Parents after having (as they imagine) pitch'd right, and been at a World of Pains and Charge, find themselves miserably Mistaken. And therefore without troubling our selves about these dim Prognosticks, and depending upon the very weak and slender Conjectures, capable of
being

Ch. 14. *The Duty of Parents and Children.* 229

being drawn from the Motions of Minds so very Young ; the best course will be, to possess them with such Instructions, as may be universally Good, and in general Use at first ; and when they are seasoned well with these, That will prove a most excellent Preparation, for their taking to any particular Employment afterwards. Thus you build upon a sure Bottom, and perfect them presently, in that which must be the constant, and daily Business of their Lives ; and this first Tincture, like the Ground of a Picture, fits them for the receiving any other Colours.

To proceed now on to the Matter its self ; which may very conveniently be reduced to three Heads ; the Forming of the Mind, Managing the Body, and Regulating of the Manners. But I must once more beg my Reader's Pardon, for another Digression, (if it deserve to be thought so) since, before I proceed to consider these Particulars, it seems to me highly Expedient, to lay down some General Rules relating to this Matter, which may direct us how to proceed, with Discretion and Success.

The first of these Directions is, to keep this little White Soul from the Contagion and Corruption so universal among Men, that it may contract no Blemish, no Taint at its first coming abroad into the World. In order hereunto, strict Centry must be kept at the Doors ; I mean the Eyes, and especially the Ears, must be diligently guarded, that no unclean Thing get Admittance there. Now, this is done by taking Care of those that are about the Child, and not suffering any, even of his Relations to come near him ; whose Conversation is so lavish and dissolute, that we have Reason to fear they may convey any ill Idea's into him, though never so little, never so secretly : For one single Word, one distant Hint, is sufficient to do more Mischief in a Child, than a great deal of Pains will be able to root out, or retrieve again. Upon this Account it was, that Plato would never endure, that Children should be left to Servants, or entertained with their Stories : For if they talk nothing worse, yet the best we can expect from them is idle Tales, and ridiculous Fictions, which take such deep Root in this tender Soil, that I verily believe a very great Part of the Vulgar Errors, and Idle Prejudices most Men are possess'd with, is owing to the Giants, and Hobgoblins, and the rest of that ridiculous Stuff, which they were kept in awe, or diverted with, in their very Infancy:

10.

The Second Direction concerns the Persons to be entrusted with this Child ; what they are, what Discourse they have with him, what Books they put into his Hands. As to the Persons themselves ; they should be Men of Honesty, and Virtue, of a good Temper, and winning Behaviour ; Men whose Heads lie well ; and eminent, rather for Wisdom, than Learning. They must also keep a good Correspondence together, and perfectly understand each other's Method ; for fear, while they take contrary Ways, (as it one would gain upon his Charge by Fear, and another by Flattery) they should happen to cross and hinder one another ; confound the Child, perplex the Design, and be perpetually doing and undoing. The Books and the Discourse intended for his Entertainment, should by no Means be such as treat of mean and trifling, frivolous and idle Subjects ; but Great and Serious, and Noble ; such as may help to enrich his Understanding, to direct his Opinions, to regulate his Manners and Affections. Such particularly, as set before him Human Nature, as it really is ; describe the Secret Springs, and inward Movements of the Soul ; that so he may not mistake the World, but be well acquainted with himself and other People : Such as may teach him, which are the proper Objects of his Fear, and Love, and Desire ; how he ought to be affected with Regard to all external Things ; what Passion, what Virtue is : And how he shall discern the Difference between Ambition and Avarice, between Servitude and Subjection, between Liberty and Licentiousness. And suffer not your self to be diverted from such early Attempts, by a ridiculous Pretence of the Child's Incapacity for Matters of so important a Nature ; for, assure your self, he will swallow and digest these, as easily as those of another, and more ludicrous Kind. There is not one jot more of Capacity or Apprehension required, to the Understanding all the illustrious Examples of *Valerius Maximus*, than there is to the knowing the Feats of *Guy of Warwick*, or *Amadis of Gaul*. The Greek and Roman History, which is the Noblest and most Useful Learning in the World, is every whit as entertaining, as easie to be comprehended, as any Romance of the same Bulk. A Child, that can tell how many Cocks and Hens run about his Mother's Yard, and can count and distinguish his Uncles and Cousins ; what should hinder him from remembring with the same ease, the seven Kings of *Rome*, and the Twelve *Cæsars* ? There

Ch. 14. *The Duty of Parents and Children.* 231

is indeed a great Difference, between several Sciences ; And the Faculties of Children have their proper Seasons ; but then this makes no Difference between the different Parts of the same Science, and Exercises of the same Faculty ; and no Man will ever be able to prove, that one Matter of Fact is easie, and another difficult or impossible to be attained ; but especially, that the False and Fictitious Inventions, are accommodated to the Capacity of Children, and that True and Serious Narratives are above, and unfit for them, This looks, as if God had made our Minds only capable of being deceived ; and given them a strange Alacrity in Lyes and Fables. But the Matter is much otherwise. For the main Business is, to manage the Capacity of a Child well, and if this be done, the Improvement will quickly shew the Vanity of trifling with Children, and distrusting their Abilities for greater and better Things.

The Third Admonition to this Purpose is, that these Tutors and Governors would behave themselves as becomes them towards their Charge ; Not putting on always solemn and austere Looks, or treating them with Harshness and Severity ; but with Methods that are gentle and engaging, good Humour, and a chearful Countenance. I cannot here but condemn without more ado, that general Custom of beating, whipping, scolding and storming at Children ; and keeping them in all that Terror and Subjection, which is usual in some great Schools. For this is really a most unreasonable Thing ; of pernicious Consequence, and as indecent as it would be in a Judge to fall into violent Passions with Criminals at the Bar ; or a Physician to fall foul upon his Patients, and call them all to naught. How Prejudicial must this needs be in the Effect, how contrary to the Design of Education, which is, to make in them in love with Virtue betimes, to sweeten their Tempers, and train them in Virtue and Knowledge, and Decency of Behaviour ! Now, this Imperious, and rough Treatment, gives them a Prejudice to Instructions ; makes them hate, and be afraid of it ; fills them with Horror, and Indignation, and Rage ; tempts them to be Desperate and Head-strong ; damps their Spirits, and depresses their Courage : Till at last by being used like Slaves, they degenerate entirely into cowardly and slavish Dispositions. The Holy Ghost himself hath given us fair Warning of this mischievous Consequence ; when he commands by *St. Paul.* that *Parents should not* Colos. iii, *provoke their Children to Wrath, lest they be discouraged.* This 21,

is the ready way to make them good for nothing; they curse their Teacher, and hate the Government they are under. If they do what they are bidden, it is only because your Eye is upon them, and they dare not do otherwise; not with any Chearfulness or Satisfaction, or because they are acted by any Noble and Generous Principle. If they have been tardy in their Duty, they take Sanctuary in the vilest Methods to save themselves from Punishment. Lyes, and Equivocations, and shuffling Excuses; Trembling, and Tears of Madness, and Despair; Playing Truant, and Running away from School; all which are Refuges infinitely worse, than the Fault they were guilty of before.

** He that's compell'd by Threats to do his Duty,
Will be wary no longer than you've an Eye over him;
But when he sees he shan't be found out,
He'll even follow his own Inclinations.
But he that's govern'd by Love, obeys most chearfully;
Strives to make due Returns, and is the same, Present or Absent;*

12.

Now, I would have Children used with greater Easiness and Freedom; bred as becomes Men and Gentlemen; argued into their Duty by fair and mild Remonstrances, and possess'd with Principles of Honour, and Modesty, and Shame to do amiss. The former of these Affections would prove a Spur and mighty Incitement to Goodness; and the latter a Curb and powerful Restraint, to disengage them from Vice, and work in them a just Abhorrence and Detestation of Evil. There seems to me to be somewhat so mean and servile in Severity and rigorous Constraint, that it can never be reconciled with Honour and true Freedom of Mind. We should therefore exalt rather and enoble their Affections with Ingenuity of Temper and Behaviour, and the Love of Virtue, winning upon their Mind with setting before them its Desirableness, and displaying all its Charms, and attracting Beauties.

** Dum id rescitum iri credit, tantisper cavet:
Si sperat fore clam, rursus ad ingenium redit.
Ille, quem Beneficio adjungas, ex animo facit;
Studet par referre; præsens absensq; idem erit. Terent. Adelph.*

* 'Twas

Ch. 14. The Duty of Parents and Children. 233

** 'Twas always my Opinion, that 'tis much better
To keep Children in Order by Shame, and Generosity
Of Inclination, than by Fear-----
This is a Father's part to use his Child,
So as his own Choice rather than Constraint
Should put him upon doing well.
Here lies the Difference between a Father and a Master;
And he that acts otherwise, let him confess,
That he understands not all the Art
Of managing Children.*

Blows are for Beasts, which are incapable of hearing Reason; and Rage and Brawling, and contemptuous Usage, for none but Slaves. He that is once accustomed to these, will come to very little. But Reason and Argument, the Gracefulness of the Action, the Imitation of excellent Men, the Honour and Respect, and universal Approbation that attend their doing well, the pleasing and generous Satisfaction of one's own Mind, which result from a Sense of having done so, and the Deference paid by others to such Persons and Actions; the Deformity of an ill thing, the Representations of its being unworthy and unbecoming, a Reproach and Affront to Human Nature; the Shame and Scandal, the inward Upbraiding and Discontents, and the General Dislike and Aversion it draws upon us; how despicable and little it makes us appear, both in our own Eyes, and the Esteem of the World; These are the Defensive Arms against Vice; these the Spurs to Virtue, that influence and quicken up all Children of good Tempers, and such as give us any tolerable Hopes of making significant Men. These we shall do well to be perpetually ringing in their Ears; and if such Arts as these prove ineffectual, all the Methods of Rigour will do but little Good upon them. What cannot be compassed by dint of Reason, and Prudence, and Address, will either never be compassed by dint of Blow; or if it be, it will turn to very poor

** Pudore & Liberalitate Liberos retinere
Satiù esse credo quàm metu.-----
Hoc Patrium est, potius consuefacere filium,
Suâ Sponte rectè facere, quàm alieno metu.
Hoc Pater ac Dominus interest, hoc qui nequit,
Fateatur se nescire imperare Liberos*

Account,

Account. But indeed there is no fear of Disappointment; if such Methods are taken in time, and the Corruptions of Vice be not suffer'd to get beforehand with us: For these Notions are commensurate, and proper to the Soul, and the most natural that can possibly be, while it is preserved in its Primitive Innocence and Purity. I would not be mistaken in all this; as if it were any part of my Intention to countenance or commend that loose and effeminate Indulgence, which admits of no Contradiction, no Correction at all; but makes it a Principle, to let Children have their Humour in every thing, for fear of fretting or putting them out of Temper. This is an Extreme every whit as extravagant, and as destructive, as the other. Such Parents are like the Ivy, that certainly kills the Tree encircled by it; or the Ape that hugs her Whelps to Death with mere Fondness. 'Tis as if when we see a Man drowning, we should stand by, and let him sink, for fear the pulling him out by the Hair of the Head should hurt him. Against this Foolish Tenderneſs it is, that the wise Preacher inveighs so largely, and so smartly. *He that spareth the Rod, hateth his Son; but he that loveth him chasteneth him betimes, Chasten thy Son while there is hope, and let not thy Soul spare for his crying. With-hold not Correction from the Child; for if thou beatest him with the Rod, he shall not die. Thou shalt beat him with the Rod, and shalt deliver his Soul from Hell. An Horse not broken becometh Headstrong; and a Child left to himself will be wilful; Cocker thy Child, and he shall make thee afraid. Bow down his Neck while he is young, lest he wax Stubborn, and bring Sorrow to thine Heart.* And all this Advice is very consistent with what I recommended before; for Youth must not be suffered to run wild, and grow Lawless. They ought to be contained in Discipline and good Order; but then this Discipline should be so temper'd and managed, as becomes a Spiritual, Human, and reasonable Discipline; and not fly out into Rage, and Fury, as if we were dealing with Brutes who have no Sense; or with Madmen, who have lost their Senses, and must be bang'd into them again.

Prov. xiii.

24.

xix. 18.

xxiii. 13.

14.

Ecclus.

xxx. 8, 9,

12.

13.
Advice for
forming
the Mind.

And now it may be seasonable for us to proceed in the Consideration of those Particulars mention'd lately, and the Rules for Instruction and Education suited to each of them. The First of these Particulars was said to consist, in exercising, shapening and forming the Minds of young People.

ple. And here we might take Occasion to lay down a great Variety of Directions ; But the First, and Chief, and indeed the Fundamental Rule of all the rest, (that which regards the Aim and End of all this painful Toil ; and which I am the more concerned to press and inculcate, because it is very little observed, but by an Epidemical and fatal Mistake, Men are genrally fond of the quite contrary Course) this Rule, I say, which I would urge, and presume to be infinitely the most concerning and material of any, is, That Men would employ the greatest Part by much, and make it in a manner the Whole, of their Business and Study, to exercise, and improve, and exert, that which is our Natural and Particular Excellence ; to brighten, and bring to light the Treasure hid in every Man's Breast, rather than to heap up, and make Ostentation of that which is a foreign Growth. To aim at Wisdom rather than Learning, and the quaint Subtilties of Speculative Knowledge ; to strengthen the Judgment, and consequently give the true Bent and Turn to the Will and the Conscience, rather than fill the Memory, and warm the Fancy ; in a Word, that they would labour to make the Persons committed to their Charge, prudent, Honest, and good Men, and think this better Service, and infinitely higher Accomplishments, than the making them Nice, Florid, Learned, or all that which the World calls fine Scholars, and fine Gentlemen. Of the Three predominant Parts of the Reasonable Soul, Judgment is the Chief, and most Valuable ; as was shewn at large in the Beginning of Book I. this Treatise, to which I refer my Reader. But almost all Chap. 19. the World are of another Opinion, and run greedily after Art and acquired Learning. Parents are at an infinite Expence ; and Children themselves at infinite Pains and trouble, to purchase a Stock of Knowledge ; and yet *Tacitus* his Complaint may be ours at this Day ; That the Excess of Learning is our Disease ; and as it is in all other Excesses, the World is not the better, but the worse for it : For in the midst of all this Fruitless Care and Charge, they are in little or no Concern, for that which would come at a much easier Rate ; the breeding them so, that they may be Prudent and Honest, and fit for Business. Now, though this Fault may be so general, yet All are not Guilty of it upon the same Principle. Some are blindly led away by Custom ; and imagine, that Wisdom and Learning are either the same thing, or very near of Kin to one

one another ; but to be sure, that they constantly go together, and that one of them cannot possibly be attained without the other. These Men are under an innocent Mistake, and deserve to have some Pains taken with them, for their better Information. Others are wilfully in the Wrong ; and know well enough the Difference between these Two : But still they must have artificial and acquired Knowledge, whatever it cost them. And indeed as the Case stands now with our Western Parts of *Europe* ; this is the only way to make a Noise in the World. Reputation and Riches are not to be got without it. So that the Persons we now speak of, make a Trade of Learning, and sink it into a Mercenary, Pedantick, Sordid, Mechanical Thing. A Commodity bought dear, to be sold again dearer at second Hand. These Hucksters are past all Cure, and it is not worth while to give our selves any Trouble about them. Not but that our Men of Mode are, some of them, as extravagantly Foolish in the other Extreme, who esteem Learning an ungentile Thing, and somewhat too Pedantick and Mean for Quality, and esteem a Man the less for being a Scholar. This is but another Proof of their Folly and Emptiness, and Want of all Sense of Virtue and Honour, which their Ignorance, Impertinence, sauntering Lives, and vain Fopperies, give us such abundant Demonstrations of every Day.

14.
*Learning
and Wisdom
com-
par'd.*

But now for the Instruction of those Others, that give us some Hopes of Recovery, and for the discovering where their Mistake lies, we must shew Two Things ; *First*, That there is a Real Difference between Learning and Wisdom ; and that the Latter is infinitely to be preferred, before any the most exquisite and exalted Degree of the Former. *Secondly*, That they do not always go together, nay, that most commonly they obstruct each other ; insomuch that your Men of nice Learning are not often eminent for Wisdom ; nor your truly Wise Men deeply Learned. There are, I confess, some Exceptions to this last Observation, but it were heartily to be wished there were more of them. They that are so, are Men of Great and Noble Souls ; of which Antiquity furnishes some Instances, but the more Modern Times are very barren of them.

15.

In order to the doing this Argument Right, we must first know what Learning and Wisdom are. Now, Learning is a vast Collection of other Peoples Excellencies ; a
Stock

Ch. 14. *The Duty of Parents and Children.* 237.

Stock laid in with Labour and long Trouble; of all that we have seen, and heard, and read in Books; the Sayings and Actions of Great and Good Men, who have lived in all Ages and Nations. The Repository or Magazine, where this Provision is treasured up, is the Memory. He who is provided by Nature with a good Memory, hath no body to blame but himself, if he be not a Scholar; for he hath the Means in his own Hands. Wisdom is a calm and regular Government of the Soul: That Man is Wise, who observes true Measures, and a due Decorum in his Thoughts, and Opinions, and Desires; his Words, and Actions, and Deportment. In short; Wisdom is the Rule and Standard of the Soul, and he that uses this Rule aright, that is, The Man of Judgment and Discretion, that sees, and discerns, judges and esteems Things according to their Nature and Intrinsic Value; who places each in its just Order and Degree, is the Person we would have every one attempt to be. And how reasonable that Advice is, will quickly appear, by observing how far the greater Excellence of the Two, this of Wisdom is.

Learning, however Valuable in it self, is yet but a poor and barren Accomplishment, in Comparison of Wisdom: For it is not only unnecessary, being what Two Parts in Three of Mankind make a very good Shift without; but the Usefulness of is but small, and there are but a very few Instances (comparatively) to which that Usefulness extends. It contributes nothing at all to Life; for how many do we see of all Qualities and Conditions, High and Low, Rich and Poor, that pass their Time in great Ease and Pleasure, without knowing any thing at all of the Matter? There are a great many other Things, more serviceable both to Men's private Happiness, and to Human Society in General. Honour, and Reputation, Noble Birth, and Quality, and yet even these are far from being absolutely necessary; The most they can pretend to, is the being Ornaments, and Conveniences, and additional Advantages. It contributes nothing to any Natural Operations; the most ignorant Man, in this Respect, is upon the Level with the greatest Clerk. For Nature is of her self a sufficient Mistress, and deals to every one the Knowledge needful for supporting her own Occasions. Nor does it in any Degree assist a Man's Probity; no body is one whit the Honefter, or Juster for it; rather indeed it hinders and corrupts the Integrity of the Mind, by teaching

16.

I.

II.

III.

ing Men to be Subtle, and to distinguish all Plain-dealing quite away. Look into the Characters of excellent Persons in History; and you shall find most amongst them of moderate and very indifferent Attainments. Witness Old *Rome*, which, in the Days of her Ignorance, was renowned for Justice and Honour; but when Learning and Eloquence got the Ascendant, the Fame of her Virtue was in its Declension; and in Proportion as Mens Wits grew more Subtle and Refin'd, Innocence and Simplicity fell into Decay and Contempt. Sects and Heresies, Errors and Atheism it self have ever been set on foot and propagated, by Persons of Artifice and Learning. The primitive Source of our Misery and Ruine, and that first Temptation of the Devil, which inveigled and undid Mankind, was an unseasonable and intemperate Desire of Knowledge. *Ye shall be as Gods discerning between Good and Evil*, was that fatal Expectation, which deprest our first Parents, and made them less than Man. The more Men employed their Wits in Study, the more plausible, and consequently the more dangerous Notions they started; which made St. Paul bid his *Colossians Beware, that they were not seduced by Philosophy, and vain Deceit*. And one of the Learnedest Men, that ever liv'd, speaks but very meanly of it, as a Thing Vain and Unprofitable, Hurtful and Troublesom, such as was never to be enjoyed without many grievous Incumbrances; since he *that increaseth Knowledge must unavoidably increase Sorrow* at the same Time. In a Word; Learning, it is confess'd, may civilize and refine us, but it cannot moralize us; we may be more courteous, and conversable, and accomplished; but we cannot be one jot the Holier, the Juster, more Temperate, or more Charitable for it. Nay, *Fourthly*, it does us no Service, neither in the sweetning of our Lives, or abating our Resentments, for any of the Afflictions that embitter them. It rather sets a Sharper Edge upon our Calamities, and raises our Sense of them to be more quick and tender. Accordingly we see, that Children, and plain ignorant People, (who measure their Misfortunes, only by what they feel at present, and neither anticipate, nor give them an Imaginary Being; nor revive, and as it were, raise them from the Dead again by melancholy Reflections,) get over their Sufferings much more easily, and support themselves under them with much greater Temper and Moderation, than your quaint, and refined, and more thinking Men.

Ignorance

Ch. 14. *The Duty of Parents and Children.* 239

Ignorance is in some Degree a good Remedy; a strong Amulet against Misfortunes; and our Friends (it is very manifest) are of that Opinion, when they beg of us to forget, and not to think of them. For what is this but to drive us hither for Shelter? I confess such Advice is Ridiculous, and a mere Jest; for Remembring and Forgetting, are not Things in our own disposal: and all we can contribute towards this, is not to torment our selves Industriously; not to awaken the sleeping Lyon; and when such Reflections offer themselves, to soften, and counter-work them; by Arguments for Patience and Contentedness; But here our Advisers play the Surgeon's Part; who when they cannot heal the Wound, assuage the Pain and Skin over the Sore, as well as they can. Those that have advised People to dispatch themselves, when their Sufferings are come to Extremity, and all Hope, all Possibility of Amendment gone, are directly of the same Mind: For what is Death but a State of Stupidity and Insensibility? And those who seek a Refuge here, acknowledge Ignorance to be their last, and most effectual Remedy.

But now, Wisdom is an Accomplishment, of absolute Necessity, and universal Use; all things fall within the Verge of its Jurisdiction, and nothing can be exempted, or conceal'd from its Cognizance. It rules and sits Supreme in War and in Peace; in Publick and in Private; nay, it presides over our Frolicks and Feasts; our Jollities and Recreations; for all these ought to be managed with Prudence, and Discretion, and Sobriety. And, where Wisdom does not interpose, all things run into Disorder and Confusion.

Secondly. Learning is Servile, and Mean, and Mechanical, when put into the Balance with Wisdom; It is a borrowed Excellence, and borrowed with great Importunity too. A learned Man is like the Jay in the Fable, tricked up and made fine with the Feathers of other Birds. He sets himself off and entertains the World with his Reading; but this is like making a Feast at another Man's Cost. Whereas the wise Man lives upon his Rents, and hath an inexhaustible Fund of his own: For Wisdom is a Man's proper Possession, an Inheritance settled upon him by Nature; but cultivated, and made Fertile, by Art, and Industry, and Exercise.

Thirdly. The Qualities and Conditions of these Two are vastly Different; more Graceful, more Generous in the One, than the Other. Learning is usual Proud and Peevish, Captious and Caviling, Arrogant and Presumptuous; Peremp-

17.

18.

Peremptory and Bold, Quarrellome and addicted to Disputes, Ill-manner'd and Indiscreet. Wisdom is Modest and Reserved, Gentle and Peaceable, free from a Spirit of Contradiction, and full of Respect. Again, Learning is commonly Forward and Affected, Unreasonable and Pretending, always thrusting it self in at every Thing, and yet able to do nothing: For it consists not in Action, but in Talk. But Wisdom is full of Efficacy and Activity; it manages and governs every thing; and is never troublesome, or vain; never Nauseous or out of Time.

Thus it appears, that there is a mighty Difference between true Wisdom, and acquired Knowledge; and how much the one is better and more valuable than the other. As much indeed, as a Thing that is indispensably Necessary, and of general Use, Active and Vigorous, and Substantial, Noble, and Virtuous, and Becoming; excels another, which is Serviceable but in some Cases, and absolutely necessary in none; Impotent and Unactive, Mechanick and Mean, Presumptuous and Positive, Stiff and Humorsome, Captious and Cavilling.

19.

Let us now proceed to the other part of this Argument, which undertakes to prove, that these Two do not always go together; nay, that they are generally found single and asunder. The Account of this, so far as Nature is concern'd in it, seems to be, what hath been formerly explain'd at large; that the Temperaments of the Brain, which capacitate and dispose Men to these several Accomplishments, are distant and incomparable: For that where Memory excels, which qualifies Men for acquired Learning, is Moist; and the other, where Wisdom is Predominant and Judgment excels, is Dry. This is also hinted to us, by what the Scripture mentions to have befallen our first Parents; for in the Instant that they fixed their Desires upon Speculative Knowledge, Wisdom forsook them quite; and the Advantages of this kind, which were included in the Original Perfection of Human Nature, were withdrawn. And constant Experience shews us, that the Fate of their Successors is still in Proportion the same. The Greatest and most Flourishing Empires and Common-wealths, both Ancient and Modern have been, and yet are govern'd by Wisdom, destitute of Scholarship, both in Civil and Military Affairs. *Rome* was as Ignorant as any other Part of the World, for the First Five Hundred Years; and then was its Acme, both for Virtue and Valour

Ch. 14. *The Duty of Parents and Children.* 241

lour: when Learning came in, Corruption and Vice, Factions and Civil Wars entred with it. The most glorious Constitution the World ever saw, was that of the *Lacedæmonians*, founded by *Lycurgus*. The Gallantest Men in Story were bred under it, and yet they do not seem to have made any Pretention to Learning, or to express any great Esteem for it at that time. This was the Famous School for Virtue and Wisdom; and conquered *Athens*, the most refined City in the World, the Scene of Sciences, the Seat of the Muses, and Store-house of Philosophy. These Examples are Notorious in Ancient Story. If we descend down to our own Times: All those large, wealthy and flourishing Kingdoms in the *East* and *West Indies*, lived very well, and wanted neither Grandeur nor Plenty; they never had Learning, nor did they ever feel the want of it; nay, they were Ignorant even of Reading and Writing; and the knowledge as they have now, hath been purchased at the expence of their Liberty: Besides that, they have learnt to Cheat, and to be Vicious in their Bargain, and several wicked Arts, never so much as mention'd amongst them before. But indeed, where do we find an Empire, for Glory and Success, comparable to that of the *Grand Signior*? He, like the Lyon of the World, renders himself Formidable to all his Neighbours; and is a Check and Terror to the Princes and Monarchs of the Earth. And yet in this whole Dominion, nothing Reigns so Universally, as profound Ignorance of Letters; No Professors of Sciences, no Schools, no Allowance to Read for the Publick Instruction of others; no, not even in Religion it self. What then hath contained this State in such excellent Order? what hath procur'd all its Successes? what indeed but Prudence, and Discipline, and Conduct? Turn your Eyss now, and observe those other Kingdoms where Learning hath been in Authority and Reputation. That of *France*, for Example, which seems to succeed *Athens* in all its Glory. The Principal Ministers of this Crown, the Constables and Marshalls, and Admirals, and Secretaries of State, through whose Hands all Business of Moment passes, are for the most part Persons of little or no acquired Learning. And we know that several eminent Law-givers, and Princes, and Founders of Commonwealths, have utterly banish'd all Studies of this Nature, as the Poison and Plague of a Nation; so did *Licinius*, and *Valentinian*, and *Mahomet*, and an Ancienter and better Man than all these, *Lycurgus*. This is a sufficient Proof, that there

may

may be Wisdom, where there is no acquired Learning. Let us next enquire, whether we can find Learning destitute of Wisdom; and the Instances of this Part, are no less obvious, and numerous, than the other. Do but take notice of great part of the Men, who make Learning their Study and Profession, whose Heads are full of *Aristotle*, and *Cicero*, the Philosophers, and the School-Men. Are there any People in the World more awkward and uncouth in Business? Is it not a common Proverb, when we see a Man Odd and Clumsie, to say, *He is a meer Scholar*? One would almost think, that they had pored away their Senses; and that excess of Knowledge had stunn'd and stupify'd them. How many are there, who would have made excellent Persons, had they not sunk and dwindled into Pedantry; and had been wiser Men, if they had traded upon their own Natural Stock, and never sat down to Books at all? and how many of their own Brethren do we see, who never had that Education, and prove much shrewder Men, and better Contrivers, more quick and expert in all manner of Business? Take one of your Nice Disputants, or quaint Rhetoricians, bring him into a debate at the next Corporation, where any Matter of Government, or Civil Interest is under Deliberation; put him upon speaking to the Point, and he shall Blush and Tremble, turn Pale, and Cough, and Hem: But it is Odds, if he say any thing to the Purpose. At last perhaps, you shall have a formal Harangue; some Definitions of *Aristotle*, or Quotations out of *Tully*, with an *Ergo* at the End of them. And yet at the same Meeting you shall have a dull, plodding Alderman, that chinks up all his Accounts behind the Door; and can neither write nor read, and yet this Fellow, by seeing and knowing the World, shall, out of his own Observation and Experience, come to better Resolutions, and propose more feasible and proper Expedients, than the subtlest and most refin'd Student of them all. Were Matters indeed so managed, that Men turn'd their Speculation into Practice, and took Care to apply their Reading to the Purposes of Human Life; the Advantage of Learning would be unspeakable; and we see how illustriously such Persons shine in the World. And therefore what I have said upon this Occasion, is not to be stretched to the Prejudice of Learning in general; but only to such a false Opinion of it, as depends upon this alone for the most eligible, and only Qualification of the Mind of Man; and so rests upon it, and buries it in Inactivity.

Ch. 14. *The Duty of Parents and Children.* 243

vity. This the foregoing Instances shew is very frequently done, and a very vulgar Error; and consequently they prove the Point, for the Illustration of which alone they are produced; and that is, That this Distinction between Wisdom and Learning is not Imaginary, but grounded upon a real Difference; and that in Fact these Two do not always go Hand in Hand, nor meet in the same Person.

This I design to make appear more fully in the following Paragraphs of this Chapter; for I have already promised, not to content my self with urging bare Matter of Fact, but likewise to enter into Reason of the Thing. An Enquiry, which I am the more Zealous, and look upon my self obliged to satisfy, that so I may prevent any Offence being taken at the former Reflection; and cut off any Suspicions, which some might be provoked to entertain concerning me, as if I were an Enemy to Learning, and thought it Insignificant and Despicable. There is, I confess, ground sufficient for this Question, why Wisdom and Learning should not go together? for it is a very odd Case, and seems foreign to the Reason of the Thing, that a Man should not be very much the Wiser, for being a better Scholar; since Learning and Study, is without Controversie, the ready Road, and a most Excellent Instrument and Preparation to Wisdom. Take any Two Men, equal in all other Respects; let the One be a Man of Letters, the Other not so. 'Tis plain, He who hath employed his Time in Study, ought to be a great deal Wiser than the other; and it will be expected from him, that he should prove so: For he hath all the Advantages, that the Unletter'd Man hath; a Natural Capacity, Reason and Understanding; and he hath a great deal more besides too; the Additional Improvements of Reading, which have furnish'd him with the Examples, Directions, Discourses, and Determinations, of the Greatest Men that ever were in the World. Must not this Person then be Wiser, more Apprehensive and Judicious, of a more exalted Virtue, and greater Address, than the other who is altogether destitute of such Helps; Since he hath the same Stock to set up with, and all these foreign Assistances acquired, and transported to him from all the Quarters of the Universe besides? Since, as one says very truly, the Natural Advantages, when join'd and strengthened by the Accidental, make a Noble and Compleat Composition. And yet, in despite of all our Reasonings to the contrary, Experience,

and undeniable Matter of Fact, give us Ten thousand Instances of it's being otherwise.

21.

Now, the true Reason and satisfactory Answer to this Doubt, stands really thus. That the Methods of Instruction are not well ordered. Books and Places of Publick Education furnish Men with admirable Matter; but they do not imbibe, and use it as they should do. Hence it is, that vast Improvements in Knowledge turn to so very slender Account: They are Poor in the midst of Plenty; and, like *Tantalus* in the Fable, starved with the Meat at their Mouths. When they apply themselves to Reading, the Thing they principally aim at, is to learn Words more than Things; or at least, they content themselves with a very slight and superficial Knowledge of Things; and He is reputed the best Scholar, who hath made the largest Collections, and cramm'd his Memory fullest. Thus they are Learned, but not with any Care of polishing their Minds, and forming their Judgments, or growing practically Wise. Like a Man that puts his Bread in his Pocket, and not in his Stomach; and if he go on Thus, he may be famish'd for want of Sustenance, notwithstanding both Pockets are full. Thus they continue Fools, with a vast Treasure of Wisdom in their Brains. They study for Entertainment, or Ostentation, or Gain, or Applause; and not for their own true Benefit, and the becoming Useful to the World. They are living Repertories and Common-place Books; and would be rare Compilers of Precedents and Reports: *Cicero*, they tell you, or *Aristotle*, or *Plato* says Thus and Thus; but all this while, they say not one Tittle of their own Observation. They are guilty of two great Faults: One is, that they do not apply what they Read to themselves, nor make it their own by Meditation, Reflection and Use; so that all this while they have not advanc'd one Step in Virtue; nor are one whit more Prudent, more Resolute and Confirm'd in Goodness; and thus their Scholarship is never digested, and incorporated with the Soul, but swims and floats about in the Brain, and consequently can never nourish, or do them any manner of Good. The Other is, that in all this Time and Trouble, so diligently spent in heaping together the Wealth of other Men, they neglect their own Proper and Natural Fund, and let this lie dead, and rust upon their Hands, for want of Exercise. Now, others, who are not capable of Study, have nothing but their own Common Sense

Ch. 14. *The Duty of Parents and Children.* 245

Sense and Reason to be intent upon ; and therefore they must keep it in constant Employment. They manure and cultivate their little Plat of Ground, and reap a Crop in proportion to their Diligence ; grow Better and Wiser, more Resolute and Steady, though not so Knowing, or so Eloquent, so Wealthy, or so Celebrated in the World. The whole of which Observation may be reduced to that short Maxim of an Author to this purpose ; *That weak and little Souls are spoiled by Learning, but vigorous and great ones are perfected by it.* The Former are diverted by it from Matters more Weighty and Substantial ; the Latter make it only Subservient to such, and transcribe it all into their own Practice.

Now, the Method which I would prescribe for reforming this unprofitable and superficial Way of Study, is as follows. Not to trouble our Heads, and waste our Time, in retaining and treasuring up other Mens Knowledge ; only that we may be able to repeat and quote it, and make a Shew and Noise with it in Company ; or else to convert it to Gain, and so employ it to Sordid and Mercenary Purposes ; but to enrich our Minds in good Earnest, by making other Mens Notions our own : Nor barely to give them Lodging and Entertainment in our Souls, and use them like Guests, but to incorporate and transubstantiate them : Not only to sprinkle the Mind with them, but thoroughly to soak, and drench it ; that the Tincture may be taken all over, and we may become effectually Wise, and Good, and Generous and Brave ; For if this be not done, what is all our Study good for ? * *We must not only get Wisdom, but we must use and enjoy it,* if we will do any thing to the Purpose. We must not do like the Gatherers of Nofegays, that pick up here and there whole Flowers, and after that make them up into Nofegays, to sell or give away ; For thus unskilful Students do ; They get together a Collection of good Sayings and Observations out of the Books they have read ; meerly for the Sake of Ostentation, and to put them off in all Company where they come : But we must imitate the Bees, that never take away the Flower entire ; but sit and brood upon it, suck out the Life, and Spirit and Quintessence, and convert it into their own Substance, and Nourishment ; and when This is done, they do not render it back again in Thyme, and Marjoram, as they

22.

* Non paranda nobis solum, sed fruenda sapientia est.

drew it in, but destil it into most delicious and excellent Honey. Just after the same Manner, We are not obliged to put our selves under the Slavery of getting Things by Heart; and saying them again by Rote; (which some value themselves upon,) nor need we tye up our Attention, to that superstitious Vanity of others, That of remembering precisely the very Passage, and Page, and Chapter; (all which devours our Time, and our Pains, and is bought very Dear, with the Loss of that which our Minds should principally aim at;) but we should draw out the Marrow and Substance of our Authors, feed and feast our Thoughts upon them; deduce Inferences, and form the Judgment, and give the Soul quite another Turn; we should bring all Home, and lay it close to our Hearts; that it may be entirely of a Piece with us, instruct our Understandings, regulate our Affections, direct and incline our Wills, and guide our Consciences in all their practical Determinations and Debates. In a word, the Principles of Honesty and Wisdom, and Prudence, and Perseverance, which we meet with scattered up and down in Books, we are to collect into one entire Body; and out of that, make an Honest, Wise, Prudent, and Well-resolved Man. So says Tacitus upon a like Occasion, * *Our Intention must not be Pomp, and shew the Credit of Reputation of being Book-learned; but the fitting our selves for Action and Business, and fortifying our Minds against any Accidents that may happen to us.*

23.

In order hereunto, there must be Care used, that a Proper and Prudent Choice be made of the Sciences young People apply their Studies to. Now those, which I dare take upon me to recommend, because they manifestly conduce most of any, to that sort of Study which I have here been propounding, are Natural and Moral Philosophy; for these reach us what it is to live, and what to live Well; and entertain us with the Images and Beauties, both of Nature, and of Virtue; shew us what we are, and what we ought to be. Under the Heads of Morality I comprehend Politicks, Oeconomicks, and History, as well as that which is more Peculiarly call'd Ethicks. All other Studies are in a manner Emptiness and Air, Diversions to recreate the Mind, but not of Weight enough to make them our Business. And therefore we should take a little of them by the

* Non ad pompam, nec ad speciem, nec ut nomine magnifico sequi otium velis, sed quò firmiter adversus fortuita Republicam capeffas.

Ch. 14. *The Duty of Parents and Children.* 247

by ; but these we may fix and dwell upon, because They will not fail to stick by Us, and amply to reward our Pains.

This End, to which the Instruction of young People should be directed, and the stating our Comparison between Wisdom and acquired Learning, hath detain'd us a very great while, by Reason of the Controversies arising upon it. Let us now at length prosecute the other Parts of this Subject, and come to those Directions which still remain behind. Now, the Manner of either informing one's self, or instructing others, is very various : For first, there are two Ways of Learning, the one Verbal ; that is, by Precepts, Instructions, and Lessons read, or heard, or explained to us ; or else by Conference and Discourse with able and good Men, thus polishing, and whetting our Minds upon theirs ; as Iron is brightened, and cleansed, and sharpened by the File. This is a very agreeable, and pleasant, and Natural Course.

The other Method of Instruction is by Facts ; This is what we call Example, and a mighty Advantage may be made of it, not only with Regard to those Good and Commendable Ones, which we shall do well carefully to Copy, and conform our selves to ; but to those likewise, that are Ill ; such as we are obliged to avoid and detest, and suffer no manner of Resemblance, or Agreement with. Some Dispositions are so formed, that they improve abundantly more, by this kind of Instruction taken from Contraries ; and are much more dextrous at Declining, than Imitating. This is particularly the Method, which publick Justice takes with us ; It condemns one Malefactor, that he may be a Warning, and create Horror in others. And *Cato the Elder*, used to say, that *Wise Men might learn a great deal more from Fools, than Fools could from Wise Men.* The *Lacedemonians*, to work in their Children an Abhorrence of Drunkenness, and draw them off from this beastly Vice effectually, made their Slaves Drunk ; that so this Odious and Ridiculous Spectacle, might leave lasting Impressions behind it. Now, this *Second* Way of Learning by Example, is infinitely the easier, and more entertaining of the Two. To learn by Precepts is a long and tedious Journey, and carries us a great way about ; because it costs us Time and Pains to understand them ; and fresh Labour to remember what we do understand ; and, after all this, the greatest and most difficult Part of our Business, is to be ready and punctual in the Practice of what we do remember. So that we can not easily assure our selves of reaping the Fruit, which is,

and ought to be propounded, as the Recompence of our Studies in this kind. But now Example and Imitation comes Home to us presently, and does the Work at once; it draws us on with greater Eagerness and Zeal; it fires us with a Noble Emulation, of our Patterns, and encourages us with a Prospect of the same Reputation and Advantage, which those Good and Great Men have already attained to by their shining Virtues. All Seeds do by Degrees conform to the Quality of the Soil into which they are transplanted; and carry the Relish of that which is the natural Growth of the Place. And thus the Minds and Manners of Men are assimilated and transformed, into the Dispositions, and Habits, of the Persons, whose Actions they contemplate, and whose Company they frequent: For there is an Universal Contagion in Nature, and One thing is daily more and more changed, and drawn into a nearer Resemblance of another.

26.

Now, these Methods of Improvement, both by Verbal Precepts, and by Examples, are capable of a farther Distinction: For they are deduc'd and drawn into Practice from Excellent Persons; who are either now living, by the Benefit of Conversation, and Mutual Conference, or sensible Observation; or else from such as are already dead, by reading of Books, and such Accounts, as History delivers to us concerning them.

The Former, of holding a Correspondence with the Living, is the more Lively, and Vigorous, and Natural. This indeed is a very Profitable Exercise; much in request among the Ancients, and especially in Greece; but then it is accidental and uncertain; it depends upon another, and you cannot always enjoy it, when you would. It is also Difficult and Rare, for a Man cannot every where meet with Persons proper for it, and less yet can he enjoy them sufficiently to improve by. This again is capable of being practised, either about Home, or at a greater Distance, by travelling and visiting foreign Countries. And that is an Advantage, I confess, very considerable, provided a Man make the most of it: For the End of Travelling, is not to entertain our selves with fine Sights, or to bring back an Account of the Buildings, or Grottos, or Fountains we see abroad; but to study the Natives, and observe their different Humours, and Manner of Living, their Vices and Virtues, their Laws and Customs, their private Conduct, and publick Constitutions. This is a most agreeable, and a most profitable Way of Education in all Respects; It contributes much to Health,

by

Ch. 14. *The Duty of Parents and Children.* 249

by keeping the Body in Motion and Moderate Exercise, a due Medium between Idleness and Fatigue : And it keeps the Mind in continual Employment too, by presenting new and strange Objects to it every Day ; and provoking it to proper Observation and Reflexions from them ; and particularly to the drawing Comparisons between these fresh and foreign Matters, and what we had seen and were acquainted with before. And indeed there is no better School of Life in the World, than the seeing continually so many different Tempers and Ways of living ; contemplating the Beauty of Nature in all her different Forms, and out of all these, to pick and cull that, which may complete and adorn our own Conversation.

The other Sort of Correspondence is kept up with the Dead by the Help of Books ; and this is more sure and constant to us. We have it in our own Disposal, and can go into this Company when we will ; and besides, it is more suitable to the Circumstances of most Men, because the Trouble and Expence is much easier, than in the former Case. They who now how to make a good Use of this, may reap infinite Advantage and Satisfaction from it. It discharges us from the Burden of a troublesome Idleness ; fills up the void Spaces of Leisure ; and leaves no Room for any Complaint of Time hanging upon our Hands ; It draws us from the vain and tormenting Imaginations of a roving Mind ; and diverts the Uneasiness of any Affairs or Accidents from without, which are apt to distract and perplex our Thoughts, when they find us out of Business, and at Liberty to attend them : It is a powerful Preservative against Vice ; not only by the Force of the Arguments and Instructions it furnishes us with, to oppose and subdue it, but by keeping us out of Harm's Way, and at a distance from the Temptation : It ministers Comfort, and marvellous Relief in our Calamities and Sufferings ; but then it must be acknowledged withal, that it only contributes to the Health and Good Constitution of the Mind ; for this is a Sedentary Life, it keeps the Body out of Exercise ; and, if pursued with great Vehemence and constant Application, wastes its Strength, impairs its Vigour and Complexion, and disposes it to Melancholy, and Diseases.

The next thing to be done is to give some Directions concerning a Tutor's Method, and the Forms of Instruction, *Putting our* which it will be proper for him to observe, in order to the *scholars up-* making on Discourse

making his Care Successful. This Head consists of several Parts. The *First* Advice I shall give upon it is, That he would frequently confer with his Charge; ask him Questions, and put him upon giving his own Opinion, upon every fresh Occasion or Object, that offers it self to his Consideration. This I am afraid is but too opposite to the manner of proceeding generally in use; the Master talks All, and teaches his Children in a Dogmatical Way; thus pouring his own Notions into their Heads like Water into a Vessel; so that They in the mean while have nothing to do but to keep their Ears open, and are purely passive in the whole Matter. This is certainly a very Ill Custom. * *The Authority of the Teacher, and his taking so much upon himself, is a common and a mighty Hindrance to the Improvement even of the most diligent Scholar.* Their Apprehension should be awakened and warmed by starting of Doubts, and requiring an Account of what we have infused into them; and they should likewise be indulged in the same Liberty of asking us Questions, and putting Cases, informing themselves, and opening their own Way. If we never allow them to come in for a Share of the Discourse, all we say to them will be to little Purpose; Our Scholar only gives us the Hearing, and that sometimes but Coldly and Negligently neither; but as to any Application or Improvement, he troubles not himself, nor is at all Zealous about it; because this a Matter which he is not called upon for, nor concern'd to bear a Part in the Conversation. Nor is it enough in this Case, that we make them deliver their Opinions, except we moreover require them to allege their Reasons, and oblige them to argue in Defence of it; For this is the Way to prevent their talking without Book, and by Rote; This will make them Heedful and Attentive, Cautious what they say, and considerate before they speak; and, for their better Encouragement to confer with us freely, we must commend, and make the best of what they say; and where the Performance falls short, we must accept the Endeavour very graciously. This Method of Instruction by way of Questions, was admirably put in practice by *Socrates*, who was indeed the greatest Master in it of all the Philosophers; and we see all along in *Plato*, by what a Chain and Mutual Connexion of Enquiries, he led Men gently up to the Truth; and by insensible Degrees gain'd his Point upon the

* Obest plerumq; iis, qui discere volunt, Autoritas eorum qui docent. Ob-

Ch. 14. *The Duty of Parents and Children.* 251

Objectors. But indeed a much Greater than *Socrates* hath set us a Pattern in it; Even our Blessed Lord, who, with inimitable Prudence, appealed to Men's own Sense and Judgment; and as he sometimes taught his Disciples, so did he at others confute his Adversaries out of their own Mouths. Now these Questions and Conferences need not always be confin'd to such Subjects, as the Attainments of Memory, or Fancy, or what we call acquired Knowledge are concern'd in; but may (indeed they ought much rather to) be extended to such as are Tryals of the Judgment, and sound Sense. So that no sort of Subjects, will be excluded; for all, even the least and most inconsiderable, are capable of being employed to very good Purpose. The Negligence of a Servant, the Folly of a Child, the Moroseness and Ill-nature of a Clown, the Sports or Plays of Boys, the Talk at Table; for the Excellency and Business of Judgment does by no means consist in the Management or Determination of Weighty or Sublime Matters only, but in passing a true and right Decision, and setting a just Value upon all manner of Things, be they Great or Small, Trivial or Important: It is not the Condition of the Subject, but the Truth, and Pertinency of what is resolved, and said upon it, that proves the Person to be Judicious. It will be very convenient therefore to let him deliver his Opinion of Men and Actions; but, to be sure, always to say somewhat in Justification of his Opinion; and to let nothing pass without some Reflexion, and the Inducements, which move him to think thus rather than otherwise: For this will have a wonderful Influence in the directing his Conscience, and practical Judgment; which is of all other Faculties most necessary to be cultivated and set right; because, if this happen to go amiss, all our Actions which result from its Determination, must consequently be Irregular. *Cyrus* his Tutor in *Xenophon* took this Course; and propounded the following Matter of Fact for an Exercise and Lesson to his Pupil. A great Boy having a short Coat, gave it to one of his Play-fellows, who was less than himself, and took away his Coat in Exchange, which was larger, and too big for the right Owner: Now, the Thing required of *Cyrus* was to deliver his Judgment upon this Matter. *Cyrus* his Opinion was, that the Matter was very well ordered, and much better than before; for now both the Boys were fitted to their Turn, whereas, till that Exchange was made, neither of them was so. His Tutor rebuked him very sharply for so rash and unjust a Judgment; for that he had

only

only considered the Convenience of the Thing, and not the Right and Merits of the Cause ; since Justice is of so much greater Consequence, that the other ought not to be put into the Balance with it ; nor must a Man's Property be invaded, upon the Pretence of giving somewhat that its fitter for his Circumstances in the stead of it. This now is an excellent Way of informing them. Again, when they repeat or quote any thing out of their Books ; as *Cicero*, or *Aristotle*, or the like, this Task should be imposed, not merely for the sake of retaining it in their Memories, but to fasten it in their Minds, and give them a true Taste of it, and enable them to judge of it themselves. And, in order to this, he should take it under all its different Appearances, turn and examine it every way ; and be taught to apply it to several Subjects. It would be a Matter of very small Consequence, for a Youth to tell a Story, of *Cato's* killing himself, for fear of falling into the Hands of *Cæsar* ; or how *Brutus* and *Cassius* engaged in the taking *Cæsar* off ; this is the least Part of the Improvement such Historical Narrations are capable of furnishing. The main Point is, to call these Men before him, to Arraign, and Try, and Sentence them for these Actions ; whether they did well or ill ; whether they consulted the Publick Good, and behaved themselves like true Patriots ; what Prudence, and Justice, and Courage, there was in these Instances ; and wherein these Excellencies exerted, or their contrary Qualities betrayed themselves, *Lastly*, In all the Questions, and Conferences, he ought to take Care, that his Charge proceed according to Truth ; that he be taught to express him properly, and pertinently ; to reason justly ; and to exercise his Practical Judgment of Things, which is an Excellence and Accomplishment infinitely to be preferred before any the nicest Subtilties of the most refined speculative Knowledge. And in such Exercises as these, no Doubt should be left unsatisfied ; no Point suffer'd to pass off imperfectly discuss'd ; no Connivance given to lame and superficial Accounts of Things, the little Shiftings of an Argument, or the calling of an other Cause ; but the Scholar must be prest home ; carried to the Bottom of all that is propounded ; kept close to the Matter in Hand ; that so he may be a perfect Master of what he undertakes, and have solid and substantial Grounds for the Opinions he entertains.

29.

Secondly, He ought to train his Pupil up to a becoming Curiosity, and a Desire to know every Thing his Condition

Ch. 14. *The Duty of Parents and Children.* 253

is capable of. That so he may always have his Mind intent, and his Wits about him ; applying himself to weigh and consider Critically all that is laid or done in his Company ; taking nothing at first View, without Reflexion, and a Second Examination of it privately in his own Thoughts. And not only so, but with Modesty and Temper to inform himself, and consult others, in Matters both of Right, and of Fact. It is a common Proverb, *That he who never asks Questions, will never be a Wise Man* ; that is, if a Man's Mind be not kept stirring, it will rust and mould ; and nothing but constant Ule and Exercise can cleanse and brighten it. Now, whatever of this Kind falls under his Consideration, should be managed to the best Advantage ; applyed and brought home to himself ; discoursed and advised upon with others ; and that, whether it be somewhat already past, to discover what Defects there were, and which were the false Steps in it ; or whether it be somewhat future, that he may govern himself regularly ; be warned of any Hazards and Dangers that attend what he goes about ; and prevent Miscarriages and Inconvenience, by growing wise in Time. Children should never be left to their own idle Fancies, to dare and trifle alone ; For their Age and Capacity, not being of it self able to furnish Noble Matter of Thought, will certainly dwindle into Vanity, and feed upon Impertinencies and Whimsies of a Size with their Imaginations. They should therefore be kept in constant Employment ; to exercise and give them a Manly Way of thinking ; and particularly to beget and excite this inquisitive Humour, and eager Appetite of Knowledge, which will be sure to keep their Souls always awake and busie, and by inspiring them with a Noble Emulation, be Eternally putting forward to fresh and larger Attainments. And this Curiosity, if qualified, as I have here described it, will neither be Vain and Fruitless in it self, nor Troublesome or Unmannerly to any, they converse with,

Thirdly, Another necessary Care in the Instructing of Children is, To frame and mould their Minds, after the Model of Universal Nature, taking the World at large for our Pattern ; to make the Universe their Book, and whatever Subject lies before them, to draw it in full Proportion, and represent the several Opinions and Customs, which do, or ever have prevailed with regard to it. The Greatest and most excellent Persons have always had the freest and most enlarged Souls : For this indeed strengthens and confirms the Mind ; delivers it from Wonder and Surprise :
and

See Book
II, Ch. 2.

and fixes it in Reason and Resolution ; which is the highest Point of Wisdom. This Particular, and the Benefits of it, as well as the Absurdity and great Uneasinesses of the Contrary hath been so largely insisted upon heretofore, that I shall omit what might be said more upon it here ; adding only this Observation, That such a large and universal Spirit must be the Business and Acquest of early Application, and Diligence in the Master ; before the Prepossessions of his Native Country and Customs have taken too fast hold upon his Scholar ; and when he is ripe for Travelling and Conversation, that which will contribute most to the perfecting him in this Disposition, is going abroad ; conferring much with Foreigners ; or, if that cannot be, yet informing himself at Home, by reading such Books as give Account of Travels into remote Parts of the World, and contain the Histories of all Nations.

31.

Lastly, Children ought to be taught betimes not to swallow things at a venture, nor receive any Opinions upon Trust, and the bare Authority of the Person who delivers them ; but to seek and expect all the Evidence that can be had, before they yield their Assent. The contrary Easiness of Mind, is to suffer one's self to be led about hoodwink'd ; to renounce the Use of Reason quite, and submit to the Condition of Brutes, whose Business is only to know their Driver, and go as they are directed : Let every Thing therefore be fairly propounded ; let the Arguments on each Side be stated, and set in their true Light, and then let him choose, as Judgment shall determine him. If he be at a Loss, which Side he should incline to, let him deliberate longer, and doubt on ; such a distrust and uncertainty of Mind is an excellent Sign ; more Safe, more Promising than a rash Confidence, which resolves Right or Wrong, and thinks it self always sure, though it can give no reason why. The Perplexities and Dilemma's of a cautious and considerate Person, are much to be preferred before even the true Determinations that are made in a Heat, and by Chance. But then, as the Youth should be taught always to practise upon his own Judgment, so should he learn likewise to have a Modest Diffidence of his Abilities ; and when any Difficulty interposes, or the Resolution is of great Consequence, to consult those, who are proper to be advised with, and never venture to come to a peremptory Determination, merely upon the Strength of his own reasoning. For, As the being able to examine and compare Things is

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Ch. 14. *The Duty of Parents and Children.* 25

One Argument of Sufficiency, so is the calling in Help another; and the refusing to rest upon one's own single Opinion is no Reflexion upon our Wisdom; No Disparagement to what we think alone, but rather the quite contrary.

Next after the Soul of Children, Parents are obliged to take Care of their Bodies; and this is not to be deferr'd any more than the other. It hath no distinct and separate Seasons, but must go along with the Former; and only differs in this, that, though we ought to express a constant Care and Concern for both, yet we are not obliged to have that Concern equal for both. But, since Nature hath united these Two into One and the same Person, we must contribute to the Good of each by our joynt Endeavours. Now, the Care of the Body will be most profitably express'd, not in the indulging its Apperites, or treating it tenderly (as the Generality of those, who pretend to refined Education do;) but by utterly abandoning all Softness and effeminate Nicety in Cloths and Lodging, Meat and Drink; to give it plain and hearty Nourishment; a simple and wholesome Diet; considering the Convenience of Health and Digestion, more than the Pleasures and Delicacy of the Palate: To support it in a Condition of Strength, capable of supporting Labour and Hardship; and accordingly inure it to Heat and Cold, Wind and Weather; That so the Muscles and Nerves, as well as the Soul, may be fortified for Toil; and by that, for Pain; for the Custom of the Former, hardens us against the Latter. In a Word, to keep the Body Vigorous and Fresh; and the Appetite and Constitution indifferent to all sorts of Meats, and Tasts: For the several Parts of this Advice, are by no means so insignificant, as they may seem. It were enough to say, that they conduce mightily to the preserving and confirming our Health; but that is not all; for the Benefit extends beyond our own Persons, and the Publick is the better for them; as they enable and qualifie Men for the enduring Fatigues, and so fit them for Business, and the Service of their Country.

It is now Time to apply our selves to the *Third* Branch of this Duty, which contains a Parents Care of his Childs Manners; in which, Soul and Body both are very highly concern'd. Now, this Care consists of Two Parts; The preventing Ill Habits, and cultivating Good Ones. The Former is the more Necessary, and requires the more diligent Attention of the Two. And this is a Business, which

32.
*Advice for
the Body.*

33.
*Directions
for Man-
ners.*

which ought to be begun very early indeed, a Man can hardly set about it too soon : For Vicious Dispositions grow into Habits apace ; so that the Corruption of Nature is sure to be beforehand with us ; and, if these things be not stifled in the Birth, it is very difficult Dealing with them afterwards. I suppose, I need not say, that this Endeavour ought to be Universal, and bend it self against all Vice without Exception : But some there are, which I shall mention, and recommend the subduing of more especially, because they are more incident to that Condition of Life, and therefore more formidable than the rest.

The *First* is Lying, a pitiful Poor-spirited Vice ; the Character of Slaves, and Cowards, the most ungentle Quality that can be, and certain Indication of a base, degenerate, and timorous Soul ; but more particularly, fit to be caution'd against in this Place ; because harsh Methods, and rigorous Severities in the Education of Children, very often fright them into it at first, and lay the Seeds of Fear and Falshood for their whole Lives.

The *Second* is an Awkward Bashfulness, which puts them upon hiding their Faces, hanging down their Heads, blushing and looking out of Countenance, when they are spoken to ; makes them incapable of bearing any sort of Correction, or the least angry Word, without being disordered, and put quite out of Humor. A great deal of this is owing to the Natural Weakness and Tenderneſs of their Minds ; but this Infirmary must be corrected by Study and Application ; by learning them to bear Admonition and Rebukes, using them to see Company ; and fortifying them with a becoming Assurance and Presence of Mind.

Thirdly, All Affectation and Singularity in their Dress, their Mein, their Gait, their Gestures, their Speech, and every other Part of Behaviour. Making their Deportment and Conversation Masculine, and free ; easie and unconstrained : For Affectation is a sure Sign of Vanity, and inordinate Desire of recommending themselves by doing somewhat particular, and out of the common Road ; and is extremely Nauseous and Offensive to all Companies ; it displeases even where it labours to oblige ; and casts a Blemish upon our best Actions and kindest Intentions. * *A Man may be Wise without Ostentation, and should labour to be so, without giving Prejudice or Offence.*

* Licet sapere sine pompâ sine invidiâ.

Ch. 14. *The Duty of Parents and Children.* 257

But especially, They must check and utterly banish all Anger, and Peevishness, and Spite, and Obstinacy. And in order hereunto. It will be a good Rule to settle a Resolution never to gratifie Children when they are froward, nor give them any thing they cry and are outrageous for. To make them sensible betimes, that these Arts will never do them service; and are therefore unprofitable, as well as unbecoming. Another necessary Course to this purpose will be, never to Flatter, or wheedle, or caress them in their querulous Humours; for Fondness and Indulgence, which is blameable at all times, is of most dangerous consequence at such times as these: This absolutely ruins them to all Intent and Purposes, encourages them to be Passionate and Sullen, if they have not what they ask for, and renders them at length Obdurate and Headstrong, Intractable and Insolent: For * *Nothing disposes Men more to extravagant Passion and Resentment, than the being humour'd and cocker'd in their Infancy*; and the greatest part of those Fretful, Exceptionous, and Self conceited Qualities, which render Conversation so difficult, and so full of Cavils, as we find it, are owing most certainly to a Failure in this part of Education. The Niceness and Tenderness they have been us'd with in their Infancy, and the Unreasonable Compliances with their Passions then, have absolutely broke their Tempers, and make them Whimsical and Jealous, Furious, and Domineering all their Life-long; They expect, because Mothers and Nurses have done it to my young Master and Miss, and that all the World shou'd submit to their Humours when they come to be Men and Women.

But it is not sufficient to clear the Soil of Weeds and Bryars, except you sow it with good Seed; and therefore at the same time you root out Ill Habits, Care must be taken to implant good ones. The first and most important part whereof is, to Infuse into them, and take care they be thoroughly season'd with a becoming Reverence, and awful Fear of God; learning them to tremble at his infinite and incomprehensible Majesty; to admire and adore the Perfection of his Holiness; to take his Name into their Mouths but very seldom; and when they do, to mention it with Gravity and great Respect; to discourse of his Power, his Wisdom, his Eternal Essence, his Will, his Word, and his Works, not indifferent, and upon every Occasion, but with such Seriousness and Submission, such Modesty and Hu-

* Nihil magis reddet Iracundos, quom Educatio mollis & blanda. R militiy

mility ; and at Seasons so proper, that all the World may perceive we have due Dread, and a constant Awe of that Being, which we take care to treat so very respectfully. Not to use themselves to dispute upon Religion, or call the Mysteries of it into Question ; but resign their Understandings to the Oracles of God, and be content to believe the Scriptures, in such a Sense as the truly Catholick Church hath embrac'd, and commanded to be taught and receiv'd.

2. In the Second Place, The Spirit of Children should be strengthen'd and confirm'd by Ingenuity and Frankness of Temper, Openness and easiness of Conversation, Candor and Integrity; and especially they shou'd be fix'd in the Fitness and the Necessity of Virtue, and so made resolute and zealous in Justice and Goodness, deaf and inflexible to every thing which is Vicious and Dishonourable. Thus the Youth must by degrees be brought to embrace and stick to Virtue, upon a true and solid Principle ; for its Own sake, and real Excellence, and exact Congruity to the Dictates of uncorrupt Reason, and not be induc'd meerly by the force of Fear, or Interest, or some other Consideration so slavish and mercenary, that it cannot deserve a Name so Noble as Virtue. These two Directions are principally for a Man's private use, and centre in his own proper Benefit.

3. The Third regards other People, and hath a more immediate tendency to fit him for, and render him easie and agreeable in Company. And to this purpose you must use all means possible, for the Sweetning his Temper, teach him Rules of Civility and Complaisance, and shew him the Deference that ought to be paid to all Qualities ; let him know how to make himself acceptable; how far it is fit to accommodate himself to other People's Humours, and submit to their Manner. *Alcibiades's* peculiar Excellence was said to lie in this obliging easiness of Humour : And *Aristippus* was a Man of perfect Address; so far from Moroseness, or suffering the Study of Philosophy to sowre him, that *Horace* takes notice of him as a Person *debonnaire* and well-fashion'd, that every thing he did, became him, and he was never at a Loss.

* *All Fortune fitted Aristippus well,
Aiming at Greater, pleas'd with what befall.* Creech.

* *Omnes Aristippum decuit color, & status, & res, &c.*
Hor. Ep. xvii. Let

Ch. 14. *The Duty of Parents and Children.* 259

Let your young Charge be so much a Master of Conversation, as to be capable of keeping all manner of Company, but let him choose and frequent none but such as are virtuous and good. Let him abstain from Vice, not upon Compulsion only, out of Fear, or Ignorance, but out of Inclination and Choice. For † *There is a great deal of difference between refusing to be Wicked, and not daring, or not knowing how to be so.*

The Fourth Virtue I desire to have early ingrafted into the Minds of young People, is Modesty. This will preserve them from that Forwardness which puts them upon Contention and Dispute, and attacking all they come near. With some Persons it is never proper for us to engage at all; as those particularly, whose Quality is much above, or very much below our own; whether the Difference lie in Birth, or Riches, or Honour, or Parts, or Characters; These can never be a fit Match for us at any time. But indeed, those that are so, shou'd not be encounter'd at All Times, nor upon All Occasions; not for a trifling Circumstance, an improper Expression; in short, What is of little Moment in it self, or little or no Concern to us, will not justify our wrangling for it. To let nothing go without putting in an Exception to it, is ill-manner'd, impertinent, and troublesome: But even in those things that are worth a Dispute, to be opinionative and peremptory, warm and violent, clamorous and loud, is as much a Breach of this Virtue; for Modesty teaches Men to be Meek and Gentle, Moderate and Condescending; it cannot be reconcil'd with a positive dogmatical way of Talk with an abounding in our own Sense, and a Resolution not to be convinc'd: But it yields the Point when it is no longer defensible; and, as it never Disputes for Ostentation, or for Disputing's sake, so it hath a just Deference to the Person, and his contrary Opinion; it preserves Decency and good Manners; allows all that can possibly be granted, and takes Care to soften the Opposition of that which Judgment will not suffer it to allow. But of this I have spoken in another Part of this Treatise already; and therefore shall dismiss the Subject at present, and with it Three parts of that Duty which Parents owe to their Children.

The Fourth and Last part of this Duty concerns the Affection they ought to bear towards their Children, and the *Paternal* manner of treating and conversing with them when they are *Affection*.

† Multum interest, utrum peccare quis nolit, aut nesciar.

grown up, and the former Rules have had their desir'd Effect. Now we need not be told that the Affection between Parents and Children is natural and reciprocal. But it is stronger and more natural on the Parent's side; because this is the streight Course of Nature, carrying on the Life, and promoting the Succession of Mankind by a Descent of a right Line; whereas that of Children are only by way of Rebound and Reflection, and consequently cannot move so vigorously back again, as the former does forward. This indeed seems rather to be the Paying of a Debr, and the Sense and Return of Kindnesses receiv'd, than free, and natural, and pure Love. Besides, He that first does the Kindness, loves more than the Person who is passive, and receives it: And therefore the Parent, who is the first Mover, loves more vehemently than he is belov'd again. Of this Assertion there are many Arguments to assure us. Every Thing is fond of Existence, and Existence proves it self by Exercise and Action. Now whoever does Good to another, does after some sort exist in that Person; and he who gives Being, manifestly lives and acts in that Being which is propagated by him. He that does a Kindness, does a noble and generous Thing; but he who receives it, hath not the same to allege. For the Virtue is the proper Quality of the First; but the Profit and Advantage is peculiar to the Second. Now Virtue, we know, is rooted in the Nature of the Thing, and consequently is a more worthy and amiable, a more firm and permanent Quality, than that of Advantage can possibly be; for this is additional, occasional, and accidental only; it may quickly vanish into nothing, and take it self away. Again, *We* are fond of those Things that are obtain'd with Difficulty and Expence; *That is dear to us, which costs us dear,* says the Proverb. But the Bringing Children into the World, the Cherishing, Maintaining, and Educating them, are infinitely more troublesome for Parents to bestow, than it is possible to be to Children to receive these Advantages.

36.
Of two
kinds.

But this Love of Parents is capable of a very just Distinction; and tho' there be two different sorts of it, yet thus far they agree, that both are Natural. The First is purely and entirely so; little, if at all removed from that which we commonly call *Instinct* in Brutes; for they partake of it as well as we. This disposes Parents to a strange Tenderness for their Children, even at the Breast, and in the Cradle, and gives the first Infant Cries and Complaints, a wondrous Power of moving Compassion, and piercing their very Souls.

This

Ch. 14. *The Duty of Parents and Children.* 261

This likewise inspires an unaccountable Fondness and Delight in them; while as yet they are only capable of diverting us, and as meer Play-things, as those Wax and Plaister-Babies, which themselves are shortly to be entertain'd withal. Now this Affection is not strictly and properly Human: Nor ought a Man, enrich'd with an Endowment so noble as Reason, to suffer himself to be thus enslav'd to Nature, after the manner of Beasts that know no better; but rather that he should be led by these Motions of the Soul, and follow them freely, with all that Temper and Evenness, which Judgment and Consideration should inspire; for these should preside over Nature, and moderate its Affections, reducing all to the Measures and Guidance of Reason. But now the other sort is agreeable to These, and consequently more Human and worthy of us. This inclines us to love our Children more or less, as they are more or less attracting and deserving our Affection; to rise in This as these tender Plants of ours Blossom and Bud; and in proportion to the early Dawnings and brighter and stronger Shining of Wit and good Sense, Virtue and Goodness in them. Some Parents there are, who seem wonderfully transported with the first Appearances of this kind, but lose the Satisfaction soon after, because the Charge of maintaining them at first, is no great Matter; but that of the Education, which must improve and finish them, and bring Credit to their Natural Gifts, is grievous and insupportable. This looks as if they grudg'd their Children the Honour and Happiness of growing wiser and better, and were sorry that they answer the End of their Creation; a Folly so absurd, so infinitely unreasonable, that we may justly call them brutish and inhuman Fathers, who are guilty of it.

Now in pursuance of this Second and properly Paternal Affection, Parents should by all means admit their Children, so soon as they are capable of it, to keep them Company: They should make them a competent Allowance, fit for the Rank and Condition of them and their Family; should enter them into Business, and let them see the World; confer and consult with them about their own Private Affairs, communicate their Designs, their Opinions to them, not only as their Companions, but their Friends, and not keep them in Darkness, and Strangers to things which they have so great an Interest in; These should consent to, and even condescend to assist in their becoming and innocent Diversions, as Occasions shall offer, and so far as any of these things can

conveniently be done; but still so as to preserve all due regard to their own Authority, and the Character of a Parent. For certainly such prudent Reserves may be us'd in this Case, as would in no degree diminish That; and yet abundantly condemn that stern and austere, that magisterial and imperious Countenance and Carriage, which never lets a Child hear one mild Word, nor see one pleasant Look. Men think it now below them to hear of the Relation, and disdain to be call'd Fathers; when yet God himself does not only condescend to, but delight in that Title, above all others whatsoever. They make it no part of their Endeavour or Concern, to win the Love of their Children, but prefer Fear, and Awe, and respectful Expressions of Distance, before all the Endearments and Testimonies of a dutiful and tender Affection. And, to contain them in these Sentiments the better, and to confirm them the more, they shew their Power by holding their Hands, and denying the Supplies that are necessary and fit for them; make them (as the Term is) *bite of the Bridle*, and not only live like Beggars or Scoundrels at present, but threaten to keep them so, by leaving their Estates from them when they die. Now what Stuff is all this? How sottish and ridiculous a Farce do such People act? What is this but to distrust the Efficacy of that Authority which is real and natural, and of right belongs to the Relation they stand in, that so they may usurp a foreign and unjust Jurisdiction, and frame an artificial and imaginary Authority to themselves? An Authority which all serious and good Men do but pity or condemn; nay, which crosses and contradicts the very End of all this foolish Project; for they destroy that very Reverence they would maintain, and render themselves despicable in their own Families, a Jest and Scorn even to those Children. But, if it have not this Effect (which it too often hath) of drawing such Contempt upon them, yet is it a mighty Temptation to young People thus us'd to take to Tricks, and little dishonest Shifts, and, without the least Remorse, to cheat and impose upon such Parents; Whose Business, indeed, should have been to regulate and inform their Minds, and shew them the Equity and Reasonableness of their Duty; but by no means to have Recourse to such kind of Treatment as is much more agreeable to the Arbitrary Violence of a Tyrant, than the Affectionate Regards, and kind Care of a Father. What says the wise Comedian to this purpose?

Truly

Ch. 14. The Duty of Parents and Children. 263

** Truly in my Mind the Man thinks much amiss,
Who believes that Government purely by Force
Shou'd have more Authority, and a better Foundation,
Than when 'tis accompany'd with Tenderness and Respect,*

38.
Asto the final Disposal of the Estate ; The best and wisest way (all notable and extraordinary Accidents excepted) will be, to take our Measures from the Laws and Customs of the Country where we dwell: For it ought to be presum'd, that the Laws are wiser than We; and that the Makers of them consider'd things more maturely than private Men are likely to do. And, if any Inconvenience shou'd afterwards happen from such a Distribution, it will be much more excusable to Posterity, that we have err'd in going by the common Road, than if it had been by any particular Whimsie of our own. But sure there cannot be a greater abuse of the Trust repos'd in us, and the Liberty we have to dispose of our Fortunes as we please, than to let little foolish Fancies, and frivolous Quarrels, or private Resentments, weigh down the Obligations of a higher Nature, and either endite, or alter Articles in our Will. And yet how many Instances do we see of Men, who suffer themselves to be transported by a most unreasonable Partiality, and are wrought upon, either by some little officious Diligence, or the Presence of one Child when the rest are Absent, to make a mighty Difference, where Blood and Duty have never made any at all; who play with their Wills as if it were a jesting-matter, and gratifie or chastise such Actions, as do not deserve such an Animadversion; for it ought to be something, much more than common, which excludes those who have a just Pretence to share in what we leave, or that disposes us to a Division so unequal, as should very much affect the Fortunes of our Children, in prejudice to one another, and leave no Mark whereby to know that they were Brothers and Sisters. And if the Acting thus be a Fault, the Threatning at a distant, or promising such an Inequality is highly Wicked and Foolish, and of most pernicious Influence in the Family: And therefore I say still, in despite of any supportable Defects in our Children, the Flatteries and Officiousness of some, or the pardonable Provocations of others; let us sit down and consider

** Errat longè meâ quidem Sententiâ,
Quie imperium credit esse gravius aut stabilius
Vi quod sit, quam illud quod amicitia adjungitur,*

that This, as it is one of the last, so it is one of the most important and serious Actions of our Lives; and therefore Reason, and Law, and common Usage ought to take place in it. For these are the wisest Guides we can follow, and, in conforming to them, we take the surest Course to answer the Obligations of our Character, to vindicate our Proceedings to the World, and to quiet and satisfy our own Consciences.

39.
Duty of
Children.

We are now come to that other general Division of this Chapter, the Duty of Children towards their Parents; than which there is not any more plainly and visibly writ in the Book of Nature, or more expressly and positively enjoin'd by Religion: A Duty which ought to be paid them, not as meer and common Men, but as a sort of Demy-Gods, earthly and visible Deities in Mortal Flesh. Upon this Account, *Philo* the Jew tells us, that the Fifth Commandment was written half of it in the First, and the other half in the Second Table of the Decalogue: Because it in part regards the Duty we owe to God, and in part, that which we owe to our Neighbour. This is likewise so self-evident and acknowledg'd a Duty, so strictly and indispensably requir'd at our Hands, that no other Duty, no other Affection can supersede it; even tho' our Affection to other Persons may, and is allow'd to be more intimate and tender. For put the Case, that a Man hath a Father and a Son both involv'd in the same Distress, and that he have it in his Power to relieve but one of them, it hath been the Opinion of very wise Men, that he is bound to assist his Father, notwithstanding his Affection to the Son, (according to what hath been urg'd upon that Occasion,) be the greater and stronger. The Reason of which Resolution seems to be, That the Son's Debt to the Father is of longer standing; and the Obligation bore Date, and was in Force before that to his own Son; and that therefore it is in this, as as in other Cases of like Nature, where no antecedent Tie can be cancell'd by any Engagement or Debt contracted afterwards.

40.

Now this Duty principally consists in Five Particulars; All of which are comprehended under that significant Expression of Honouring our Father and Mother.

The First is Reverence; by which we are to understand, not only those External Respects of the Looks, or Gestures, or Behaviour, but the Inward and Respectful Sense of the Mind; and This indeed chiefly as the Source and Foundation of the other. Now this consists in the high Esteem, and profound Veneration for them, looking upon them as the Authors and Original of our Being, and all the Comforts of

Ch. 14. *The Duty of Parents and Children.* 265

it. The Instruments and Immediate Causes which the Universal Father of all things was pleas'd to make choice of, for the bringing us out of Nothing, and making us what we are; and therefore in that Quality, bearing a very great Relembance to God himself.

The second is Obedience, which, provided the Matter of the Command be lawful, cannot be dispens'd with, upon the Pretence of any Rigour or Hardship that it is encumber'd with. And thus we find the *Rechabites* commended by God himself, for complying with the Severities of Life, impos'd upon them, and their Posterity, by *Jonadab* their Ancestor. Jer. xxxv.

The Third is, Succouring them in all their Exigencies and Distresses; maintaining and cherishing them in their Wants and Weaknesses; Old Age and Sickness, Infirmities and Poverty must be so far from Provoking our Scorn and Contempt, that they are but so many louder Calls, and more engaging Ties to Love and Duty, to Assistance and Respect; aiding and advising them in their Business, and exerting our utmost Power to do them Service. Of this we have some wonderful Examples in the other Parts of Nature; and Brutes themselves have set us a noble and almost inimitable Pattern; particularly the Stork, which *St. Basil* so elegantly extols upon this account: For the young Storks are said to nourish and feed the old ones; to cover them with their Feathers, when the Shedding of their own exposes them to the Injuries of the Cold and Weather; to fly in couples, and join Wings to carry them on their Backs. Nature, it seems, inspiring them with their Artificial Contrivance of shewing this Piety and Affection. This Example is so lively, so very moving, that the Duty of Parents to their Children hath been express'd in some Translations by *ἀντιπελαργεῖν*, that is, *acting the part of a Stork*. And the *Hebrews* in consideration of this eminent Quality, call this Bird *Chasida*, which signifies *Kind, Charitable, Good Natur'd*. Some very remarkable Instances of this kind among Men, we read in ancient History. *Tymon*, Son to the Great *Miltiades*, when his Father was dead in Prison, and so poor that he had not wherewith to bury him, (tho' some say it was for the Payment of his Debts, for failure whereof, his Corps was arrested, and kept above-ground) sold himself, and sacrific'd his Liberty for a Sum of Money, to be expended in defraying the Charges of his Funeral. This Man did not contribute to his Father's Necessities out of his own Abundance, or his actual Possessions, but parted with his Freedom; a Thing dearer to him, and esteem'd more valuable,

luable, than either Fortune, or Life it self, for his Father's sake. He did not relieve him alive, and in distress; but when he was dead, no longer his Father, no longer a Man. What a Brave, what an Heroick Act was this? What may we reasonably imagine, so gallant a Son would have done, what indeed would he not have done for a living and a necessitous Father, one that had asked, or that had needed his Assistance? This is a generous and a glorious Instance of the Duty now under Consideration. We are likewise told of two Examples in the weaker Sex, Women who suckled, the one her Father, and the other her Mother, when they were Prisoners under Sentence of Condemnation, and to be famish'd to Death; which is said to have been heretofore a Punishment very commonly inflicted in Capital Cases. It looks a little Unnatural for a Mother to Subsist upon her Daughter's Milk; This is turning the Stream back again up to the Fountain-Head; but sure it deserves to be considered by the Ladies of our Age; how very Natural, indeed how Fundamental and Primitive a Law of Nature it is, for Mothers to suckle, and give that Sustenance, which Nature hath provided on purpose to their own Children.

The Fourth Duty is, to be govern'd and directed by them in all Matters of Moment; to attempt no considerable thing without taking their Advice, and asking their Consent, and being confirm'd in our Intentions and Designs, by the Parents Approbation and good Liking. This is a general Rule, extending to all the important Affairs of Human Life; all that are fit to trouble and consult them about; but it hath a special Regard to the Disposing of themselves in Marriage, which is of all others the most Weighty and Serious; and such as Parents have a particular Right to be well informed of, and perfectly satisfied in.

The Fifth is, Covering their Vices and Imperfections; submitting to their Humours and Passions; their Severity and hard Usage; and bearing all their most unreasonable Peevishness, and angry Rebukes with Patience and Temper. Of this we have a notable Instance in *Manlius Pomponius*. The Tribune had accused the Father of this *Manlius* to the People, of several grievous Crimes; among the rest of horrible Barbarity to his Son; and among other Indignities, that he forc'd him to dig and drive the Plough. This Son went to this Tribune's house, found him in Bed; and, putting a Knife to his Throat, made him swear that he would withdraw the Indictment, and prosecute his Father no farther;

Ch. 15. *The Duties of Masters and Servants.* 267

ther; declaring, that he had rather submit to the most Slavish Drudgery his Father could impose upon him, and toil at it all the Days of his Life, than see him prosecuted and exposed for any rigorous Carriage to him.

These *Five Duties*, at first Sight, may perhaps seem too rigid, but there is no Child, who would not allow them to be very reasonable and becoming him to pay, did he but give himself the Trouble of considering seriously, how much he hath stood his Parents in. What Pain and Anxiety, what Tender Care and Concern, what Trouble and Expence, and what a World of Affection went to the bringing of him up. But this in Truth is a Computation which no Man is capable of making justly, till he come to have Children of his own; then Matters will appear to him quite otherwise, than now they do. And therefore, as the Philosopher, who was found riding on a Hobby-Horse with his little Boy, desired that his Friend would forbear to expose that Levity of his, till he was a Father himself: So in the Case before us, whoever shall imagine, that the Duty to Parents is carryed beyond Equity and Reason, or their Merits to their Children over-rated here, we must beg that he will be content to suspend his Final Determination of this Matter, till that Time come, which alone can make him a competent Judge of it.

C H A P. XV.

Duties of Masters and Servants.

There remains now only the Third and Last Part of Private and Domestick Justice to be spoken to, which consists of the mutual Duties of that lowest Relation, between Masters and Servants.

Now, in Order to a right Understanding of this Matter, we must remember, that there are different Sorts of Servants, and more especially the *Three* that follow. The *First* are, what we call Slaves, in which all the World abounded heretofore, and the greatest Part of it does so still; for except one Quarter of *Europe*, they are still reckoned as part of their Masters Riches and Estate: And accordingly, they have no Right in any thing, not so much as in their Goods, their Children, or their own Bodies; but their Patron hath an absolute Power, to buy and sell them, to give them, or barter them away; and to deal with them in as Arbitrary and

Book I.
Chap. 43.

and Uncontrol'd a Manner, as we do with our Horses, or Cattel, or any Beasts of Service. Of these we have delivered our Opinion at large in the first Book. The Next are, what we commonly call Servants and Attendants ; These are Free-Men, and have a Right Inviolable in their own Persons and Possessions ; nay, they have such an indefeasible Liberty, that it cannot be taken away from them, by any Voluntary Compact of their own, or any other Means used in Prejudice of it. But they are bound to Pay Honour and Respect, Obedience and Service, for so long a Time, and upon such Conditions, as have been covenanted for ; and their Masters accordingly have a Power of commanding, correcting and punishing them, within the Bounds of Moderation and Discretion. The *Third* Sort are, what we may term Hirelings, or Workmen ; which are still less in Subjection than the Former : For they are not obliged to Attendance, nor Obedience in general ; but only to the Performance of that Particular Work, we take them for ; and so they only make an Exchange of their Labour and Industry, for so much of our Money ; for those that Hire them, have no Authority either to correct them for doing amiss, or to command them at large in any other thing.

Now, The Duty of Masters towards their Servants, whether in the Quality of Slaves, or of Attendants, is ; Not to use them Barbarously, but always to remember, that These too are Men ; of the very same Species with themselves, made up of the same Materials, cast in the same Mould ; descended from the same Ancestors. That it is not Nature, which hath put any Difference, but only Fortune ; and Fortune is a very Humourfom and changeable Thing, for she seems to make her self great Diversion with her Wheel ; and triumph in turning those that were at the Bottom up to the Top, and tumbling those that sat at the Top, down to the Bottom. Consequently, that the Distinction is not so great, as they are willing to imagine ; nor what can bear them out in keeping their Fellows at so vast a distance ; and expecting such wonderful Submissions from them. For *these*, says *Seneca*, are Men, and our poor Friends, and humble Companions, but withal, our Fellow-Servants, for we are all equally at the the Disposal of the same Providence. Our Servants then should be treated

* Sunt homines, contubernales, humiles amici, conservi, æque Fortune subiecti,

Ch. 14. *The Duty of Princes and Subjects.* 269

with Courtesie and Condescension; not with proud Disdain, and impious Contempt; we should rather make it our Business, that they may love us, than that they may be afraid of us: But to deal roughly, and use them hardly, discovers great Inhumanity and Cruelty of Disposition; and plainly declares, that we should use all Mankind just so, if we had them as much at our Mercy; and that it is not want of Will, but want of Power, which hinders us from the Execution of our Barbarous Inclinations. We are also obliged to have Regard to their Health, to be kind and tender of them in Sicknes, and sad Accidents; to provide for their Instruction; and take special Care, that they be taught their Duty; especially such Things as are necessary to be known for the Good of their Souls, and which their everlasting Salvation may be promoted by.

The Duty of Servants is to honour and fear their Masters, with regard to this Relation between them; whatsoever they may be, or how little soever they may deserve such Deference in any other respects. To obey them faithfully and diligently; to be true to their Trust; to serve, not only in Appearance, and while the Masters Eye is upon them; but sincerely, seriously, and cordially; out of a Principle of Conscience, and without the least mixture of Hypocrisie and Dissimulation. To sow no Discord, or ferment Jealousies and Discontents in the Family; to keep Secrets; not to turn Whisperers or Hearkeners, or busie Bodies; nor divulging what is done at Home to the Prejudice of their Master; but advancing his Interest, and vindicating his Reputation; as well as assisting and defending his Person, so far as lies in their Power. And indeed there are several very Noble, and Generous, and Brave Instances upon Record of eminent Things done by Servants for their Masters; nay, some of them have gone so far, as to hazard their own, for the saving their Master's Life, or the doing Right their Honour.

C H A P. XVI.

Duty of Princes and Subjects.

CONCERNING Princes and their Dignity, the different Measures of their Power, the Humors to which this Elevation disposes them, the Miseries and Inconveniences of so impor-

important a Trust, we have had occasion to speak already, in the Forty Sixth Chapter of the First Book ; as we likewise have done very largely in the Second and Third of this Book ; concerning their Duty, and how they ought to Govern : But, all this notwithstanding, we will just touch upon the main Strokes, and general Heads of their Business, in this Place.

A Sovereign Prince is in a middle Station, between God and his People ; and therefore a Debtor he is to each of them ; As such, he should constantly remember, that he is the living Image and Representation, the Vice-Roy and Commissioner General of the Great ; the Almighty God ; who is likewise his Prince and his Master ; that with regard to his People, he is a Shining Light, a Mirror in continual Reflection, a Spectacle set up on high, that draws all Eyes to it ; a Spring, of whose Waters all his Subjects hope to drink ; a Spur and mighty Incitement to Virtue ; and one that can never do any Good, but the Benefit of it is diffused far and wide, and the remembrance of it faithfully treasured up, and put to Account. This in short is his Character, and these the Conditions of his Station, and from hence it is very easie to infer, what must needs be required of him to answer and fill up the several Parts of this Description.

It is evident then, first of all, that he is in an especial Manner obliged to Devotion, Religion, Piety and the Fear of God ; and that, not only with regard to himself, considered abstractedly, and for the satisfying his own Conscience, as he is a Man ; but moreover with respect to his Government, in his Politick Capacity, and as a Prince. Now, the Piety, which concerns us to observe in this Place, is consequently not so much the Personal, as the Publick and Princely Acts of it ; The Care and Regard he ought to have for the Preservation and Security of the Established Religion ; making seasonable Provision for its Protection and Defence by wholesome and wise Laws ; ordering and inflicting severe Penalties, upon the Poisoners and Disturbers of it, and taking all possible Care, that neither the Doctrines and Mysteries of it be reviled and blasphemed, nor the Rights of it violated, nor the Exercise of it innovated and confounded by Fickle and Factionous Men. This is a Care, that will conduce mightily to his Honour, and the Security of his own Person and Government : For Men are naturally disposed to stand in greater Awe of, and pay a more willing Obedience to a Governour, who (they are

con-

Ch. 16. The Duties of Princes and Subjects. 271

convinced) does truly fear God. They are more Fearful and Cautious in forming any Attempts against such a one; because the Natural Notions of a Superintending Providence, represent him to Mankind, as one under the more special and immediate Care of God. * *Piety* (says an old Author) *is one strong Guard. All the Malice of the Evil Genius, and all the Strength of Fate are not able to take any hold on the Pious Man; For his God delivers him from all Evil.* Nor is this a Safeguard to his Person only, but to his Country and Government also; for all the Philosophers and wise Men are unanimously agreed, that Religion is the strongest Tye, the closest and most binding Cement of Human Society, and mutual Commerce.

The Prince is also bound to pay a strict and inviolable Obedience to the Laws of God; and to enforce the same Obedience and Religious Observance upon other People: For these Laws are Indispensable and Eternal; and he, who endeavours the reversing, or (which as to the Effect is almost the same thing) the bringing them into publick Neglect and Contempt, is not only a Tyrant, but a Monster.

As to the People under his Jurisdiction; he is oblig'd, first of all faithfully and punctually to keep his Promises, and Covenants, and Treaties, whether these Engagements were entered into with his own Subjects as Parties; or whether with any other, that have an Interest in them. This is a Branch of Natural and Universal Equity; even God himself, who is above all Law but that of his own most Holy and Divine Will, declares himself bound by, and always true to his Promises. *Hath he said it, and shall he not do it? and God is not a Man that he should lye, or the Son of Man that he should repent: Behold I the Lord have said it, I will certainly bring it to pass.* These are the Characters given us of Himself, by the God that cannot lye, in Holy Scripture. And it would ill become his Image upon Earth, to degenerate from that Great Pattern above; and be changed into the Resemblance of him, who is the Father of Lyes. But, besides the Obligations to Truth in this Respect, A Prince is the Security, the formal Guarrantee for the Laws and mutual Agreements between his Subjects; and he is to see that they proceed in all their private Transactions, according to Justice and Truth. His Engagement therefore to keep his Word is superiour and more binding, than that of

* *Una custodia Pietas. Pium virum nec malus Genius nec Fatum devincit. Deus enim eripit eum ab omni malo.*

any

any other Man can possibly be ; for there is not any Quality or Crime possible for a Prince to be guilty of, so shameful and detestable, as the violating his Word, and his Oath. Upon which Account it hath been observed, that when ever a Prince goes counter to his Promise, we are to suppose him controled and over-power'd by some extraordinary Accident or Exigence : For to imagine him raise to his Engagements, without invincible Necessity, were to entertain a Presumption inconsistent with the Reverence due to so high a Character. Nor is he bound by his own Promises and Covenants only ; but likewise by those of his Predecessors ; if he succeeded into their Right by Inheritance ; or any other Way that declar'd him satisfied to take the Crown as he found it ; or if they be such as manifestly contribute to the Publick Safety and Advantage. In short, by the same Reason, and upon the same Accounts, he may discharge himself of all the unreasonable and prejudicial Promises, with Regard to his People ; that private Persons think sufficient to disengage them from, when they stand bound to their Prince.

4.

Again, Princes, even the most Absolute of them all, ought to consider, that although the Law, (the Civil and Human Law I mean) be their own Handy-work, and proper Sanction, changed and abrogated at Pleasure, (for this Legislative Power is the peculiar Right and distinguishing Character of Sovereignty,) and so, in that respect, they are above the Law, as the Creator is above his Creature ; yet so long as any Law stands unrepealed, and in full Force, they are bound in all Equity and good Conscience, to make it the Rule and Standard of their Actions and Determinations : And it would be an infinite Blemish and Dishonour to themselves, as well as of ill Example and pernicious Consequence to others, if they should do otherwise : For this were to refuse to stand to their own Act and Deed ; a living in perfect Contradiction, and giving the Lye to themselves. The Great *Augustus* had like to have died with Remorse, for having once upon Occasion done in his own Person, a thing contrary to Law ; *Agésilas*, and *Seleucus*, have left us very memorable Examples of this kind, and paid very dear for them.

5.

Thirdly, The Prince is a Debtor to his People, for the regular Administration of Justice ; and ought upon all Occasions to make this the Measure of his Power, and not to stretch beyond the Line. This indeed is the Peculiar Excellence of a Prince ; a truly Royal and distinguishing Virtue.

Upon

Upon which Account, it was both smartly and pertinently replied by an Old Woman to King *Philip*; upon his putting her off, upon pretence that he was not at leisure to do her Right; That if he could not spare time to do the Duty of his Office, he ought to lay it down, and be a King no longer. But *Demetrius* did not come off so easily upon the like Provocation: For upon his throwing several of their Petitions into the River, without ever returning any Answer to them, or redressing the Grievances they complained of, they thought themselves at Liberty to take another Course, and dethron'd the King, who had express'd such an haughty Disregard to his People, and their Addresses.

Once more. He ought to love and to cherish, to take a very tender Care of his Subjects; and imitate the King of Kings, in watching over them for their Good: His Affection and his Deportment ought to be that of a Husband to the Wife of his Bosom: His Bowels and provident Concern, those of a Father to his Children; his Vigilance, that of a Shepherd over his Flock, constantly keeping in his Eye the Advantage and Security of his People, and making their Ease, and Quiet, and Welfare, the Aim and End of all his Undertakings. The Happiness of the Country is the Satisfaction and Joy of a good King; the Strength, the Wealth, the Honour, the Virtue of his People are his chief Desire and Delight. That Prince, who looks no farther than himself, and his own Interest, abuses and imposes upon himself: For he is none of his own, nor is the State for Him, but he for the State. He is indeed the Master and the Governour of it; but not to the intent that he should domineer and tyrannize over it, but that, by the Advantage of so great a Power, he may be enabled to support and maintain it. * The People are committed to him, not as an absolute Possession, and to make them Slaves; but as a Trust, to be their Guardian; and to use them like so many Minors under his Direction; to cherish, and breed, and watch over them. That by virtue of his vigilant Care, his Subjects may sleep securely; that in his Toil and Fatigues they may find Ease and Leisure; that his Industry may preserve their Properties and Pleasures, and that every Man under his Jurisdiction may know and feel experimentally, that he is as much for their Advantage as he is above them in Dignity and Power.

Now, In order to the being so indeed, and the Effectual

* Cui non Civium servitus tradita, sed tutela.

discharge of this important Trust, it will be necessary for him to govern himself by the Rules, which have been laid down at large in the Second and Third Chapter of this Book. That is, To be sufficiently provided, with a wise Counsel, a substantial Exchequer, and a convenient Strength of Forces at Home; and with significant Alliances and Friends abroad. To manage this Provision to the best Advantage; and so to act and rule, both in Peace and War, that he may reign in the Hearts of his People, and be both loved and feared by them at the same time.

8. To be short, and say all in a Word; the Character of a truly good King is compounded of these following Qualifications. He must fear and reverence his Master, Almighty God, above all; he must be prudent and considerate in his Designs; Vigorous and Bold in the Execution of them; Firm in his Resolutions; true to his Word, Wise and Discerning in his Counsel; tender of his Subjects; assisting to his Friends; formidable to his Enemies; compassionate to those in Distress; courteous and kind to good Men; a Terror to the Wicked; and Just to all.

9. The Duty of Subjects towards their Prince, consists of *Three* Particulars. The *First*, is Honour and Reverence; And this is due to Princes, in regard they are the Image and Similitude of the most High God; established and ordained by him; and therefore those, who disparage and detract from them, that revile or speak ill of them, and endeavour to sow Discords and discontented Thoughts, by virulent Reproaches, or wicked Scandals, are very highly to be blamed. These indeed are the true Descendants of Prophane and Undutiful *Ham*; who either invent and contrive, or at least expose and deride their Father's Shame. The *Second* is, Obedience; which is a Word of very extensive signification, and includes serving them in the Wars, paying the Taxes and Tributes imposed by their Authority, and the like. The *Third* is, Heartily desiring their Happiness and Prosperity, and recommending them, and their Undertakings to the Blessing and Protection of Almighty God, in constant and fervent Prayers for them.

10. But a very considerable Doubt arises upon this Occasion; which is, Whether all these Duties are to be paid to all Princes without any Distinction; whether wicked Princes, whether Tyrants have a Right to them? This Controversie cannot be decided by any single positive Answer; but to come to a true Resolution of the Point, we must state the Case; and
distin-

Ch. 16. *The Duty of Princes and Subjects.* 274

distinguish the Circumstance cautiously : For a Prince may be Tyrannical either at the very Entrance into his Power, or in the Exercise of it afterwards ; that is, He may usurp his Authority, or he may abuse that Rightful one which he is fairly possess'd of. If his Entrance upon the Government be Tyrannical ; that is, If he invade without any just Pretension, be he otherwise a Good or a Bad Governour, it matters not much ; It hath been the general Sense of Wise Men, that he ought to be withstood by Methods of Justice and legal Redress, if there be any opportunity of obtaining Redress that way ; but if there be not, then by open Force. And indeed I take it, that where we meet with the Word *Tyrant* in old Authors, who use it in an ill Sense, it ought constantly to be thus understood. And *Cicero* says, that among the Ancient *Greeks*, there were particular Honours and Rewards assign'd to those who distinguish'd themselves by such Deliverances of their Country from a lawless Yoke. Nor can this in any good Propriety of Speech be call'd resisting one's Prince, since it supposes him never to have been so, either in Right or in Fact ; but only One who put himself upon the People, without ever being receiv'd, or recogniz'd as such.

The Case is different, if this Tyranny be charg'd upon the Exercise and Administration of his Power only ; that is, if he be duly possess'd of his Power, but use it unduly ; if he be Cruel, or Wicked, which in the Modern Language is, Tyrannical and Arbitrary. And here again we must be beholden to another Distinction, to help us to a right Understanding of the Case : For a Prince may be Tyrannical in this Sense of the Word, three several ways ; and a different sort of Behaviour is requir'd from Subjects, with regard to each of them.

First he may be so, by violating the Laws of God and Nature, acting contrary to the establish'd Religion of his Country, the express Commands of God, or the Native Liberty of Men's Consciences. In this Case we must by no means obey him, according to the Maxims laid down in Holy Scripture, that *We ought to obey God rather than Man ; and to fear him who hath power over the whole Man, more than him who hath power over one part of the Man only, and that the less, and more inconsiderable part of him too.* But then, if we can have no Relief by Law or Justice, we must not have Recourse to Violence ; which is the contrary Extreme to a sinful Compliance ; but keep the middle Way, which is to flee or to suffer.

7.

The Second Case is not quite so bad as the former, because it offers no Violence to the Consciences of Men, but to their Bodies and Estates only, by abusing his Subjects, refusing to do them Justice, taking away the Liberty of their Persons, and the Property of their Estates. And here the three Duties mention'd before, Honour and Obedience, good Wishes, and Prayers ought still to be paid, with patience and Submission, and a Sense and Acknowledgment of the Wrath of God let loose upon them in this Scourge of an unjust Prince: For there are three Considerations fit to be attended to upon such Occasions. One is, *That all Power is of God, and he that resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God.* * *The Gods, (says a very wise and judicious Heathen) have committed the Supreme Judgment, and last Determination of Human Affairs to the Prince: The Glory of Obedience is the Subject's Portion; we must therefore wish and pray that we may have none but Good Princes; but when we have them, we must endure them whether they be good or bad.* The Ground and formal Reason of our Obedience does not lie in the Consideration of their Personal Virtues, or just and commendable Administration, but in their Character and Superiority over us. There is a vast difference between True and Good; and he who is truly our Governour, tho' he be not a good Governour, is to be regarded as the Laws themselves are; which bind us, not upon the Account of their Justice and Convenience, but purely upon the Account of their being Laws, and having the Sanction that is requisite to give them Authority. A Second Reflexion upon this Occasion should be, That God permits Hypocrites, and sets up wicked Men to bear Rule for the Sins of a People, and in the Day of his fierce Anger. He makes a barbarous unjust Prince the Instrument of his Vengeance; and therefore this must be born with the same Temper of Mind with which we submit to other Calamities made use of by God for that Purpose: † *Like a Blast, or a Barren Year, Inundations and excessive Rains, or other Evils in the Course of Nature, so shou'd the Avarice and Luxury of Princes be endur'd by those they oppress,* says Tacitus. Instances of this kind we have in *Saul*, and *Nebuchadnezzar*, and several of the *Roman Emperors* before *Constantine's* Time; and

* Principi summum rerum Judicium Dii dederant: Subditis obsequii gloria relicta est. Bonos Principes voto expetere, qualescunque tolerare.

† Quomodo Sterilitatem, aut nimios Imbres, & cætera Naturæ mala, sic Luxum & Avaritiam Dominantium tolerare.

some others, as wicked Tyrants as was possible for them to be, and yet Good Men paid them these Three Duties notwithstanding, and were commanded so to do by the Prophets and Preachers of those Times; in Agreement to our Great Master, the Oracle of Truth it self, who directs his Disciple to *obey those that sat in Moses's Chair*; tho' in the same Breath, he charges those very Governours with Wickedness and Cruelty, with *binding heavy Burdens*, and *laying upon Men's Shoulders more than cou'd be born.* Matt.xxiii

The Third Case concerns the State in general, when the very Fundamentals of Government are endeavour'd to be torn up, or over-turn'd; when he goes about to change, or to take away the Constitution; as if, for Instance, a Prince would make that which is Elective, Hereditary; or from an Aristocracy, or Democracy, or any other such mixt Government would engross all to himself, and make it an Absolute Monarchy; or in any other Case like or equivalent to these, shall attempt to alter the State from what it was formerly, and ought to continue; In this Case Men may and ought to withstand him, and hinder any such Attempts from taking place upon them, and that, either by Methods of Legal Justice, or otherwise: For a Prince is not the Master and Disposer of the Constitution, but the Guardian and Conservator of it. But then, this must be done regularly too; for the setting such Matters right, does not belong to all the Subjects indifferently; but to those who are the Trustees of the State, or have the Principal Interest in it: Who these are, the Constitutions of the respective Countries must determine: In Elective Kingdoms, the Electors; in others, the Princes of the Blood; In Republicks, and those Places which have Fundamental Laws, the States-General Assembled; And this I conceive to be the only Case which can justify Subjects in resisting a Tyrant in this Second Sense of the Word, with regard to the Exercise of his Power, and the Pretence of Male-Administration. What I have hitherto delivered upon this last Case, is meant of *Subjects*; that is, of those who are not permitted in any Circumstances, or upon any Provocation to attempt any thing against their Sovereign; of them, I say, who are by the Laws declar'd guilty of a Capital Crime, if they shall but counsel, or compass, or so much as imagine the Death of their King. And if so much be allowable to Men under these Obligations and Penalties, then, no doubt, it is lawful, nay, it is highly commendable and a glorious Action in a Stranger, or Foreign Prince, to

take up Arms for the Defence and Revenge of a whole Nation, labouring under unjust Oppression : To redress their Wrongs, and deliver them from the heavy Yoak of Tyranny ; as we find *Alexander* in his Time, and afterwards *Dion* and *Timoleon*, and not long since *Tamerlane* Prince of the *Tartars*, who defeated *Bajazet* the *Turkish* Emperor, at the Siege of *Constantinople*.

Such is the State of a Subject's Duty to his Prince, during his Life-time ; but when Princes are dead, it is but an Act of Justice to examine into their Actions. It is indeed a Customary thing so to do, and a very reasonable and useful Custom no doubt it is. The Nations that observe it, find mighty Benefit from this Practice ; and all good Princes will have reason to encourage and desire it ; because thus, that common Complaint would be quite taken away, that all Princes are treated alike, and that there is no Distinction observ'd in our Respects to the Memory of the Good and Bad. Kings are the Law's Fellows, if they be not their Masters : And the Revenge, which Justice will not permit to be taken upon their Persons, it is but fitting that it should take upon their Reputation, and the Estates of their Successors. We owe Subjection and Obedience to all Kings alike ; because this is an Obligation annex'd to their Offices, and payable purely upon that Consideration ; but we cannot be accountable for our Affection and Esteem to all alike, because these will depend upon their Qualities, and are due only to their Merits and Virtue. Let us then resolve patiently to endure even the worst and most unworthy, while we have them ; let us endeavour to cover and conceal the Vices of the Living, for this is what Respect to their Authority requires from us ; and besides, the Weight and Difficulty of their Charge, and the Preservation of Publick Peace and Order, challenge our joint Endeavours, and stand in need of the utmost we can possibly do to support them. But when they are withdrawn, and gone off the Stage, it would be hard to deny us a just Liberty of expressing our real Thoughts of them, without all that Reserve. Nay, it is an honest and a commendable Pattern which the Proceedings set to Posterity ; who cannot but look upon it as a singular Commendation of our Obedience and Respect, that we were content to pay these to a Master, whose Imperfections we were very well acquainted with. Those Writers, who upon the Account of Personal Interest, or Obligations, espouse the Memory of a wicked Prince, and set it off to the World ; do

an Act of Private Justice at the Expence of the Publick : For to serve, or shew themselves grateful, they defraud Mankind of the Truth. This Reflection were an admirable Lesson for the Successor, if it could be well observed ; and a powerful Check it might beto the Exorbitancies of Power, to think with one's self, that the Time will shortly come, when the World will make as free with his Character, as they do at present with his Predecessor's.

C H A P. XVII.

Duty of Magistrates.

THose few Wise and Good Men, who are Members of the Common-wealth, would doubtless be better pleased to retire into themselves, and live at Ease ; full of that sweet Content, which excellent and intelligent Persons know how to give themselves, in the Contemplation of the Beauties of Nature, and the works of Providence, than to sacrifice all this Satisfaction to Business and a publick Post ; were it not, that they hope to do some good, in being serviceable to their Country by their own Endeavours, and in preventing the whole Administration of Affairs from falling into ill, or unskilful hands. This may, and ought to prevail with Persons of this Character, to consent to the trouble of being Magistrates : But to cabal and make Parties, and Court Employments of Trust with Eagerness and Passion ; especially such as are judicial, is a very base and scandalous Practice ; condemned as such by all good Laws, even those of Pagan Republicks, (as the *Julian Law* among the *Romans* abundantly testifies,) unbecoming a Man of Honour ; and the shrewdest sign that can be, that the Person is unfit for the Trust he seeks so vehemently. To buy publick Offices is still more infamous and abominable ; the most sordid, the most villainous way of Trading in the World : For it is plain, he that buys in the Piece, must make himself whole by selling out again in Parcels. Which was a good Reason for the Emperour *Severus*, when he was declaring against a Fault of this nature, to say, *That it was very hard to condemn a Man for making Money of that which he had given Money for before.*

Just for all the World, as a Man dresses, and set his Person in order and form, putting on his best Face before he

goes abroad that he may make a Figure, and appear well in Company ; so is it fit that a Man should learn to govern his own Passions, and bring his Mind to good Habits, before he presume to meddle with publick Business, or take upon him the Charge of governing other People. No Man is so weak to enter the Lists with an unmanaged Horse, or to hazard his Person with such a one in any Service of Consequence and Danger ; but trains and teaches him first, breeds him to his hand, and uses him to the Exercise he is designed for : And is there not the same reason that this wild and restiff part of our Soul should be tamed and accustomed to bear the Bit ? Should be perfectly instructed in those Laws and Measures which are to be the Rule of our Actions, and upon which, the good or ill Conduct of our Lives will depend ? Is it not reasonable, I say, That a Man should be Master of his own private Behaviour, and expert in making the best of every Accident and Occasion, before he venture out upon the publick Stage ; and either give Laws to others, or correct them for the neglect of those they have already ? And yet, (as *Socrates* observed very truly) the manner of the World is quite otherwise : For, tho' no body undertakes to Exercise a Trade, to which he hath not been Educated, and served a long Apprenticeship ; and how Mean and Mechanical soever the Calling be, several Years are bestowed upon the Learning of it ; Yet in the case of publick Administrations which is of all other Professions the most intricate and difficult, (so absurd, so wretchedly careless are we) that every body is admitted, every body thinks himself abundantly qualified to undertake them. These Commissions are made Compliments and things of Course, without any Consideration of Men's Abilities ; or regarding at all, whether they know any thing of the matter ; as if a Man's Quality, or the having an Estate in his Country, could inform his Understanding, or secure his Integrity, or render him capable of discerning between Right and Wrong, and a competent Judge of his Poorer (but perhaps much honest and wiser) Neighbours.

3. Magistrates have a mixt Quality, and are placed in a middle Station, between sovereign Princes and private Subjects. These Subalterns therefore have a double Task incumbent upon them, and must learn, both how to Command, and how to Obey. To obey the Princes, who trust and employ them, to submit to, and truckle under the Paramount Authority of their Superiour Officers ; to pay Respect

to their Equals; to Command those under their Jurisdiction; to Protect and Defend the Poor, and those that are unable to Contend for their own; to stand in the Gap, and oppose the powerful Oppressor; and to distribute Right and Justice to all Sorts and Conditions of Men whatsoever. And, if this be the Business of a Magistrate, well might it grow into a Proverb, that the Office discovers the Man, since no mean Abilities, no common Address, can suffice for the sustaining so many Characters at once, and to Act each part so well, as to merit a general Approbation and Applause.

As to the Sovereign, by whose Commission the Magistrates Act, his Commands must be the Rule of their Behaviour. Some of his Orders they ought to Execute speedily; some again they must by no means comply with; or be in any Degree instrumental in the Execution of them; and in others the most advisable Course will be, to suspend their Obedience for some convenient Time.

In all Commissions, which leave the Cognisance of the Matter to the Magistrate, such as those of *Oyer and Terminer*; and in all others, where this is the Clause, (*so far as to you shall appear*) or any other Cause equivalent to this, inferred; or which, though they do not refer the Cognisance to him, yet order such things, as are either manifestly just, or at least lawful and indifferent in their own Natures, he ought to obey readily, and without demur; for here is no difficulty, nor any ground at all for a just and reasonable Scruple.

In such Commissions and Orders, as do not leave the Cognisance of the Matter to him, but only decree some point of Executive Obedience; as in those particularly, which we commonly call Mandates and Warrants; if they be contrary to any positive Law, which the Sovereign hath Power to dispense with, and there be Clauses of Non-Obstante for that purpose, to save the Party harmless; he is obliged to obey his Orders without more to do. Because, according to the Civil Constitution, and the Laws of the Land, the Sovereign hath a Liberty reserved to him of Relaxing, or setting aside the Law in such particular Cases. And the having such a Power over all Laws whatsoever, is the very thing in which Absolute and Unlimited Sovereignty consists.

In Cases contrary to Law, and where no such dispensing Cause is inserted; or such as manifestly make against the Publick Good, (though there should be an Indemnifying Clause)

Clause) or where the Magistrate knows his Orders to be obtained by Surprises, or upon false Suggestions, or by Corrupt Methods; he ought not, in any of these three Cases, to be hasty in the Executing his Orders; but let them lie by a while, and with all Humility Remonstrate against them; and, if Occasion be, repeat those Remonstrances a second or a third time; but if the Command be Peremptory, and Unalterable, and repeated as often; then he is to comply so far as in Honour and good Conscience he may, and for the rest, to excuse himself, as well as he can.

4. In Matters contrary to the Law of God and Nature, he must lay down his Office, and be content to quit all; nay, resolve to suffer the worst that can come, rather than be instrumental in, or consenting to them. I cannot so much as allow him to deliberate, or once to doubt, in such Circumstances, what he should do; For natural Justice cannot be hid; it shines clearer and brighter than the Sun; and all Men must see it, except those only, who wilfully shut their Eyes, and wink hard against it.

5. All this Advice relates to Things in agitation, and intended, or ordered to be done; but, as for those which the Sovereign hath done already, let them be never so Wicked and Unreasonable, a Man had better dissemble a Matter as well as he can, and try to wipe out all Remembrance of it, than lose all, by Provoking, and Expostulating with a Prince to no purpose; as *Papinian* did. *For * it is the very extremity of Madnes to strive against the Stream; where no ground can be got, nor any thing but Hatred and Disfavour for our pains.*

6. As for their Duty, when considered in their other Capacity, and with regard to the private Subjects under their Government, Magistrates must always remember, whose their Authority is, and from whence they derive it. That this is none of their own proper Right, but meerly a Trust; That they hold it from and under a Prince; That he hath the Fee, and is the Lord and constant Proprietor; but they are Tenants and Stewards at will, put in to Exercise this part of his Jurisdiction for so long a Term only, as their Commission purports; or during his Pleasure; and no longer. Now from hence it is very natural and obvious to infer.

* Frustra niti, & nihil aliud nisi Odium quarere, extrema est dementia.

That a Magistrate ought to be easie of Access ; always ready and at leisure to hear and receive the Petitions, and Complaints preferred to him. That his Doors should be open to all Comers, and he as seldom out of the way as is possible ; but especially, not so, wilfully and by Contrivance ; for he should consider himself, as no longer at his own disposal ; but a Servant of the Publick, and devoted to the Use and Benefit of other People ; * *A great Post is a great slavery.* And this was the reason why *Moses* his Law Com-manded, That the Judges should keep their Sessions, and decide Controversies in the Gates of their Cities ; that so Justice might offer it self to all that went in and out, and none might find any difficulty in addressing for, or in obtaining it.

He ought to receive the Applications of all Persons and Conditions alike ; and be open and kind to all ; the Mean as well as the Great ; and the Poor no less than the Rich. Upon which account it is, that one of the Philosophers compared a Magistrate to an Altar ; to which all People have recourse in their Affliction and extream Necessity ; pour out their Souls there ; and depend upon Relief and Con-solation for their Troubles from so doing.

But, tho' in point of Justice, he should be free and open, yet in Friendships, and Acquaintance, he ought to be exceedingly reserved ; Not to make himself Cheap and Com-mon, nor to admit any into his Familiarities, and intimate Conversation, except some very few Choice Persons, such as are known to be Men of sound Sense, and stanch Vir-tues ; and these too, but privately. For a large and general Acquaintance debases the Authority of his Character ; and abates of that Firmness and Vigour, which is necessary for the due Discharge of it. When *Cleon* was chosen and admitted to the Government, he called all his Friends to-gether, and solemnly renounced from that time, whatever Friendship had been formerly between them ; as thinking the continuing under such Engagements, by no means re-concileable with the Trust he had now took upon him ; and *Cicero* observes accordingly, that a Man must put off the Character of the Friend, and lay that quite aside, before he can do Right to the part of a Judge.

There are two Things, wherein the Office of a Magistrate chiefly consists : The One is, to † preserve and keep up the

* *Magna servitus, magna fortuna.*

† *Gerere personam civitatis, ejus dignitatem & decus sustinere.*
Honour,

Honour, and Dignity, and just Rights of the Prince, who hath employed him, and of the Publick whose Representative he is, with a becoming State, with Gravity, Authoritative Behaviour, and a well-tempered Severity.

6. Next, He is to Act like a true and faithful Transcript from the Original; an Interpreter and Executor of his Master's Will; to see that this be duly declared, and diligently observed. By this Will, I mean the Law; for this is the Authentick Will of the Prince, and the only Declaration of it, which Subjects are bound to take notice of. Of this the Magistrate is to exact a faithful Account, and punctual Observance; for which reason we often find him termed by Authors, *The Living, and the Speaking Law.*

7. Now, tho' it be the Duty of a Magistrate, and an excellent Qualification in him, to temper Justice with Prudence; and Severity with Gentleness and Forbearance; yet, it must be confessed much more for the common Advantage, to have such Magistrates as incline to the excess of Sharpness and Rigour, than those who are dispos'd to Mildness, and Easiness, and Compassion. For even God himself, who so highly recommends, so strictly enjoins all those human and soft Dispositions upon other Occasions, yet positively forbids a Judge to be moved with Pity. The Strict and Harsh Magistrate is the better Restraint, the stronger Curb; He contains People in Bounds, and preserves a due Awe and Obedience of the Laws. The Mild and Merciful One exposes the Laws to Contempt; makes Magistracy cheap, and lessens the Prince, who made both the Law and the Magistrate, in the Eyes and Esteem of the People. In one word; There must go two Qualifications to the Capacitating a Man for the discharging this Office compleatly; Integrity, and Courage. The first cannot subsist alone, but stands in need of the second to support and back it. The former will be sure to keep the Magistrate's Hands clean from Avarice, and Partiality, and Respect of Persons; for Bribery and Gifts, which are the Bane and utter Exterminators of truth; and from any other violation of Justice; which *Plato* calls, (what indeed it ought to be) a Pure Unblemished Virgin: This will also be a Guard to him against his Passions, the Aversions, or the Affection he may bear to the Parties concern'd; and indeed all other Resentments, which are but so many Enemies and Underminers of Right and Equity. But then he will find great occasion for Courage too, to stand his ground against the Menaces and Imperious Solicitations of
Great

Ch. 18. *Duty of Great, and of Mean Men,* 285

Great Men, the Requests and Importunities of Friends who fancy they have a sort of Right to dispose of him, and will not take a reasonable Refusal: To harden him against the Prayers and Tears, the loud Cries, and bitter Complaints of the Miserable and Afflicted; for all these are very moving and forcible Inducements, a great Violence upon Reason and Duty; and yet so committed, that there is a plausible appearance of both, in the very Diverſion they labour to give us from both. And the truth is, this Firmneſs and inflexible Conſtancy of Mind is the moſt maſterly Virtue, and particular Excellence of a Magiſtrate; that he neither be terrified and ſubdued by Greatneſs of Power, nor melted by Miſeries, and deplorable Circumſtances. Theſe are what very brave Men are often transported by; and therefore it is the greateſt Praise to continue Proof againſt them. For, though being ſoftned by the latter have an Air of Good-nature, and is more likely to prevail upon the better ſort of Men; yet either of the Extreameſ is ſinful, and both foreign to the Merits of the Cauſe, which is the thing only that lies upon the Judge. The Motives to Pity then are very dangerous Temptations; and what a Man in Authority ought as much to ſtop his Ears againſt, as Promiſes or Threatnings; for even that God himſelf, who is Love and Mercy in Perfection, hath diſcountenanced this unreaſonable Compaſſion. And the ſame Legiſlator, who ſaid, *Thou ſhalt not receive a Gift to blind thine Eyes therewith, neither ſhalt thou accept the Perſon of the Mighty,* found it no leſs neceſſary for the Good of Mankind, and the equal Diſtribution of Juſtice, no leſs agreeable to his own Goodneſs, to add that other Command, *Thou ſhalt not favour a Poor Man in his Cauſe.*

C H A P. XVIII.

The Duty of Great, and of Mean Men.

THE Duty of Perſons of Honour and Quality conſiſts principally in theſe two Points. The lending a ſtrong and powerful Aſſiſtance to the Publick; employing their Wealth, their Intereſt, their Blood, in the Maintenance and Preſervation of Piety and Juſtice; of the Prince and the Government, and in general, of the common Safety and Advantage. For they are the pillars and Supporters, upon which theſe
nob'e

AA. 7.

noble Structures stand ; and by which they must be sustained. The other Branch consists in being a mighty Defence and Protection to the Poor and Needy, the Injured and Oppressed; by interposing their Power on the behalf of such, standing between Them and Ruin, and giving a Check and Diversion to the Violence of wicked and unreasonable Men. Persons of Honour in a State. should be like the Spirits and good Blood in our Bodies, which always run to the wounded, and ailing part. It was this, that render'd *Moses* so proper to be made the Captain of the *Israelitish* Nation ; and the Scripture takes express notice of his Zeal in revenging the Injuries of one of his Brethren who suffer'd Wrong, and slaying the insolent *Egyptian* ; as a Sign, that God had marked him out for a Deliverer of his People. Thus *Hercules* was Deified among the Heathens, for being a Scourge to the Cruelty of Tyrants, and a Refuge to those that were Oppress'd, and opprobriously treated by them. And those other renowned Names in Antiquity, who followed his Example, have always been looked upon as Heroes, and something more than Men. Particular Honours and distinguishing Rewards were heretofore awarded to all such ; as to Persons, who deserved exceedingly well of the Publick ; and for an Intimation. That no Character is more glorious, none more attractive of Universal Admiration, and profound Respect, than that of being a Succour to the Afflicted, and Abused ; and helping those who were in no condition of helping themselves. It is by no means true Greatness, to appear formidable to any part of Mankind, except one's Enemies only. The affectation to have others stand in Awe, and Dread, and to tremble before one, is a mean and pitiful Temper ; and, at the same time that it renders the Man a Terror, it renders him an Odium too ; a publick Nuisance, and a common Enemy. Love in this case is more desirable, than even Adoration could be without it. Such imperious Men betray a fierce and haughty, a proud and assuming Disposition. This is it, which makes them so Contumelious and Disdainful ; scorning their Inferiours, as if they were no better than the Dross and Dung of the World ; and not Men of the same Nature with their own Great Selves. From hence by degrees they degenerate into Barbarity and Insolence ; abusing all beneath them, without the least Pity or Remorse ; enslaving their Persons ; invading their Properties and Possessions ; as if Humanity and Justice were intended

Ch. 18. *Duty of Great and of Mean Men.* 287

tended only for the Benefit of them who need it least; and as if they had no right to any thing, who cannot right themselves. All this is infinitely distant from true Greatness; and utterly inconsistent with Generosity and a Noble Mind; for these never dispose a Man to Cruelty or Contempt; but are a Safeguard and Defence, and delight in Offices of Courtesie and Condescension, of Charity, and Mercy.

The Duty of mean and inferiour Persons towards those that are above them, is likewise Two-fold. First, That of Honour and Respect; and this, not confined meerly to the outward Behaviour, and the visible Marks of a Ceremonious distance; (which is due upon the account of their Quality and Rank in the World, considered abstractedly, and by it self. Be they in themselves what they will in other respects, their Virtues or their Vices make no difference in the Case;) but there is likewise an Eternal Honour, the real Esteem and Affection of the Heart, which must constantly attend and put forward the other, if they be deserving Persons, and Lovers of the Publick Good. Honour and Esteem are therefore capable of very different Senses; they are both due to such as are Good, for such indeed are all that are truly Great Men, To those who want this substantial Character of Quality; we must pay the Civilities of the Cap and the Knee; our Bodies may and ought to bow to them, but our Hearts cannot; for this is done only by paying them our Love and Esteem.

The other part of this Duty consists in endeavouring to please, and be in their good Graces, by respectful and voluntary Tenders of our Service.

To please the Great is not the smallest Praise. Creech.

and putting * our selves under the shelter of their Protection. However, if we cannot make them our Friends, we should be sure to take care that they may not be our Enemies; which Care too must be as Prudent, as it is Necessary; and rightly tempered with Moderation and Discretion. For nothing is more nauseous, than a Cringing Fawning Coxcomb, and excessive Officiousness does more harm than good. He that declines the Displeasure of a Great Man, with too solicitous a Caution; or tries to wriggle into his

* Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est. *Horat.*
Ep. 17. Fa-

Favour by impertinent and unseasonable Addresses, does not only discover his own Weakness and despicable Little-ness of Soul ; but he likewise ministers just occasion of Jealousie and Offence : and secretly accuses his Patron of Cruelty or Injustice. And therefore what is done of this kind must be unseen, and by the by. † *He must not make it his profess'd Business to decline and keep out of the way of his anger, for no Man avoids another, who does not in his own Breast condemn, and think ill of him at the same time.* But besides, this too anxious and constrained way of making our Court may have another very untoward Effect : For, if the Person be disposed to do ill, and delight to be feared, it may be a Temptation to him, to exercise his Power to our Prejudice. For many times Men take a Pride to crush and insult over the fearful and suspicious ; and mean unworthy Submissions do but provoke a more extravagant and remorseless Barbarity.

† Non ex professo cavere aut fugere ; nam quem quis fugit, damnat,

O F

FORTITUDE.

The Third Cardinal Virtue.

THE two Virtues, which have been insisted upon hitherto, are a Rule to Men, considered as Members of Society; and regard their Deportment, and Conversation; their Interests and Obligations with others; these two that follow are to govern them within, and for themselves. They look upon Fortune in her two different Aspects, Prosperity and Adversity; which are general Terms for all the good or ill Accidents of Humane Life; and the provision made against them, is to arm the Mind by Fortitude against Adversity, and in Prosperity to balast, and moderate it by Temperance. Both these Virtues might indeed be comprehended under the general notion of Constancy; which is a tight and even firmness, or steadiness of Soul, in all manner of Accidents or outward Occurrences, so that the Man is neither elevated and transported upon the account of Prosperity, nor dejected and disheartened from any Adversity that befalls him.

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C H A P.

C H A P. XIX.

Of Fortitude in general.

1. **C**ourage, (for so indeed this Virtue ought to be called, rather than Fortitude,) is a right and strong Resolution, an equal and uniform steadiness of Mind ; by which we are enabled to encounter Danger and Difficulty, and Pain, so that the proper Object, and true Matter, about which this Virtue is conversant, is in general any thing that humane Infirmary is apt to start at, or be terrified by. Thus *Seneca* describes it, a Quality * *that despises all things in their own nature formidable; that challenges and conquers the cause of our Fears, and such as enslave and subdue the native Liberty of the Soul.*

2. This is of all other Virtues the Gallantest and most Noble, and hath always been held in highest Honour and Esteem. The Excellence whereof, was so rightly apprehended by the *Latins*, that they gave it the Title of Virtue by way of Singularity and Eminence. It is of all others the hardest to be attained ; the most pompous and splendid; and produces the greatest, and most illustrious Fruits. Magnanimity and Patience, Constancy, and invincible Perseverance, and the rest of that Heroick Catalogue of Godlike Excellencies are all contained under it. For which Reason, Men greedy of Fame, have oftentimes not only entertained Calamities gladly, but have even courted, and eagerly sought out Hardships and Dangers, to gain thereby the greater opportunities of exercising it, and exerting themselves. It is an impregnable Bulwark; a compleat Armour tempered and proved: † *The Fortification, behind which humane nature lies securely intrenched, and he who hath cast up this work about him holds out the Siege of Life, and can never be taken, or dismantled.*

3. But now, in regard that this Matter is not rightly understood, and many false Pretenders to this Virtue are set up,

* *Timendorum contemptrix. quæ terribilia, & sub jugum libertatem nostram mittentia despicit, provocat, frangit.*

† *Munimentum imbecillitatis humanæ inexpugnabile, quod qui circumdedit sibi, securus in hac vitæ obsidione perdurat.*

which

which are not really of the right Line. It may not be amiss to expatiate a little more upon the true Nature of Fortitude; and in so doing, to discover and reject the vulgar Errors concerning it. We will therefore observe four Conditions, which are all of them requisite to the forming of this Virtue; and if what would pass for such, be defective in any one of them, that we may be sure, is counterfeit, and of a Bastard Race.

As first of all, True Courage is universal, that is, it makes a brave stand against every kind of Difficulty and Danger without distinction, and this shews us the mighty mistake of confining this notion of Courage to Military Valour only; That indeed gains Esteem with the generality of People, because it makes more Shew and Noise in the World, and yet oftentimes there is nothing of substance or solidity at the bottom of it. Now allowing Military Valour all that can possibly belong to it, yet at best it is but one part, and that a small one neither; a single Ray of that Glory which the true and entire, the perfect, and universal Valour, sheds round about it. For by this a Man is the same thing alone, that he is in Company; the same brave Man upon a Bed of Languishing and Pain, as in the Field, and heat of Action; and marches up against Death with all his Friends and Relations looking on, and lamenting his Fate, as he would at the Head of an Army, when animated by the Shouts of those that assist in the Engagement. This Military and Fighting Courage, is more peculiar and natural to Brute Beasts; and among them, we find accordingly, that the Female Sex have it in common with the Males. But in Men it is frequently the effect of Art, rather than any Tendency in Nature; kindled by the dread of Captivity and ill usage; by the evident Necessity of doing bravely in their own Defence; and the certain prospect of Death or Wounds, Poverty, or Pain, or Punishment, if they do otherwise. All which have not any influence upon Beasts; nor do they lie under the least apprehension of them. The Courage of Men is a sort of wise Cowardice; and we commonly say, *That every Man would be a Coward if he durst.* It is Fear attended with Skill to shun one Evil by another; and Anger is the Liquor that tempers, the File that sharpens it; but in Brutes it is genuine and pure, undesigning and unconstrained. Men arrive at some sort of Mastery and Perfection in it by Custom and long Acquaintance, by Instruction, Education and Example; upon which account it is,

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that

that we find it sometimes among the meanest, most ignorant, and most degenerate sort of People. A Footman that hath run away from his Master, an Apprentice from behind a Counter, a Villain out of a common Gaol, shall very often make a good Soldier, stand a Charge, and do Duty very well; and yet have no such thing as real Fortitude; there is not the least tincture or spark of Virtue, or Philosophical Bravery in all this Fire.

4.

The second necessary Ingredient in this noble Composition is a full and distinct Knowledge of the Difficulty, the Toil, the Danger, that assaults us in our Undertaking; and also of the Beauty, the Decency, the Justice, and the Obligation, of attempting vigorously, or constantly and patiently enduring, what we are called to at that time. And this discovers the Folly and Mistake of confounding this Courage (as some do) with giddy unthinking Rashness; or else with Fool-hardiness, and a brutal Insensibility: * *It is by no means, (says Seneca) an inconsiderate forwardness; not a fondness of Danger, nor a desire of those Accidents, which strike a Terror into common Men; Fortitude is provident and careful, and diligent in her own Defence; and yet she is extremely patient and resigned under those things, which are (commonly but falsely) reputed Evils.* There cannot possibly be any such thing as Virtue, where there is no Knowledge, no Apprehension; and a Man cannot with any good Sense be said to despise that Danger, which he knows not, and does not rightly understand. For at this rate we cannot refuse the honour of this Virtue to Brutes; who in every part which concern the Action, or the Suffering, do equal, if not exceed the Stoutest Men; and yield to us in no point, but that of foreseeing and making a true Estimate of our Danger. For Valour distinguishes it self particularly by going on with our Eyes open, and not running blindfold; and accordingly we find by Experience, that those who undertake boldly, without regarding, or duly weighing what is like to come on't; commonly flinch and sneak, and prove errand Dastards, when they are driven to a push.

A third Ingredient necessary to be taken notice of in the Character of Fortitude, is, That it is Resolution and

* Non est inconsulta temeritas, nec periculorum amor, nec formidabilium appetitio; diligentissima in tutelâ sua fortitudo est. Et eadem patientissima eorum quibus falsa species malorum est.

firmness of Mind founded upon solid and good Principles ; the sense of Duty, the Honesty, and Justice of the undertaking ; and such other Motives ; and this too such a Resolution, as never wavers or abates, whatever the Event be : But persists with unmoveable Generosity, till either the Design be brought to Perfection, or the Life lost in the Attempt. The mention of this Qualification may, at first sight seem somewhat superfluous in the former part of the Description, but it is in reality seasonable and of good use ; and that, as upon its own account, so more especially, because it gives us an occasion to obviate two or three very gross and common Mistakes, with relation to this Matter.

As first, some have so odd, so stupid a notion of Fortitude, as to place it in bodily Strength, the Structure of the Man, and the largeness of his Limbs. But alas ! This is no Excellence belonging to the Body, not the stiffness of the Muscles, the knitting of the Joints, or the size of an Arm, or a Leg ; but a quality peculiar to the Soul, and entirely residing there. The worth of a Man, is to be computed from his Heart, and his Will ; there it is, that his true Honour is to be found ; and the only Advantage, the true and compleat Victory to be gained over an Enemy, is the shaking his Constancy, driving away his Resolution, subjecting him to Terror and Disorder, and putting his Virtue to flight. All other Advantages are either fictitious, and imaginary, or else borrowed, and not properly ours ; The lustiness and strength of a Leg and an Arm, is an Excellence fit for a Porter only to boast of : To force our Enemy to give ground, or engage him in a disadvantageous ground, is not a Commendation belonging to Us, but to Fortune. He that continues his Courage to the last, and slackens not one whit of his Gallantry, and Constancy, at the Approach of Danger or Death ; you may call him beaten, if you please, but then it is not his Adversary, but the Chance of War that beats him ; and if he happen to fall in the Engagement, he is killed, I confess, but he is not Conquered. If Fate be to blame he is not ; for tho' he die unfortunately, yet he does not die cowardly and basely : For the Gallantest Men cannot command Events answerable to their Merits, and very frequently are less successful than others. Another Error, yet more senseless than the former, is the looking upon those that are stout and brave, who swagger, and strut, and talk big, and by a contemptuous Air, a stern Countenance, and vain boasts, would fain get the Reputation

of Valour. But these do not often meet with People silly enough to be frightened into such an Opinion; and when the Bully comes to be tryed, a difference is soon seen, between a Hector and a Hero.

Nor are they less deceived, who give the Title of Valour to subtlety and stratagem, or to Industry and Art; This is too sacrilegious a Prophanation to bring in Courage acting so mean and sneaking a part: These are trick and disguise, and would put false Stones upon the undiscerning World for true Jewels. The *Lacedemonians*, who bred their Youth to Wrestling, would not suffer Masters in any of their Cities, that so their Warlike Exercises, and growing expert in them, might be entirely Nature's Work, and that Art might usurp no part of the Glory. We count it a bold and brave undertaking to encounter Bears, or Lyons, or wild Boars, who have nothing but their natural Fierceness to render them formidable; but the same commendation is not reckoned due to one, that engages with Bees and Wasps, who watch their advantage, and go cunningly to work. *Alexander* would never play at the Olympick Games; for the Strife, he said, was not well contrived, where a private Man of no Soul might come off with applause, and a King with a great one might be thrown out with Disgrace. There is no manner of reason, why a Man of Honour should value himself, or offer to put his Valour upon a Proof, which the errantest Coward in the World, if he be better taught, and dextrous at his Weapon, shall be able to baffle him in. For such a Conquest is in no degree owing to Courage, or true Virtue, but to activity of Body, and some particular motions, which are purely the effect of Artifice and Address; such as the basest and most timorous may excel in, and such as a truly valiant Person, may either not know how to perform, or may think it beneath him to descend to them. Fencing particularly is such an advantage. The bravest may be utterly unskilful in it, and the most despicable Wretches may be Masters of it. And how many Scoundrels do we see in every Street, ready to draw upon all occasions; how many Cheats that play Prizes, and Hack one another for Money; who would not stand one Charge at the approach of an Enemy? The same may be said of that assurance and presence of Mind, which proceeds from habitual Exercise, and long Custom. How many hazardous things do Tumblers and Rope-dancers, and Seamen do, without the least concern? Not that these Men are really more valiant than others, or dare

dare venture farther into Danger ; but because this is their own way, what they have been bred up in, and accustomed to from Children ; and Practice hath worn out those Apprehensions, which a Gallanter Man would have, who is raw and unexperienced in the Trade.

One very wrong Notion more it is fit I should mention upon this occasion ; That, I mean, which, for want of observing nicely the Springs by which Men are moved, and the true source of each Action, does very absurdly put all that to the account of Bravery and Courage, which is in truth a Weakness, and owing meerly to Heat of Passion, or a Zealous concern for some particular Interest. For, as a Man cannot deserve to have his Virtues commended in point of Justice, for being faithful and serviceable to those he dearly loves ; nor in point of Chastity, for not abusing his own Daughter, or Sister ; nor in point of Liberality, for being bountiful to his Wife and Children ; so neither may he pretend to any just Honour in point of Valour, for exposing himself resolutely to those dangers, which Anger, or Revenge, Interest, or private Satisfaction thrust him upon. If therefore Avarice shall make a Man bold, as it does Spies and Traitors, Robbers and Villains, Merchants at Sea, or Soldiers of Fortune, that Fight purely for Pay ; if Ambition and vain Glory, an itch to get the name of a brave Man, kindle the spark of Honour as they call it ; which may very reasonably be presumed to be the case of a great many Men of the Sword, (who will not scruple to own sometimes, that if they could be verily persuaded they should die in the Attack, nothing should ever bring them on :) If they prove peevish and discontented, weary of living, or worn out with pain, like *Antigonus* his Soldier, who, whilst in violent Torment with a Fistula, ventured at all, but when the Disease was Cured, and he in perfect Health again, could never be got to face an Enemy more. In a word, if their be nothing but some particular humour, or selfish and foreign Consideration at the bottom, how fair soever the Exploits, that are built upon this may look, yet still the foundation hath a flaw, and consequently, call the thing what else you will, but while it is defective in so very material a part, you must not be allowed to call it Valour or Virtue.

I proceed now to the fourth Qualification of this noble Excellence, and that is Prudence and Discretion in the executive part. Which being once admitted, several other false opinions

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opinions relating to this Matter are from thenceforth out of doors, such particularly are these that follow. That a Man, who is really courageous, should not use any defence to shelter himself from the Evils and Inconveniencies which threaten him; that he should never be in fear of a Surprise, nor be solicitous to make provision against it; that he should not so much as feel the least shock or impressions of Disorder from any thing more than ordinary, or that happens unawares; as a Clap of Thunder, the Discharge of a Cannon shot, the tumbling down of a Breach. Now all this is monstrously foolish and absurd, for a Man of Fortitude is allowed to take all imaginable care of his own Preservation; and to have as quick and sensible resentments of all accidents whatsoever, as any other Person. Nor is this the least disparagement or reflection upon his Virtues, provided he be not daunted and dismay'd, but keep up his Mind in the same steadiness of Temper, and do not depart from his Reason and Resolution. Nay, it is not only his Right and Privilege, but his Duty and Just Commendation, to wheel and decline, and defend himself from harms, so long as there are any honest shifts, and decent Remedies left; but when there are none, then he must stand his ground, receive the worst that can come, and dare to suffer any thing rather than to do what is vicious, or unbecoming his Character, for the prevention or escape of it. He must then like *Aeneas*, obey the Commands from * above at any rate, for so we find him describ'd by the Poet.

*Sighs, Groans, and Tears, are all employ'd in vain,
Firm the resolves of his unbroken Mind remain.*

Socrates therefore used to laugh at those idle Men, who condemned all Flight, and giving of ground, as inconsistent with Fortitude. *What?* says he, *shall a Man be reproached with Cowardice, for defeating his Enemy, because this was done by retreating from before him?* *Homer*, among the other Heroick Excellencies of *Ulysses*, puts this of Skill in retreating into his Character. The *Lacedemonians*, who pretended to the most obstinate Courage of any Nation in the World, yet in that renowned action of *Platea* gave ground, on purpose to break the *Persian* Troops, and disorder them in the

* *Mens immota manet, lachrymæ voluntur inanes.*

pursuit,

pursuit. This was an advantage which they had no other way of compassing, and the Success answered the Wisdom of the Design; for they won the Day by this Feint of losing it. In a word, the most Warlike Countries in the World have given it Authority, and never thought themselves dishonoured by the Practice. Nay, even the *Stoicks*, after all their impracticable and romantick Stretches of humane Nature, are content to allow their wise Man, so far as looking Pale, and shivering at new and surprizing Accidents; provided this be only a bodily Affection, and that it do not enter so deep, or last so long, as to give the Soul any part of the Disorder.

And thus much may suffice to possess us with a true Idea of Fortitude, or Courage in general.

Of the particular Objects, and Exercise of Fortitude.

NOW that we may cut our Work out, and lay it in due Order; it is necessary, in the first place, that I put my Reader in remembrance, that this Virtue undertakes to deal with all that (whatever it be) which is called Evil; according to the most popular and extensive signification of the Word. Now this Evil is of two sorts, either External, or Internal. The former is that which assaults us from without, and goes by great variety of Names; such as, Adversity, Afflictions, Injuries, Misfortunes, Casualties, or unwelcome Accidents. The other arises from within, and hath its residence in the Soul; but it is excited and agitated by the Evil from without: Such particularly are those Passions, which disturb and discontent us, as Fear, Grief, Anger, and the rest of that black disorderly Crew. It will be proper for us to speak to each part of this Division fully and distinctly; to explain their Operations, to provide Men with proper Remedies, and sufficient Means for the subduing and softening, and regulating these Grievances. And such are the Arguments and Directions for the Virtue of Fortitude, now under our Consideration. Consequently then, what you are to expect upon this Subject will consist of two Parts, the one respecting the Calamities and Disastrous Accidents of our Lives; the other concerning the Passions which these Accidents provoke, and stimulate in our Minds. And here my Reader must recollect, that the general Directions thought necessary for the bearing good or ill Fortune decently, he

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Book II.
Chap. 7.

hath been supplied with already. So that referring him back to the second Book, for what regards Prosperity and Adversity in the gross, he is only to expect now, that we should descend to the particular sorts of Misfortunes, and what is fit to be prescribed for each of them respectively.

C H A P. XX.

Of External Evils.

WE may consider these External Evils, in three several respects. First, with regard to the causes or occasions of them, (which shall make the Subject of this Chapter) next in their Effects: and lastly, with regard to what they are in themselves; where I shall treat of the several Species of them distinctly. And under each of these Heads, I will make it my endeavour to lay down such Rules and Directions, as may sustain us under, and fortifie us against them.

The Causes or Occasions of these afflicting Accidents which are capable of happening to every one of us, may be Publick or General, when they affect a great many, at the same time; when whole Kingdoms, or Neighbourhoods at least are involved at once; such as Pestilence, Famine, War, Tyranny, and Oppression. And these, for the most part, are Rods of the Divine Vengeance; Scourges sent by him to chastise the exorbitant Wickedness of obstinate Men, who refuse to be won over by gentler methods of Reformation; (at least we know not what immediate cause to ascribe them to:) Or else they are private Calamities, and such as we are able to trace up to their first Author and Original, that is, they are inflicted and brought upon us by some other Person: And thus both the private and publick Misfortunes are of two sorts. Now the publick Calamities, those, I mean, which proceed from a general Cause, though they do really come home to each single Person; yet are they in different respects more or less grievous, important and dangerous, than the private ones, of which we are able to give a distinct and particular account. They are more so, because they assault us with united Force, fall on in Troops, and with greater violence make a louder noise, rage more horribly, have a longer and blacker train of ill Consequences attending them, are more perplexing and amazing, and create

ate greater Disorders, and a more general Confusion. But then, they are less so too, in regard of their being thus general; and for the numbers, which are involved in them together: For when a Disaster is common, every Man is apt to think his own share of it the less. It is some kind of comfort, to think that we are not singled out for Examples; and for this reason, the efficacy of such Corrections is usually the less; for every Man takes Sanctuary in the commonness of the Calamity, and imputes it to some universal disorder in Nature, or to some unusual concurrence of natural Causes, and so shelters himself in the Crowd by vain pretences, which personal Afflictions leave no room for. And besides, daily experience shews, that the Evils brought upon us by other Men, gall us more sensibly, and go nearer to the Quick, and have a greater influence upon our Minds, than any of the former sort are wont to do. Now all these, both of the one and the other sort, have several proper Remedies and Considerations, to qualifie and render them very supportable to us, as particularly these that follow.

When we have any publick Calamities to encounter, it will become us very seriously to reflect whence they come, and by whom they are sent. That the Cause and Author of them is God, an Omnipotent and All-wise Providence, whose Pleasure we are subject to, and have an absolute and entire dependence upon; that he governs and disposes all things, and holds those vain Men in derision who *hope to burst his Bands asunder, and to cast away his Cords from them*; that we and all the whole Creation are tied by Laws of an invincible necessity; and that the strongest Combinations, nay the universal joint strength of the whole World, is much too weak to reverse or resist his Will. Most certain it is, that Providence and Necessity, or Destiny, when we speak strictly and properly, are but one and the same thing; There is no essential difference between them, or the Laws upon which they proceed; and all they vary in, is only as to those different respects, which we are used to consider, and reason upon them in. Now to murmur and repine, and torment our selves, that Matters are not otherwise ordered with us, is first of all an Impiety peculiar to Mankind; for all other Creatures submit quietly and contentedly, and Man only hath the insolence to be angry, and find fault, and fly out into saucy Passions, and discontented Complaints against his Maker. But besides the Wickedness of the thing, it is extremely foolish; for all this Rage is to no manner of purpose

pose, nor does it mend the matter one whit. Our Mistress is absolute, and her Power (as I said) uncontrollable, and those who draw back the Shoulder, and will not follow her contentedly, she will drag him along, whether he will or no, * *This is the Obligation we are bound by, the Allegiance we all owe: to bear the Casualties of this mortal State, and not to be disturbed at things, which it is not in our power to avoid: We are born under Government, but it is that of a Gracious and good King, whom to serve and submit to, is the only, the true way to make us free.*

Fate and the dooming Gods are deaf to Tears. Mr. Dryden.

The best remedy our Case is capable of, is to conform our selves to Providence; to bring our Will to that of Almighty God, and so make a Virtue of Necessity, which is the advice humane Wisdom would give in this case; for † *the only way we can take to escape the hardship, is to be content with what we cannot help.* We may parry and play in Guard, but all this fencing against our Fate will not ward off the blow, but only irritate the wound, and add to the anguish. || *You should bear whatever happens chearfully, as if you had wished it might happen; for the truth is, could you have known before-hand, that God designed it for you, it would have been your Duty to wish for it.* Again, besides that we shall come off easier by this means, we shall likewise have the satisfaction of doing our Duty, which is to follow our Leader, and obey Orders, let the Service, or the Post he commands us upon, be what it will. ‡ *The best thing you can do, is to submit to what you cannot cure, and to attend and follow Almighty God without murmuring or disputing, for it is by his appointment, that all things come to pass; and he is a very bad Soldier, who follows his General grumbling.* This Resignation of Spirit is so far from betraying any tamenets or degeneracy, that it is directly otherwise; and such sub-

* Ad hoc sacramentum adacti sumus; ferre mortalia, nec iis perturbari, quæ vitare nostræ potestatis non est. In regno nati sumus. Deo parere libertas est. Desine fata Deum flecti sperare querendo.

† Non est aliud effugium necessitatis, quàm velle quod ipse cogat.

|| Læto animo ferre quicquid acciderit, quasi volueris tibi accidere; debuisses enim velle, si scires ex decreto Dei fieri.

‡ Optimum pati quod emendare non possis; & Deum, quo Authore cuncta proveniunt, sine murmuratione comitari: malus miles est qui Imperatorem gemens sequitur. Senec.

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mission proves the excellency of our Courage. Grumbling and Disputing is the effect of Cowardice and Fear; it is mutinying against our Officer, and running from our Colours. * *Mean and little Souls flutter and struggle, and repine; but they who do so, have not a very reverent Opinion of the Government of the World; for the plain English of these Discontents is, that such Men are more solicitous to amend God's Works, than their own.*

The first thing to be done for the relief of private Evils, and such as other People bring upon us, and which we are apt to be very sensibly affected with, is, nicely and truly to distinguish them, that we may not have loose confused Ideas, and so be led into misapprehensions about them. Now of these, some are Displeasing, and others are Offensive to us. We oftentimes conceive a Displeasure at Persons, who have been guilty of no Offence; neither intentionally, nor actually: As when they either ask us, or deny us something upon very good reasons, which was at that time unseasonable, or inconvenient for us or them: We are all apt to be out of humour upon such occasions, and yet there is no offence given, no injury done. For Offences, we must know, are of two sorts, some cross our Designs, and perplex our Affairs, by offering somewhat contrary to Equity and good Conscience, and this is injuring us: Others have nothing to do with our Concerns, but are directed to, and terminate in our Persons, which are thereby contemptuously used, or otherwise ill treated, and this Treatment may be either in Words or Actions; these are more grating, and harder to be born, than any other sort of Affliction whatsoever.

The first and general Advice against all these sorts of Evils, is, To establish our minds in a firm Resolution, not to be carried away by common Opinions; to consider things, not as the World esteems of them, but as they really are; weighing them and their Consequences, in the just balance of Reason and Truth. For the generality of Mankind are tamely led by the Nose, wholly governed by Prejudice and Impression. How many of those, who call themselves Men of Honour, think it a less affront to have a dangerous Wound given them, than a Box on the Ear, and had rather die upon the Spot, than hear approbrious Language? In short,

* *Magnus animus qui se Deo reddidit; pusillus & degener, qui oblietatur; de ordine mundi male existimat, & emendare mavult Deum, quam se.*

Opinion measures and judges of every thing; and it is not so much the thing it self, as the Opinion Men have of it, that provokes our Indignation; Our own Impatience does us more hurt, and creates us more uneasiness, than the Persons who have occasion'd it. So that we our selves are more injurious to our selves, than ever those we complain of were to us.

5. As for the other Rules, and such as are more particular to our Case, these may be deduced first of all from our selves, (and here indeed we ought first to look, and fix our Thoughts:) For these Offences may perhaps be owing to our own Defects, or Faults, or Infirmities. Perhaps what was said or done is only a little Raillery, grounded upon some defect in our Person, which they had a mind to mimic or expose. And how foolish is it for us to be out of humour at that which is none of our Fault? The best way to cut off occasion from those we converse with, and prevent their taking any advantage of this kind, is to be before-hand with them, by mentioning first our selves; that they may perceive we are sensible of the thing our selves, and that it is not in their power to mortifie us, by reproaching a defect which we did not know before: If any fault of ours gave the occasion, and we have deserved this affront, what foundation can here be for Passion and Resentment: It is then no longer an Offence, but a Correction and just Reprimand; and we ought to receive it as a Chastisement, and improve under it accordingly. But very frequently, and indeed generally, our Peevishness and Discontent arises from some Weakness of our own, which renders us jealous and humour-some. Now the way to cure this, is to correct our own Captiousness, and be less nice and tender in those points of Honour; which are so uneasie to our selves and to other People: To arm our selves with a masculine greatness of Soul, and despise the little Follies and Indiscretions of the Company we converse with. It is a shrewd presumption that a Man is not sound, when he roars out every time you touch him: And we must never expect to be easie as long as we live, if we take Exceptions at every trifling thing, every little freedom that passes in Conversation.

6. Another sort of Directions may be taken from the Persons at whom we are offended: Let us form to our own minds a general Representation of those we live among, and see what their humour, their disposition and way is. The greater part of Mankind find their chief satisfaction in doing

ill, and make a Computation of their Power, by the privilege it gives them, to be insolent and injurious to other People. Those who delight in Innocence and Goodness are but very few in comparison: This therefore we ought to reckon upon as a never failing Conclusion, That, which way soever we turn our selves, we should be sure to meet with some body or other disposed to give us offence: For where-soever we meet with Men, it is odds but we meet with Injuries and Affronts among them. This is so sure, so ruled a Case, that even Law-givers themselves, whose peculiar Business it is to reform the World, in their measures for distributive and commutative Justice, have found a necessity of allowing and conniving at several Irregularities, which were never to be prevented. Now this Necessity of giving and taking Offence arises, first of all, from the contrariety and inconsistency of Humours and Inclinations; from hence we are able to account for many Offences taken, which were never intended to be given. Then again from the Coincidence or Opposition of Men's Interests and Affairs, which is the occasion that the same thing which contributes to the Pleasure, or Profit, or Happiness of some, tends to the Dis-satisfaction, or Detriment, or Mischief of others: And according to all the Ideas we are all able to form of the World in its present Circumstances, thus it must be, and we cannot discern how it should be otherwise. If the Person who gave you offence, be a foolish, or rash unthinking Man, (and such to be sure he is, for a Wise and Good Man will be offensive to no body;) why do you complain of a thing done by one who hath not his Wits about him? You bear with a Mad-man; nay, you are so far from being angry, that you pity him; you laugh at a Buffoon, or a Child; and I pray how is a Drunken Man or a Fool, a Cholerick or an Indiscreet Man, more worth your Anger than any of those? When such Fellows therefore let loose their Tongues upon you, the best way is to make no reply: Hold your Tongue, and leave Matters there. It is a brave and noble, yea, and a cruel Revenge too, which we take upon a Fool, in disregarding and despising him; it robs him of all the Pleasure he promised himself by provoking us to passion, and plainly declares, that we think him an impertinent and insignificant wretch, better than all the sharpest Repartee would possibly express it. If we reply, This dabbles us, and is a sort of entering into comparison with him; it is the shewing him too much respect, and doing an injury to our selves. For

* they give ill Language, because they cannot tell how to give better ; they act as they use to do, and according to the best of their understanding ; for the worse they behave themselves, the more consistent they are, and more of a piece with themselves.

7.

Now the Counsel which Wisdom would give in the case is most certainly such as this. You must have a due Consideration both of your self, and of the Person who gives you the Offence: As to your self, take care not to be guilty of a thing so mis-becoming, so very much below you, as the suffering your self to be overcome, and put besides your Reason. The imprudent Man who seems to suspect himself, and flies out into Rage upon every trifle, declares by this Carriage, that he looks upon himself fit to be affronted ; for, indeed, it is meanness and littleness of Soul, or a Consciousness of our own insufficiency, that hinders us from being above Resentments of this kind, and despising what we are sensible does not belong to us. A Wise and Good Man is not capable of being injured, but is firm, secure, and inviolable ; for the quality that renders any thing inviolable, is not the being above the power or force of Men, but above the being broken or made the worse for it : And nothing would fortify us more against every manner of Accident than the possessing our Souls with this Maxim, That we can never be hurt indeed, but by our own selves ; if our Reason be what it ought, and our Actions according to it, we are invulnerable. Hence it was, that *Socrates* hath taught us what comforts to apply in such Extremities by his own Example. *Anitus and Melitus may kill me*, says he, *but they cannot hurt me*. And thus a good Man as he is not capable of Ill within, and will not offer any, so he is impenetrable from without, and cannot suffer any real Injury : Virtue is a Wall of Brass ; the Scoffs and Affronts are all repulsed or lodged there, and not one of them comes through to touch his Person ; and to all this Self-security we may likewise add another Consideration from the Opinion and Esteem of the World ; for there is no body but will look upon the Aggressor as a very ill Man, and upon the Patient as one not deserving to be so treated : As to the Party who hath thus affronted you, if you esteem him no better than an impertinent or idle fellow, use him accordingly, and shew that you value him not by a generous disdain ; if he be otherwise, you should

* Male loquunter quia bene loqui nesciunt ; faciunt quod solent & sciunt, male quia mali, & secundum se.

plead

plead his excuse to your self; you ought to presume that he had (or at least apprehended that he had) occasion for what he did; That it was not done out of any malicious Design, but through inadvertency or mistake, want of breeding, or some other very pardonable defect; if not so, then you may be confident he hath seen his error; is angry at himself for it, and wishes most heartily it had never been done: Once more let me add, that we ought to play the good Husbands, and make most of Injuries and Offences; for indeed they are no small advantages which these put into our hands; particularly, they are capable of turning to a good account two ways, with regard to each of the Parties concerned in them. For *First*, with regard to the Person who did the Injury, this hath discover'd the Man to us, we have seen a little more of the World; we know such a one too well to trust him another time, and have fair warning to avoid him ever after. But then, *Secondly*, they help us to know our selves too; shew us our own infirmities, our breaches and blind sides, where the Foe may get within us, and what we cannot hold out against; and this gives us warning to work upon those Breaches, and put them in a defensible condition against the next Attack upon us. Let us learn to amend that fault too, which occasion'd the abuse, that no other Man may have the like provocation to reproach us hereafter: This is the true way of defeating the malice of others, and doing right to our selves; for what nobler Revenge can a Man take upon his Enemies, than to turn their injuries and affronts to his own Profit, and to learn more Prudence and Conduct, and to grow the wiser and better, more cautious and inoffensive by being ill used. The World at this rate is an excellent School; and the more unreasonable Men are, the more a Man of good sense and temper may improve himself under their even unjust Corrections.

C H A P. XXI.

Of External Evils, with regard to their Fruits and Effects.

HAVING thus consider'd the Causes, let us now enquire into the Effects of our Evils, and what Fruits they produce; where again we shall meet with very powerful Antidotes and substantial Remedies against them. Now these Effects are many and great, general and particular.

The general Effects are such as concern the good, the support, the order, and improvement of the Universe. The World would be quite stifled and choak'd up: it would stagnate

nate and putrifie, if it were not sometimes stirred and changed, and put into a new form by such important and alterative accidents, as Plagues, and Famines, and War, and Mortality; these are the things that prune and purge it, and throw down that product which overburdens the soil; and by so doing they preserve the rest, and give them elbow-room: for were there no such evacuations, we should not be able to move and live by one another. But then consider the grateful Varieties and Vicissitudes, the regular Successions and alternate Changes, by which the World is thus adorned and beautified, every part of the World finds some convenience by these alterations. For from Nations and Men coming to be transplanted by such means, the barbarous, and wild and savage part of Mankind, are polished and civilized; Arts and Sciences, Learning and Policy are spread wider, and communicated to every part of the habitable Earth; so that we are to look upon the Universe as one large Plantation, where some Trees are removed to a more convenient Soil, others are grafted and inoculated, others cut down to the root, that they make more regular shoots by the loss of superfluous suckers, others quite plucked up; but all this done in such order by the skilful Cultivater, that every thing tends to the profit and Beauty of the Ground. These enlargements of our thoughts and considerations of Universal Advantage ought to content every wise and good Man, and prevent irreverent reflections upon those wonderful works of God, which Men are too apt to accuse for barbarous and disorderly, or to look upon with amazement as strange and unaccountable. It is enough that they are the Ordinances of God and Nature, and ought to satisfie us, that how odd soever they may appear with regard to that little spot of ground which is commanded by our own Eye, yet they do great and signal Service to the whole. For would we extend our prospect, we should quickly discern that what is lost in one place is gained in another, or rather indeed, to speak more properly, that nothing is lost any where, but all conduces to the just variety and convenience of the World in general. * *A Wise Man, says one, will take nothing amiss that happens to him; for he will observe, that those very things by which his particular Interests seem to suffer, are expedient, and greatly contribute to the pre-*

* Vir sapiens nihil indignetur sibi accidere, sciatque illa ipsa quibus lædi videtur ad conservationem universi pertinere, & ex his esse quæ cursum mundi officiumque consummant.

servation of the whole; and that these are the methods by which the course of the World is continued, and every part of it brought to its just and necessary perfection.

The particular and personal effects of these Evils are different, according to the various tempers and conditions of the Men to whom they happen. To the good they are an exercise and trial to those that are fallen, a relief and recovery, a warning and call to them that go astray; and to the obstinately wicked, a dispensation of Punishment and Vengeance. Of each of these uses, I shall say but one word or two very briefly.

And first, these external Evils provide the good Men excellent opportunities of exerting and improving their Virtue, which would otherwise want matter to work upon, and lie idle and undiscerned. A good Man under affliction, is in the same circumstances with Fencers in their Schools, or Mariners in a Storm, or Soldiers in an Action, or Philosophers in their Academy; that is, he is upon his proper duty, attending the business of his profession, and shewing his skill in it; for these are the very methods that instruct, and enter, and form, and finish him in Virtue, that establish him in Constancy and Courage, and enable him to conquer and triumph over Fortune and the World: They bring him acquainted with himself, make him know his own strength by frequent experiments, tell him what he may depend upon, and promise himself from it; nor do they only give him a true representation of his past and present condition, but they help to amend it too; they encourage and confirm his resolutions of doing well, harden and accustom him to suffering, fix and determine his mind, secure his past conquests, and render him invincible for the time to come: Whereas on the contrary, a long calm of prosperity is exceeding apt to soften and enervate Men's minds, and to corrupt them by ease and leisure, carelessness and sloth, inactivity and long disuse. *Demetrius*, for this reason, used to say, That of all Men living he thought none so truly miserable as those who had never met with disappointments, and crosses, and trying afflictions, and compared their life to the dead Sea, where there is a perpetual Stagnation, and noxious vapours breed and reign for want of winds, and a vigorous commotion of the waters to break and disperse, and drive them away.

To Delinquents and inconsiderate Offenders, these afflictions are a check and curb to hold them in, and prevent the wild and furious sallies of vice unrestrained; or else a rebuke and chastisement,

chastisement, the rod of an Affectionate but provoked Father, to reduce and reclaim them, that they may be more considerate and mindful of their Duty hereafter, and abandon utterly those courses which have cost them so much smart and pain. Thus it is with our minds as with our bodies; and the health of both is consulted by the same applications. These sufferings are like the breathing of a Vein and reasonable Physick sometimes made use of as Preservatives, to prevent the gathering of ill humours, and divert them another way; at other times as correctives and restoratives, to purge the corrupted mass, and carry off a Disease already formed.

4.

To the obstinate and incorrigible they are a Punishment and Plague, a Sickle to cut those down speedily, whose Iniquities are ripe for destruction, or else to make them more lingering and languishing spectacles of Vengeance. And thus you may plainly discern very excellent and necessary effects of the troubles Men are used so bitterly to complain of, such as may abundantly convince us how erroneous that opinion is, which looks upon such dispensations as evils, and ought to prevail upon us to entertain them with Patience and a becoming temper of mind, to take them in good part as the instances and operations of the divine Justice: and not only so, but to welcome them gladly as the useful instruments and sure pledges of the tenderness and love, and careful providence of God, and especially using our utmost diligence to benefit under them, and to answer the intention of that wise and kind being, in whose disposal all these things are, and who distributes them according to his own good pleasure, and as they may be most suitable to every Man's occasions.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

Of External Evils considered in themselves particularly.

ALL these Evils which are many in number, and various in their kinds, are so many privations of some contrary Good; for so much indeed is implied in the very name and nature of Evil: Consequently the general heads of Evil must answer and be equal to the several heads or species of Good. Now these may very properly

properly be reduced to seven. Sickness and Pain, (for these being Bodily indispositions, I join them together as one) Captivity, Banishment, Want, Disgrace, Loss of Friends, and Death. The good things we are deprived of in the forementioned Circumstances every one sees very plainly to be Health, Liberty, our Native Country, Wealth, Honour, Friends and Life ; each of which we have had occasion to treat of at large in the foregoing parts of this Treatise. All therefore that remains to be done at present, is to prescribe such Antidotes against these as are proper to them respectively ; and that very briefly and plainly, without any nice or formal reasoning upon the Case.

C H A P. XXII.

Of Sickness and Pain.

I¹Thath been observed in the beginning of this Treatise, *Book I. Chap. 6.* that Pain is the greatest, and in good truth the only Evil attending this mortal Body of ours ; the most sensible, the most insupportable, that which is least to be cured, least to be dealt with or asswaged by consideration. But still, though this be not altogether so capable of advice as most other afflictions ; yet some Remedies there are drawn from reason, justice, advantage and usefulness, imitation and resemblance of great Persons celebrated for their illustrious Virtue, and that branch of it which consists of Patience ; and these, such as they are, I shall just propound to my Readers Consideration.

First then, the enduring what is tedious and troublesome is a necessary incumbrance of Life, and charged in common upon all living Creatures, upon Mankind most evidently and especially. And it is by no means reasonable that providence should work a Miracle for our sakes, and exempt us only. How absurd is it therefore to fret and perplex ourselves because that hath happened to one Man in particular, which might and may happen every moment to every Man without exception.

Nay, it is not only general and common, but natural too. *2.* We are born to it, and cannot in any equity and justice hope to be exempted ; for indeed should we cease to be subject to it, we must cease to be Men. Whatever is a fixt and irreversible Law of our Creation, ought to be entertained with meekness and moderation : For we entred into life upon these terms, and the conditions of humanity expressly indented for,

for, are old Age and Infirmities, Decays and Diseases, Anguish and Pain. There is no possibility of avoiding these things; and what we can never get clear of, it will be our best Wisdom to settle a resolution of making the best of, and to learn how we may go through with it.

3. * If the pain be long it is but moderate, and consequently very supportable; and a Wise Man will be ashamed to complain of any thing less than extremities. If it be violent and exceeding acute it is but short, and we should not repine or be driven to impatience for a suffering which is quickly over. And yet this must of necessity be the case; for nature cannot sustain it self under the continuance of extream Torture: there must be an end either of that or of the Patient in a little time; and which of these two soever be the conclusion of it as to the suffering part, the matter comes all to one, and therefore let this give us courage and comfort.

4. Consider again, that these Sufferings can go no deeper than the Body; we are not injured our very selves: Every real injury takes off from the excellence and perfection of the thing; but now Sickness and Pain are so far from derogating from, and doing any real prejudice to us, that on the contrary they furnish matter, and put occasions in our way for a more noble exercising of Virtue than any that we owe to Ease and perfect Health; And surely where there is more occasion of Praise and Virtue, there cannot be less Good. If the Body be what the Philosophers usually call the instrument of the mind, why should any one complain for this instrument being applied to its proper use, and worn out in the service of its proper Master? The Body was made on purpose to serve the Soul, but if every inconvenience which befalls the Body shall disorder and afflict the Mind, the order of nature is quite inverted, and the Soul from thenceforth becomes a servant to the Body. Would you not think that Man unreasonably querulous and childish, who should cry and roar, and take on heavily, because some thorn in the hedge as he passed by, or some unwary passenger, had spoiled or torn his Clothes? A poor Broker, who was to make Money of the Suit, might be allowed some concern upon such an occasion; but a Gentleman, and one of substance and condition, would make a jest of it, and not esteem it worth a

* Confide, summus non habet tempus dolor. Si gravis brevis; si longus levis.

thought,

thought, when so trivial a Loss was compared with the Abundance he had left. Now this Body of ours is no other than a Garment, borrowed for a little while that our Soul may make its appearance, and act a short part in it, upon the stage of this lower World: But the Soul in the mean while is that which commands our value and regard; and our great affair is to secure the honour and quiet of this better part, while sojourning in this busie and tumultuous life. And what do we think may be the true reason why Pain provokes us to so great impatience? What indeed, but that we place our happiness upon wrong objects, and do not set up our rest, nor seek our satisfactions in the Soul. * Men grow into coldness and negligence of this part, and grow too familiar and fond of the Body. And Pain, as if it were sensible of this folly of ours, plies us hard in our tenderest part, especially when a Man shivers and trembles at its approach, as if it took a pride to insult over such unreasonable fear and concern.

The advantages however of this so much dreaded Misery are considerable; it helps to wean our affections, and teaches us to work off our relish and delight from that which we must shortly leave; for there is no one thing more assisting to us in giving us a due sense of the emptiness of the World, and what an errant cheat it is, than Sickness and Pain; and I think every Man must confess this to be a very considerable piece of service.

It heightens the pleasure consequent upon it. For when a Disease hath had its course, the satisfaction of a Recovery is much more sensible than any enjoyment of uninterrupted Health. This cheers and enlivens us, like Light out of the midst of Darkness; and a Man would almost imagine that Nature had contrived Pain on purpose, that by mingling some of those sharp intervals, Ease and Pleasure might have due honour done them, and be render'd more acceptable and exquisite.

Let us then reflect upon these few suggestions, and see what consequence they naturally offer to us. If our Pain be moderate, the virtue of Patience cannot be very difficult; if it be extream, the glory of enduring it as becomes us is proportionably great; if it appear insupportable, our own cowardice and effeminacy have made it so; if there are but ve-

* Non assueverunt animo esse contenti; nimium illis cum corpore fuit.

ry few who can bear it decently, let us try to be of that number; for the smaller it is, the more distinguishing and commendable it is to be in among them. Let us not lay the blame at Nature's door for making us no stronger: This is all pretence, it is not natural weakness, but affected nicety and tenderness that disables us in this point. If we run away from Pain, it will pursue us; if we surrender our selves to this enemy and suffer it to conquer us, we shall be treated with insolence and barbarous usage, and the reproach of tameness will stick hard upon us. If it tries to terrifie us and we stand our ground, the success will be above our expectation; let us therefore defeat and disappoint this Design, by shewing our selves more resolute and brave than it thinks for. For the greatest part of the smart and anguish is owing to our own softness and delicacy, our yielding and sinking under it. * *We do not flinch from things so much because they are hard to be born, as we create that hardship to our selves by dreading and shrinking at them.*

8. I may reasonably expect, that all the former Arguments should be lookt upon as flights of Speculation, Philosophical Notions, which Men of refined thoughts entertain when they are at ease, but would soon find impracticable if brought to the tryal: and therefore to obviate this objection, I have reserved to the last place the instances and examples of persons whose practice hath justified the possibility and mighty efficacy of all that hath been said here, or is usually urged in Books upon this occasion. And these, not only of wise and extraordinary, but of ignorant and common Men; Nay, even Women and Children are frequently mentioned in story to have endured both long and acute pains and diseases, and with a Mind so steady and unbroken, that the anguish which hath taken away their lives was never able to subdue their constancy and courage. They have waited the approach of their torments, and encountered them knowingly, and met them gladly, and supported themselves under them with marvellous chearfulness; nay, have even sought and courted the severest and most exquisite Tortures humane nature is incapable of suffering. The *Lacedemonian* Boys are notorious for whipping one another, till sometimes they expired under the Scourge, and all this without the least change of Countenance. A sort of barbarous discipline instituted

* Non quia difficilia non audemus, sed quia non audemus, difficilia.

to harden them, that they might be better qualified to do their Country Service when thus intred to suffering. *Alexander's* Page was burnt to the very Bone with a Coal, and endured it without the least Complaint, rather than he would interrupt the Sacrifice. A *Spartan* Boy let his Bowels be eat out by a Fox, rather than he would discover his Theft. *Pompey*, when taken by King *Gentius*, who would have compelled him to reveal the Secrets of the *Roman* State, thrust his finger into the Fire, and burnt it till *Gentius* could bear the sight no longer, to convince him that all Torture would be lost upon him. The Case of *Mutius* with *Porfenna* was another instance of the same kind; and good old *Regulus* endured more than all of them from the *Carthaginians*. The Account of *Anaxarchus* hath scarce any Parallel; who, when pounded in a Mortar at the Command of a Tyrant, cryed out, *Beat on, beat on your Belly-full, you cannot touch Anaxarchus his self, you only bruise the Shell of him.*

“ But that which is a Remedy indeed, is one peculiar to
 “ Christians, the sure prospect of a future and eternal State;
 “ the consideration what cruelty and contradiction of Sin-
 “ ners their Saviour condescended to suffer; and that parti-
 “ cipation of Glory and Bliss with him in Heaven, which is
 “ ordained and reserved for those who suffer with and for
 “ him; that is, after his example in a good Cause, and for
 “ the sake of Faith and a good Conscience. These reflecti-
 “ ons will animate Men, not by rendring them insensible, or
 “ taking sanctuary in nice and airy Distinctions, but by fur-
 “ nishing Arguments superior to the quickest and tenderest
 “ sense of Pain. And accordingly we see what incredible ef-
 “ fects these Religious comforts had in all the Primitive
 “ Persecutions; how Triumphant they were in the midst of
 “ Racks, and Fires, and Crosses. The *having respect to the*
 “ *Recompence of Reward*; the balancing the *light Afflictions*
 “ *of a Moment with the eternal and far more exceeding weight*
 “ *of Glory*; the committing this Body to the Ground, like
 “ Seed for a plentiful and joyful Harvest at the general Re-
 “ surrection; the confidence in the promises of him who
 “ cannot Lye. These inspired the noble Army of Martyrs;
 “ and these are able to support all their Followers who have
 “ a title to the same Expectations, and are Heirs through Hope
 “ to the same Kingdom. And all the Stoical Philosophy put
 “ together, cannot minister the hundredth part of that
 “ Consolation, which those two short Sentences of *S. Paul* do,
 “ *No chastening for the present seemeth to be joyous, but grie-* Hob. 12.
 “ *vous; et*

2 Cor. 5. 1. "vous ; Nevertheless afterward it yieldeth the peaceable fruit
 "of Righteousness unto them which are exercised thereby ; And,
 "We know that if our earthly house of this Tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with
 "hands, eternal in the Heavens.

C H A P. XXIII.

Of Captivity or Imprisonment.

THis Affliction is very inconsiderable in comparison of the former, and the conquest of it will prove exceeding easie to them, upon whom the prescriptions against Sickneſs and Pain have found their desired effect. For Men in those circumstances have the addition of this Misfortune, confined to their Houses, their Beds, tied to a Rack, and loaded with Fetters ; and this very confinement is a part of their complaint, though the least part. But however, we will say one word or two of it.

Now what is it that Captivity or Confinement imprisons ? The Body, that which is it self the Cover and the Prison of the Soul ; but the Mind continues at large and at its own disposal, in despite of all the World : How can it indeed be sensible of any inconvenience from a Prison, since even there it ranges abroad as freely, as gaily, takes as noble, as sublime, as distant flights, if not much more so, than it does in other circumstances ? The Locks and Bars, and Walls of a Prison, are much too remote to have any power of fastening it down, or shutting it in ; they must needs be so, since even the Body it self which it touches upon, is linked to, and hangs like a Clog fastened to it, is not able to keep it down, or fix it to any determinate place. And that Man will make a Jest of all these artificial and wretched, these slight and childish Enclosures, who hath learnt how to preserve his native Liberty, and to use the privilege and prerogative of his condition, which is to be confined no where ; no, not even in this World. Thus *Tertullian* derides the cruelty of the Persecutors, and animates his Brethren, by telling, that a
 * *Christian, even when out of Prison, had shaken hands with the World, that he defied and was above it ; and that when under Con-*

* *Christianus, etiam extra carcerem, sæculo renunciavit, in Carcere etiam carceri ; nihil interest ubi sitis in sæculo, qui extra sæculum estis. Auferamus Carceris nomen, secessum vocemus ; et si corpus includitur, caro detinetur omnia Spiritui patent ; totum hominem animus circumfert, & quo vult transfert.*

finement,

Ch. 23. *Of Captivity or Imprisonment.*

307

finement, the Case was the same with his Goal too. What mighty matter is it in what part of the World you are, whose Principle it is not to be of the World? Let us change that Name of so ill a sound, and instead if a Prison call it a Retreat; where, when you are shut up, the flesh may be kept to a narrow room, but all Doors are open to the Spirit, all Places free to the Mind; this carries the whole Man along with it, and leads him abroad whithersoever it will.

Prisons have given very kind Entertainment to several valuable, and holy, and great Men; to some, a Goal hath been a refuge from Destruction, and the Walls of it so many fortifications and intrenchments against that Ruine, which had certainly been the consequence of Liberty; nay, some have chosen these places, that there they might enjoy a more perfect Liberty, and be farther from the noise, and clutter, and confusion of the World. He that is under Lock and Key, is so much safer and better guarded; And a Man had better live thus, than be cramped and constrained by those Fetters and Hand-cuffs which the World is full of; such as the places of publick Business and Concourse, the Palaces of Princes, the conversation of great Men; the tumult and hurry of Trade, the vexation and expence of Law-suits, the envy and ill-nature, the peevishness and passions of common Men; will be continually clapping upon us. * *If we do but reflect, (says the same Author again) That the World it self is no better than a Prison, we shall imagine our selves rather let out of a Goal than put into one. The Darkness by which the World blinds Mens Minds, is thicker and grosser, the Chains by which it clogs and binds their Affections heavier, the Filth and Stench of Men's Lewdness and beastly Conversation more offensive, and the Criminals in it more numerous, for such in truth are all Mankind. There have been several instances of Persons; who, by the benefit of a Prison, have been preserved from the Malice of their Enemies, and escaped great Miseries and Dangers. Some have made it a studious Retirement, composed Books there, or laid a foundation of great Virtue and much Learning; so that the uneasiness of the Flesh hath been*

* Si recogitemus ipsum magis mundum carcerem esse, exisse nos è carcere, quam in carcerem introisse intelligemus. Majores tenebras habet mundus, quæ hominum precordia excæcant graviores catenas induit, quæ ipsas animas constringunt, peiores immunditias expirant libidines hominum, plures postremo reos continet; universum genus hominum.

Pfal.
113.

a Gain to the Spirit, and the confinement of the Body was well laid out in a Purchase so valuable as the enlargement of the Mind. Some having been disgorged, as it were, by a Prison, thrown up when it could keep them no longer, and the next step they made hath been into some very eminent Dignity, as high as this World could set them; this Remark the Psalmist hath left us of the wonderful Dispensations of Providence: *He taketh the simple out of the dust, and listeth the needy off from the dunghil, that he may set him with Princes, even with the Princes of his People.* And he indeed, who was an *Israelite*, might well make this Reflection, since even among his own Ancestors they had so eminent an instance as *Joseph*, of the mighty Alteration we are now speaking of. But others have been advanced yet higher, exhaled as it were, and drawn up into Heaven from thence. But thus much is certain, that there can be no such thing as perpetual Imprisonment; general Goal-deliveries are unalterably established, an Article of the Law of Nature; for no Prison ever yet took in a Man, whom it did not shortly after let out again.

C H A P. XXIV.

Of Exile, or Banishment.

1. **E**Xile is in reality no more than changing our Dwelling, and this hath nothing of substantial Evil in it. If we are afflicted upon the account, our Grievance is not owing to what we complain of, but to our own humour and imagination. If we will go to the Reason of the thing, all places are alike, and a Man's All is every where equally: For two words indeed comprehend the whole what a Wise Man values, and those two are Nature and Virtue.
2. The same Nature is common to all Countries, the same Sky, the same Elements. The same Sun shines, the same Stars rise and set, and their Motion, their Extent, the Proportion they appear in, the same. And sure, if any part of Nature be to be valued, that above us is much more worthy of Consideration and Esteem, than this Sediment, and gross and droffy part, which we tread under our feet. The farthest prospect of the Earth which we can take, does not amount to more than Ten or Twelve Leagues: So that a Soul, which settles its Affections upon this part, shuts its self up

up in a very narrow compass. But the Face of this glorious Firmament, adorned and beautified with such infinite Constellations, which like so many grafts of Jewels glister over our Heads, expands it self; and that it may be more effectually and distinctly viewed, the Motion is perpetual and circular, and every part turned towards us; so that every point is visible to every place, within the single Revolution of each Day and Night. The Earth, which (taking the Seas, and ambient Atmosphere into the account, is computed not to be above the hundred and sixtieth part as big as the Sun) is to us incomparably less still; for it is not visible to us in any part, except that little Spot, that single Point, upon which we stand. But were it otherwise, What does this change of our standing signifie? We think it a hard case to be born in one place, and driven to another. Have we any Propriety in the place of our Birth? Our Mothers might have been delivered in any other place, as well as that where they were; and nothing is more entirely Casual, than the particular Spot where we first drew Breath, for there was in Nature the same possibility of our being Born any where? Besides, every Climate produces and carries Men, sustains them with its Fruits, and furnishes them with all the Necessaries of Life; so that there is little fear of perishing any where. Every Country settles us among our Relations too; for all Mankind are so nearly allied in Blood, and nearer yet in Charity and Affection. Friends too may be found any where, we need only be at the pains to make them, which will soon be done, if we are careful to win their Hearts by our Virtue and Wisdom. Every quarter of the Habitable World is a Wise Man's Country, or rather indeed no part of it is his Country. It were an injury and disparagement to suppose him a Stranger any where; and a weakness and littleness of Spirit in him to esteem himself so. A Man ought to use his Privilege, and assert his natural Right, which consists in living every where, as if he were at home, and dwelt in his own: In ** looking upon all places as if he had a Propriety in them; and upon his own Estate or native Soil, as if it were in common to all Mankind.*

But farther, what alteration, what inconvenience, can possibly come to us by this changing our Residence? Do not we still carry the same Soul about with us? And will not

3.

* Omnes terras tanquam suas videre, & suas tanquam omnium.

our Virtue keep us company where ever we go? What can hinder a Man (said *Brutus*) from carrying his Excellencies, all he is really and truly worth, into Banishment or Captivity? The Mind and its commendable Qualities are subject to no confinement, circumscribed within no determinate space of ground; but can live, and act, and exert themselves in all places indifferently. A good Man is a Citizen of the whole World, frank and free, content and cheerful wherever his Lot casts him; always at home in his own Quarters; and always fixt and settled; however, this Case or Portmanteau that incloses and conveys him, may be hurried and jumbled from one place to another. † *The Holy and Immortal Soul is an Ubiquitary, of near resemblance and affinity to God himself, and like him diffused equally, and ever present to all the stages of time, and all the distances of place.* And where-soever a Man feels himself well, and easie, and in full enjoyment, that is his home, call the Country by what name you will. And it is evident, that Ease and comfortable Enjoyment is not entailed upon particular Cities or Climates; this is what no place can give, he can only depend upon his own Mind for it, and that can give it him in any place equally.

How many very significant Men have found cause to chuse and impose a voluntary Banishment upon themselves? How many others, when sent and driven away, and afterwards invited back again, have refused to return into their own Native Country: and been so far from thinking their Exile an insupportable Misery and Punishment, that they have taken great delight and satisfaction in it; and reckoned no part of their Time so well spent, or so worthy the name of living, as that in which they were debarred their own Country? This was the Case of some generous *Romans*, *Rutilius* and *Marcellus* in particular; And again, how many do we read of, whom good Fortune hath taken by the hand, as it were, and led them abroad, put them in the way of Honour and Preferment in foreign Lands, such as they could have no probable prospect of ever attaining at home?

† Animus sacer & æternus ubique est, diis cognatus, omni mundo & ævo par.

C H A P. XXV.

Of Poverty, and Want, and Losses.

THIS is a very vulgar, and (like the rest of theirs) a very silly and poor spirited Complaint; for it supposes the whole, or at least the most considerable part of a Man's Happiness, to depend upon the advantages of Fortune, and looks upon a low and mean Condition, as a real and sore Evil. But now to shew what that is, in truth, we must observe, that there are two sorts of Poverty: One is, That Extremity of it, which we properly call Penury, or want of Bread; when those supplies are lacking, which are necessary to the support of humane Nature. And this is a Calamity, which happens but very seldom: For Providence hath been so bountiful, and Nature so prudent, that there are but a few of these absolutely necessary things. The very Frame of our Bodies is a good Defence in this case, and so far from exposing us to a needy Condition, that a little will serve the turn, and that Little is to be had almost every where: Nay, it is to be had in such quantities, as will not only reach to the keeping Life and Soul together, but are a sufficient Competency for moderate and frugal Persons: If we do not affect to lay it on thick, and squander away our Provisions; if we would take our measures from Reason and Nature, and be satisfied with what these desire, and prescribe to us, we shall seldom or never want enough for our purpose. But if we will create to our selves fantastical and imaginary Wants, nothing can ever satisfy us. * *He that lives by Nature, says Seneca, can never be Poor; and he that lives by Fancy, can never be Rich; for the former will gladly take up with a little, but the latter grasps at all, and there is no end of it.* A Man that is Master of any sort of Trade, or bred up to any Profession; nay, he that hath neither of these Advantages, if he have but the use of his Hands, is safe from these Extremities, and will find no just reason to fear, or to complain of this first sort of Poverty.

The other sort consists in the want of those things, which exceed a sufficient provision for the uses of Nature, and minister to Pomp and Pleasure, Delicacy and Superfluity, what we commonly call a Decency, and this is in truth the thing

* Si ad naturam vives, nunquam eris pauper; si ad opinionem, nunquam dives. Exiguum natura desiderat; opinio immensum.

1 Tim.
6.

most Men are so mightily concerned for; loss of rich and sumptuous Furniture, the not having a Down-Bed, and a Table well spread, or a stately House; shut out from the Comforts and the Ornaments of Life. But this, when all is done, is not Want, but Niceness; and that is the very Disease we labour under. Now all Complaints of this Nature are highly unjust, for what they dread as Poverty, is rather to be preferred and wished for: We see the Wisest Man that ever lived, was for neither Poverty nor Riches, but only such Food as was a convenient Subsistence for him. It is more agreeable to nature, more truly rich, more quiet and safe, than all that abundance Mankind are so fond of. First, it is more congruous and agreeable to our Condition, because Man came naked into the World, and he must go so out; and how can he call any thing his own, which he neither brought along with him, nor can carry away with him? The Possessions we pretend to here, are like the Furniture in an Inn; ours to use while we stay, but not to remove when we leave the House: And therefore all we ought to look at, is our present Accommodation. Secondly, it is more true Riches, for a larger Manner none can be possess'd of. He that hath enough, hath all the World. *Godliness with Contentment is great Gain*, says the Apostle, it is safer and more quiet: For here is no Fear to perplex, no hope of Booty to tempt, no danger of Enemies to fence against; Poverty is secure in the midst of *Banditi*. A little Man, when covered all over with his Buckler, is less liable to Danger than a bigger and stronger, who is in many parts exposed, and cannot bring his whole Body within the compass of his Shield; such a condition, as it does not burden and fatigue a Man with great Troubles, so neither does it make him capable of great Losses. And therefore these sort of People are always more easie, and free, and cheerful, for they have not so much to take care of, nor can they suffer so much by any Storm that shall happen to blow. Such a Poverty as this, is snug and close, gay and jolly, and secure; all foul Weather flies over its Head; it makes us truly our own Men, Masters of our Lives, without the Hurry and Noise, the Squabbles and Contentions, which are the necessary Incumbrances of plentiful Fortunes, and devour the greatest part of their Ease and Time, who stand possess'd of them. And what precious things are these to be called, the Goods of this World, that are big with so many Mischiefs, such substantial and vexatious Evils that expose us to Injuries, enslave us to Jealousies

lousies and Suspensions, to anxious Fears and inordinate Desires, and have so many thousand Artifices to trouble and disquiet us? He that is discontented with the loss of these things, is miserable indeed, because he is deprived of his Possessions and Understanding both, and so does more than double his loss. The Life of Men in moderate Circumstances is a condition much like that of Coasters; but that of the Rich is like Sailors out at Sea. These are tost and driven, and cannot make Land though they would never so fain; they must wait a favourable Gale, and the Current of the Tide to carry them in: The former are always near home, and have it in their power to debark whenever they please.

To all these Considerations, we shall do well to add one more; That of Great, and Generous, and justly Celebrated Persons, who have despised such Losses, nay, have welcomed and improved them to their Advantage, and thanked Almighty God for them, as so many signal Blessings. Such as *Zeno* after his Wrack, the *Fabrieii*, *Serrani*, and the *Curii* among the *Romans*. And this is an extraordinary Attainment in Virtue, when a Man can find his Account, and discern, and satisfy himself with the wisdom and kindness of Providence, in instances which the generality of the World look upon with the greatest Horror and Aversion. The Gods were heretofore painted naked, to intimate that they are above both the Necessities and Gayeties of this World; and how Godlike a Quality the Philosophers heretofore esteemed the despising of them, we may learn by that voluntary Poverty, which so many of them embraced; at least, if it was the work of Fate, and not their own Choice, by that easie content and acquiescence of Spirit, with which they entertained it. To sum up all then in one word, to Persons of Prudence and unprejudiced Affections, Men of elevated Souls, refined and purged from the dross of Sensuality and Avarice, this condition of Life will appear preferable; but to all People, who think at All, it is very tolerable.

C H A P. XXVI.

Of Infamy, or Disgrace.

THIS Affliction is of several sorts, according to the different Senses of which the Title here is capable.

If by Disgrace be meant the loss of Honour or Dignity, or Offices of Importanc and Trust, the Man is rather a Gainer than otherwise, and hath made a very advantageous Exchange. For what are such Promotions but splendid Slaveries, by which a Man hires himself out to the Publick, and lays out his Property, and the enjoyment of his Person in the Service of other People? These Honours shine indeed and glisten, but with that dazzling light they kindle Envy and Jealousie, burn up the Owner, and at last go out in Exile and Poverty. Let a Man but refresh his Memory with the Histories of all Antiquity, and the most memorable passages of Great Men; see how thick a Cloud they set in, and whether, almost to a Man, those that were most renowned for Gallantry and Virtue, did not finish their course in Banishment or a Prison, by Poison, or some other violent Death. See the declining *Aristides*, *Themistocles*, *Phocion* and *Socrates*, among the *Greeks*; *Camillus* and *Scipio*, and *Cicero*, and *Papinian*, among the *Romans*; *Jeremiah* and other Prophets among the *Jews*: Insomuch that a Man may say, Calamity and Disgrace is the very Livery and Mark of Distinction of the best and bravest Men; the usual Reward which the People bestow upon those that have done them the best Service.

If this Word be interpreted of common Fame and Opinion, every wise Man should have Spirit enough to despise That, and never trouble himself at all about it. He does but disparage and degrade himself, and betray his want of improvement in the study of Wisdom, who is got no higher in this noble Science, than to be concerned at those false, rash Judgments, and scandalous Reports, which are made and scattered at random; and which neither make a Man the better for their Commendations, nor one whit the worse for their Censure and Reproaches.

CHAP. XXVII.

Loss of Friends.

BY Friends, I understand Children, Relations, and all whom Nature or Acquaintance have rendred near and dear to us.

And here, first of all, we shall do well to examine pretty strictly into the true foundation of this Concern; whether the Complaints we utter, the Tears we shed, and all the Sor-

row and tender Resentments we pretend, be grounded upon their Interest or our own. I make no question but every Man will answer, that he grieves for their sakes; but then almost People must give us leave to doubt the Truth of this; and not take it ill, if we be Infidels in the case, till satisfied by some more substantial Argument, than the meer Authority of having their bare word for it. It is but an officious Dissimulation of Tenderness and natural Affection, to put on an inconsolable Melancholy, and be eternally lamenting the Misfortunes of our Friends, or the Dangers and Calamities of the Publick; for would we but draw aside the Curtain, and probe our Souls to the quick, Self would be found at the bottom, and the true cause of our Grievs will appear to be that private Interest of our own, which is involved and interwoven with theirs, this is the very thing that affects us so sensibly. And what is this but a spice of Envy, rather than true and generous Affection? For that very Death, or Absence of our Friends, which we bewail under the specious Title of their Loss and Misfortune, is in reality their mighty Gain, and greatest Advantage. * The true use and consequence of Death, is the putting a final and absolute Period to Men's Miseries, the placing them in a condition incapable of suffering. Had God in his Wisdom intended us a happier and more easie Being upon Earth, no doubt he would have contrived that it should have lasted longer. But as Matters now stand, and considering the Evils our Lives are beset with, it is a Mercy he hath made them so short.

If then we would speak out, and confess the Truth impartially, this Affliction looks at home, and we lament the Loss, because our own Affairs suffer in it. Now this at the first blush is evidently dishonourable and selfish; and we shall have much ado to justify our being sorry, that those we profess so dearly to love are in ease and happiness. If we loved them, as our Saviour says, in the like case, we should much rather rejoyce; and if they loved us, it is but a decent Gratitude to be content with some inconveniences, when the suffering of these is softened by the consideration of their unspeakable advantage. For † *To be troubled at our own Loss may argue that we love our selves, but it can never prove that we love our Friends.*

* *Mœrere hoc eventum, invidi magis quam amici est.*

† *Suis incommodis angī, non amicum, sed seipsum amantis est.*

But, after all, there is an excellent and never-failing Remedy in store for our Affliction, which all the malice and power of Fate can never wrest out of our hands. And that is, a Reflection, that these Losses are not irreparable: For so long as we survive our Friends, so long we have opportunities of making new ones. Friendship is one of the greatest Blessings humane Life can boast of; and there is this mighty Advantage in it, which other Happinesses cannot pretend to, that it is one of the easiest to be attained. God makes Men, but Men make Friends: And they that do not want Virtue, need never want Friends; for this is the instrument of acquiring them; and that which will always be serviceable in supplying the number of those that are taken from us. If then Fortune hath robbed us of this Treasure, let us take care to reimburse our selves; and by this means we shall be so far from living destitute, that the parting with those we had, will only give us an opportunity of enlarging our Affections wider, and adding to the number.

Of Death.

THis Subject hath been already treated of so largely and fully in the Eleventh Chapter of the Second Book, that I have nothing new to offer upon it here. And therefore, to avoid being tedious to my Reader, by cloying him with Repetitions, I shall only beg his leave to refer him back to that Passage.

The Second Division of Evils, consisting of such as are Internal, to wit, the Disquieting Passions of our own Minds.

P R E F A C E.

FROM these several Evils already insisted on, several tormenting Passions are begot and bred in our Minds. For when any of those Afflictions are considered absolutely, and in themselves, there springs up Fear in us, if we apprehend them as future and approaching; or Grief, if we reflect upon them as present, and at that instant actually oppressing us. And if these Calamities do not immediately affect us, but others suffer in them, then the Passion we are moved to is Pity and Compassion. When to the Consideration of their own Nature, we

join that additional One of their Causes or Occasions, and reflect upon them as done or procured by some other Person, then the Passions provoked by them are, Anger, Hatred, Indignation, Spight, Envy, Jealousie, Revenge; and all those other Resentments which dispose us to bear a grudge, and look with an evil Eye upon the Persons that create us uneasiness and trouble. Now this Virtue of Fortitude consists in the entertaining these Misfortunes regularly, and agreeably to right Reason and Equity; in behaving our selves gallantly under them, and so preserving our Souls free and undisturbed by any of the Passions apt to be excited, and so grow outrageous upon these occasions. But in regard they owe their very Being to these Afflictions, if a Man can manage the Rules and Remedies here already prescribed, so as to gain an absolute Conquest over the Evils themselves: These Passions will be crushed in the Egg, and all farther directions concerning them are wholly superseded. And this indeed is the best and most effectual way, to stifle and cut off the first Tendencies towards them. Efficacy and Success must unavoidably wait upon this method, as that Fire is sure to be quenched, from which all combustible Matter that might feed it is withdrawn in time. But tho' this taking off the Fuel be the best, yet it is not the only way of keeping down this Flame; and therefore I will provide for the other Course, by adding some Directions against each of these Passions in particular; which design will take up the less of our Time and Pains, in regard each of them hath formerly been drawn at length, and that in Colours so natural, so black and hideous, that it may reasonably be expected those Representations should work us up to a due horror and detestation of them.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Remedies against Fear.

LET us not be too hasty and anticipate our Misfortunes, but be content to stay till they overtake us. Why should we run forward to meet those Miseries, which at the same time we would fain run away from? Possibly they may not carry so far, but be spent, or fall to the ground before they reach us. Our Fears are every jot as fallible as our Hopes: Perhaps the time which we expect with terror, to bring our Affliction, may come big with Joy, or at least bring a Comfort equivalent to the Sorrow. How many millions of sur-
prising

prising Accidents may interpose, and ward off that Thurst which we apprehend must give us our mortal Wound. Lightning, they tell you, will be diverted from its course by the motion of a Hat, and the Fortunes of great States and whole Nations are blasted, and blown down in an instant by Accidents, as flight as the Breath of ones Mouth. Give the Wheel but one whirl, and that which was at the top is tumbled down to the bottom; and it very frequently happens, that the Persons who were our Terror, become our Pity or our Scorn; and the Thing, from whence we looked for nothing but Ruin, is the best Instrument and Insurance of our Safety. Nothing is so liable to Mistakes as humane Prospects: What the Prudence of Man hopes for, disappoints him; what this fears, vanishes and slips from under him; and what it never dreamt of, happens to him. Almighty God keeps his Counsels to himself; he alone knows what he hath to do: But his Measures and Methods are dark and distant from humane Sight; and this is the occasion of the many amazing Changes we see in the World; that what we project and form to our selves in one way, God decrees and brings about in another. Let us not make our selves unhappy before our time; and it is very likely we may never be so at all: The future, which cheats so great a part of Mankind, may probably cheat us among the rest to our advantage. It is a famous Maxim in the practice of Physick, that the acutest Distempers have no Prognosticks to be depended upon: And thus far it holds in our Fortune too; that the more furious and threatening her Symptoms are, the less we can form any certain Judgments from them. While there is Life there are Hopes, is as good a Rule, as just a Comfort with regard to our Affairs in Disorder, as it is with respect to our Bodies in Sicknes.

This Fear is not always the effect of Temper and Complexion, but very often of Delicacy, and a too tender Education. For we apprehend many things to be more grievous than really they are, meerly for want of being hardened in our Youth, and accustomed betimes to difficult and laborious Undertakings. And upon this account we should find great benefit in using our selves a great while before hand, to that which is apt to strike a Terror into us; representing to our Imaginations the dreadfullest Dangers that we can possibly fall into, and growing familiar with them by degrees; making some hazardous Attempts by way of Gallantry and Tryal, that so we may bring our Courage to the touch before hand.

forehand with mischance, and wrest the Weapons of Fortune out of her hands. For we shall find it much easier to resist her when we are the Aggressors, than when she puts upon the Defensive. At such times, we have the Law in our own hands; can take leisure to arm as we please; can make the most of every Advantage, and secure our Retreat; whereas, when she comes on, and Attacks us, she surprises, and singles us out at pleasure. We shall do very well therefore to exercise our skill upon her, and, by beginning the Combat unprovoked, practice and grow perfect in the Art of defending our Post: To sound sometimes a false Alarm, to see how we should receive it, if it had been in earnest, and a real Engagement: To set before our Eyes instances of astonishing Dangers, which the greatest and worthiest Men have been driven to; and recollect, that some have escaped the dismalest that we can imagine, thereby to prevent Confusion and Despair; and that others have perished under the slightest and most inconsiderable, thereby to awaken us out of our foolish Security, and convince us, that we are no where so safe, that Consideration and Prudence should be laid aside as unnecessary.

C H A P. XXIX.

Against Grief.

Grief hath been formerly delineated under the Characters of the most tormenting, most prejudicial, and most unjust Passion of all others; the greater reason to be sure we have to acquaint our selves with proper Remedies against it. And these are of two kinds, Direct or Oblique.

I call those Direct, which we derive from Philosophy, and the force of Reason; such as are employed in facing the Calamity, and learning to disdain and condemn it; persuading our selves that these external Misadventures are no real Evils; or if there be any thing in them, which may justify so harsh a Name, yet that they are so small and slight, as not to be worth the disordering our Minds about them; that any notable change in our Temper and Mind, is more than the greatest and most grievous of them all ought to obtain from us; and that to spend our Breath in Complaints, and our Days in Melancholy upon their account, is highly unjust and misbecoming. (For at this rate, the *Stoicks* and *Peripateticks*,

Peripateticks, and *Platonists*, have delivered themselves upon these occasions.) This method of keeping our selves above Grief, and every painful Passion, is indeed very beautiful and excellent; what challenges not only our Commendation but our Wonder, because it is exceeding rare, and none but Souls of the first Rate seem to be qualified for the Undertaking.

There is another of a meaner and more practicable Dispensation, the effect of Philosophy too, but not in its *Acme* and utmost Perfection; for this is a more popular Method, and condescends to the Infirmities of Mankind; not so nobly descended, but of more general Use. And this is what I call Oblique, because it consists in quieting the uneasy Thought, by drawing off the Mind from its present Anguish to some more pleasant and agreeable, or at least to some fresh Object. This is properly shifting the Scene, declining, or, according to the modern way of Expression, shaming, the Misfortune. A Remedy exceeding common, and such as Mankind are fain to take refuge in, upon several other Occasions as well as this. For if we observe the thing nicely, it will appear, that many Cures are wrought both upon our Bodies and Minds this way. Thus when we are assaulted by Temptations, Divines advise that we would not trust our selves alone, but flee into Company. Thus when there is any strong Defluxion of Humours upon the Vitals which cannot be carried clear off, Physicians divert the Morbifick Matter, and throw it into some of those Parts, where the Lance or the Searing-Iron may be able to deal with it. Thus Men, that travel over dangerous and frightful Precipices, shut their Eyes close, or look another way. Thus the Men of Courage in fight do not reflect upon their Danger, or think they are grappling with Death, but find themselves transported and busied with the Heat of Action. And of the many renowned Heroes who have suffered calmly and patiently, nay, even of those who have died by their own choice, or their own hands; (which some *Greeks* and *Romans* heretofore were vain enough to do merely for the Honour and Reputation of despising it; and others have been so brave and constant to undergo, in the Confidence and assured Hope of a better Life; as the Christian Martyrs; the Scholars of *Hegesias*, and others, after the Reading of *Plato's Antiochus*; or for the getting quit of the Miseries of the present Life; or whatever other Motives they had :) Still this was but a Stratagem of Diversion, for these Motives took their Thoughts

off from the main Point in Difficulty. For that which they aspired after, or that which they fled from, made the more vigorous Impression; and either quite swallowed up, or mightily asswaged the Terror of what they were about to suffer. But few or none of these had that firmness of Soul to consider the Calamities themselves; to converse with, and come close up to them; to see them in their frightfullest Forms, and yet not start at them. This was a Glory reserved for *Socrates*, and *Flavius*, condemned by *Nero* to die by the hand of *Niger*, and some very few besides. We may therefore content our selves very well with diverting our Minds by some other Considerations, when any cross Accidents, or other external Calamities, assault us. The common People seem to be sensible of some more than ordinary Efficacy in this Prescription, when upon all melancholy Occasions, they advise their Friends not to think of that which gives them the Disorder. And those who undertake to Advise or Comfort Persons in Affliction, will do well to consider what Counsel they are capable of following; to infuse some other Thoughts into them, by gentle and insensible degrees, so loosening and undermining the Object of their Trouble, and trying to plant another in its Room. For this taking the ground of their Melancholy from under them, before they are well aware of it, will prove a more real Consolation (in the first and furious Paroxysms especially) than the most Philosophical, or, which is yet better, the most Christian Harangue in the World. For though every Man may know, and urge pathetically enough, such Arguments as Reason tells us, it is fit melancholy Persons should submit to; yet these may all be lost, if the Application be out of Time; And therefore it is very necessary, that Men should proceed with Judgment and Tenderneſs; that they should observe, both in what manner the Passions are to be treated, and when they are fit to be treated with; when they will bear coming up to the point, and when they must be pacified by some powerful Diversion.

C H A P. XXX.

Remedies against Compassion.

MY Reader may possibly be startled at this Title, suspecting that it favours too much of Inhumanity; but to abate his Surprise, I must remind him, That there are two

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sorts

sorts of Pity : The one, Firm and Brave, Virtuous and Commendable, such as we are told Almighty God and the blessed Spirits partake of ; and this consists in applying our Inclination and actual Endeavours to relieve the Afflicted, yet so as not to take the Affliction upon our selves, nor do any thing in diminution of the Justice of the Cause, or the Dignity of our Character. The other is a Womanish and Senseless Pity, full of Tenderneſs and Concern, which proceeds from weakneſs and effeminacy of Soul, concerning which I have ſpoke ſufficiently heretofore, in that part which deſcribed the ſeveral Paſſions. Now for the conquering and composing this ſecond ſort ; Wiſdom directs us to ſuccour the Afflicted, and to eaſe his Burden, but not to put under our own Shoulder ſo far, as to bear the Load with him. In this Senſe it is, that God is ſaid to be Pitiful ; and his Bowels and Yearnings muſt not be interpreted of the ſame Uneaſineſſes we feel upon theſe Occaſions, but of the ſame readineſs to do Good, and to extend his Help, which we find in our ſelves upon feeling thoſe Uneaſineſſes. As the Phyſician does all he can for his Patient, and the Counſellor for his Client ; but then it ends in Diligence and Industry, and making the moſt of their Caſe ; but never goes ſo far, as laying their Miſcarriage to Heart. The Wiſe Man is deſirous to aſſuage the Pain, but not content to ſmart with it ; not to darken and diſorder his Mind with the Vapours of that Melancholy, which he labours to quiet and compoſe. God commands us to have a regard to the Poor, and to qualify their Afflictions as well as we can ; to plead their Caſe for them, and to defend their Right ; but yet at the ſame time he charges us to watch over our Paſſions, and take care that we be not balanced, even by good Nature and Pity it ſelf, againſt Equity and Juſtice, and the Reſults of true Reaſon.

C H A P. XXXI.

Remedies againſt Anger.

THeſe Remedies are many and various, ſuch as the Mind ought to lay in, and be ſtrongly armed and guarded with long before, like People that expect a Siege ; for it will be too late to begin to fortifie, when the Enemy hath opened his Trenches, and plays his Batteries upon us. They may be reduced to Three Heads ; the firſt are ſuch as ſecure all

all the Passes, and cut off the Approches and first Beginnings of this Passion. For it is infinitely easier to repel, and guard the Avenues against it, than either to subdue and bring it to Rule, or to beat it out again, when once it hath got within us. We shall do well therefore to consult our Safety betimes, by delivering our selves from all those Causes and Occasions of Anger, which were heretofore observed and explained, when we were describing the Nature and Rise of this Passion. Such in particular as these that follow; 1. Weakness of Judgment. 2. Indulgence and Effeminacy; a Sickness of the Soul, which must be cured by hardening it against any Accident which can possibly happen. 3. Niceness and humourous Fancies, Fondness for little Trifles, which must be corrected by bringing her Appetites to plain, and easie, and simple Things; for this indifferency and simplicity of Manners, is the Mother of inward Peace and Content. And therefore, ** let us be prepared and capable of every thing, satisfied with what comes next, and esteeming those Conveniencies best and most acceptable, which are nearest at hand, and will cost us least Trouble.* This is the general Rule given by Philosophers; and would be of great use for the crossing these particular Humours, gives Birth to furious Passions and infinite Inconveniencies. *Cotys*, upon receiving a very Noble Present of beautiful, but brittle Ware, broke all the Vessels immediately, to prevent his being angry whenever they should happen to be broken by any other hand. This is what I cannot much extol, by reason it plainly shewed a Distrust of his own Virtue and Resolution, and condemned him of Cowardice and Fear. He had therefore done a great deal better, in sparing that extravagant way of Prevention, and settling in his Mind a firm Resolve not to be moved at such an Accident whensoever it shall happen. 4. Curiosity, which makes us eager and inquisitive into Things which we had much better live in contented Ignorance of. Thus *Caesar*, when upon his Victory he took the Letters and Memorials, and several other Papers of Consequence, written by his Enemies, burnt them without ever examining what they contained. 5. Credulity, and easiness to receive every new Impression. 6. And above all the rest, a cavelling and captious Humour, Jealousie of other Peoples Behaviour, and fancying they design Injuries and Affronts to us. This in-

* *Ad omnia compositi sumus, quæ bona & paratiora, sint nobis meliora & gratiora.*

deed is very much beneath a Man of Spirit and Generosity, for how much soever it may seem to favour of Pride, and so indeed it does, yet this is a false Pride; and the Opinion of ones self at the same time, that it is more than it ought to be, is yet degenerate, and of a Bastard-breed, mingled with Meanness, and a little Soul; and therefore wanting Solidity for this Self-conceit, and being conscious of some notable Defect, it exposes the Person yet more by this peevish and suspicious Temper. For he that looks upon himself under the Contempt of another, is in some sense less than he; at least he debases himself, and becomes so either in Reality, or in Opinion, by these Distrusts and Nicenesses in point of Respect. * If therefore we would express a just and generous Sense of our own Worth, we should put any other Interpretation rather than this, upon the doubtful Passages of Conversation. Imagine them to proceed from Folly, or Indiscretion, an unthinking Gaiety, some Defect in the Person, or what he did not observe, or could not help: If it come from our Friends, let us call it too great Freedom, and the Privilege they take upon Intimacy with us. If from those under our own Government, we should not suppose they knew they did amiss; or ever were so stupid and fool-hardy, to provoke a Person, who they know hath power to Chastise, and make them smart severely for their Insolence. If it proceed from mean and insignificant Fellows, we can neither receive any Dignity, nor suffer any Indignity from such hands; Our Honour is not at their disposal, and therefore we should not descend so low, as to be angry whenever they please to provoke us. *Agathocles* and *Antigonus* made a Jest of those that affronted them, and scorned to punish them when they had them at their Mercy. *Cesar* had a peculiar Excellence this way: *Moses*, and *David*, and the other celebrated Patterns of Virtue in Holy Writ, have done so too. † *A great Post should have a great Soul to fill it.* The noblest Conquest is to subdue our selves, and to leave it in the power of no other Person to disorder us. Flying into Passion, is a shrewd symptom of Guilt; and a Conscience, that we deserve all the Indignities put upon us. He cannot be a truly great Man, who bends under another Man's ill Treatment; a Conquest there must be on some side; for if we do not subdue our

* *Nemo non eo, à quo se contemptum judicat, minor est.*

† *Magnam fortunam magnus animus decet.*

Anger, it will subdue us; and therefore the only way to preserve our Liberty, and our Honour, is to get above this rebellious Passion, and † look down upon the Tempests gathering below with Scorn and Contempt.

The second Division of Remedies, consists of such as are fit to be made use of, at the time when any Provocations to this Passion are offered to us, and when we feel it is going to make Insurrection. And these are, 1. Keeping the body constantly in one Posture, and not allowing our selves in the least Motion; sitting silent, and keeping our Thoughts within our own Breasts. For any sort of agitation of our Limbs, Hands, Feet, but especially of the Tongue, sets the Blood and Humours presently into a Ferment, and kindles a Fire in the Soul. The beginning of Contention is like the letting out of Water, and it is the second Word that makes the Quarrel. 2. A prudent Reserve; backwardness in crediting what we hear; slowness in resolving; allowing space to think, and consider and state the Merits of the Cause, and suspending our Determination and Repentment till all this be fairly done: For could we once but bring our selves to reason upon the Point, we should presently give a Check to this growing Fever. A Philosopher advised *Augustus*, never to let his Anger loose, till he had first repeated the Letters of the Alphabet; and some Christians have given the same Counsel in effect, but better in the Diversion they prescribe, when they direct us to say over the Lords Prayer, before we give any vent to the boiling Passion: All we say and do in Heat, should be shrewdly suspected, and carefully watched, and therefore it is but fit we should make a halt. * *Allow your self in nothing when you are angry, because there is nothing so ill, which you would not at such a time be content to allow your self.* We ought to be afraid and extremely jealous of our selves, for while our Minds are in disorder, it is impossible she should do any thing properly, and as we ought. Reason at such a time is intangled in the Passions, and can do us no more service than Wings do a Bird whose Feet are fast in the Lime-twigs: we may flutter and struggle, but shall very hardly be able to extricate our selves by all the Efforts we can make; and therefore we should never trust our selves, but take sanctuary in the company of some Friend, and there mellow

† Injurias & offensiones supreme despicere.

* Nihil tibi liceat dum irasceris; Quare? Quia vis omnia licere.

and compose our Passions by his calm Advice, and wise Conversation. 3. Another good Expedient, when we feel the Storm gathering, will be to divert and disperse it, by somewhat that is agreeable and entertaining; and in this case no Diversion is better than Musick to smoothe and sweeten the Passions, and by a kind of Sympathetick Power to make perfect Harmony and true Concord in the Soul.

3.

The third Parcel consists of some good Considerations, which the Soul ought to be tinctured and thoroughly seasoned with beforehand. As first, a Contemplation of the Behaviour, and wild disorderly Motions of Persons in Passion, those Indecencies and Deformities, which may very reasonably be expected to beget in us a mighty aversion to it. Upon this account some of the Philosophers advise angry Men to look in the Glass, and to satisfy their own Senses how horribly these Excesses disfigure them. Secondly, let us also fix our Eyes and Hearts upon the charming the admirable Beauties of Meekness and Moderation. Observe, how exceeding graceful and becoming a mild and sweet Temper shews, how engaging to others, how beneficial to our selves; for this well considered, would prove a powerful Loadstone, and attract the Affections of all the Beholders. This Advice is more especially expedient for Persons of Quality and high Rank, because Fortune hath placed them on high, made them more conspicuous than the rest of Mankind, and therefore greater Care should be taken to set off all their Deportment with Decency, and to the best Advantage: For as their Actions are of greater and more general Concernment, so their Faults have a more pernicious Influence, and are less to be retrieved than those of common Men. Lastly, there is the Regard we ought to have for Wisdom and Virtue, that Science which it is the Business and Design of this little Book to train Men up in; for indeed, Philosophy and Religion shew themselves in no one Instance so much, as in the command of our Passions, and the preserving our Minds firm, and steady, and impregnable. We should raise our Souls up above this Earth, and bring them to a Temperament and Disposition; like that of the upper Regions of the Air, which is never darkened by Clouds, nor agitated by Storms, nor disturbed by Thunder, but quiet and serene, and always the same. Thus neither should this Soul, this Coelestial and Divine Part of us, be blackned with Grief, or disordered by Anger, but kept in a gentle and uniform Motion, considerate and slow, like the Orbs and Planets, which the higher they are,

are, the more softly they move, and are freer from Precipitation as they approach nearer to Purity and Perfection.

Now it is necessary to inform my Reader, that all these Directions are to be understood of those inward Resentments and Disorders which are kept close and cherished in our Minds, and those Heart-burnings which kindle a long and lasting Fire in our Breasts, and break out in uncharitable Grudges, bitter Hatred and Aversion, and furious Desires of Revenge. For as to that other sort of Anger which is outward and visible, that short Blaze is quickly in, and as quickly out again, where there is no Malice, no Resentment left behind, and the only Design of it is to make others sensible of their Faults, whether our Inferiours by Chastisements and smart Reproofs, or those upon the Level with us, by expostulating with them, and shewing the Injustice or Indiscretions they have been guilty of; this is of infinite Use, highly necessary to be put in Practice, and exceeding commendable when rightly managed.

It is much for the Advantage, both of our selves and of those with whom we converse, to be thus angry upon some Occasions, provided always we keep within the Bounds of Moderation and prudent Conduct; and a little Vehemence does well to awaken People into a better Sense. There are a sort of People who value themselves upon restraining such Resentments, and keeping in their Passion, as they call it; which though very convenient when we have our Superiours to engage with, or such as we have reason to be very tender of giving any Offence to, yet is no good Rule for our general Behaviour: They who boast of it, make indeed large Pretensions to temper and government of their Passions, and are mighty Philosophers in their own Eyes and Esteem; but yet they frequently burn and fret inwardly, and gain a Conquest upon themselves, which costs them more than the thing is worth: It were much better to give it vent, and let their Resentments flame out a little now and then, than that they should glow and torment them within. For this covering of our Anger incorporates, and makes it of a piece with our Souls; and the hasty Man is much rather to be commended when soon pacified again, than the fretful and morose, the sullen and the silent. If this Weapon must wound somewhere, it were much more advisable to draw it upon others, and give them a slight Hurt, than that the Point should be turned back upon our selves, and stab us to the Heart.

* *All Vices are less dangerous, when the Effects of them are visible and apparent; but never so destructive as then, when they lurk secretly, and impose upon us by an artificial and counterfeit Virtue.* Thus a Sore skinned over, and rankling underneath, threatens ill Consequences, and Wounds are laid open to prevent a Mortification.

5. And as these outward Demonstrations of Anger may be for our own Ease, so may they likewise be capable of doing great Service to other People; upon such Persons especially as will not suffer themselves to be perswaded and argued into their Duty. For with Servants, and those who are actuated by no other Principle but Fear, there is an absolute necessity of either Feeling, or at least putting on somewhat of Warmth and Resentments; otherwise all Order would be lost, and nothing done under our Inspection as it ought to be. But then those Expressions of Anger must be sure to have these following Qualifications: 1. The Returns of them must not come too thick, nor be provoked upon every slight occasion; for Use will harden those to whom they are directed; Alterations are never to be made by any thing that is grown familiar; nor can we save that Authority from Contempt, which interposes with Eagerness and Violence upon trivial and insignificant Miscarriages. 2. They should not be Random-shot, nor lost in the Air; nor spent in fretting or vexing our selves, or railing and reproaching them behind their Backs; but discharged upon the Person who gave the Provocation, that he may feel the Smart of his own Folly. 3. They should be delivered gravely and pertinently, and carry somewhat of Tartness and Sting with them, without any mixture of Jestings or Laughing, that we may convince them of our being in very good Earnest, and stir them up effectually to better Care for the future, as well as Punish them for what is already passed. In one word, this sort of Anger is in the nature of Physick, and it will be our Wisdom so to time and so to apply it, that it may have a kindly Operation, and work a thorough Cure in the Patient.

* *Omnia vitia in aperto leviora sunt, & tunc perniciosissima, cum simulata sanitate subsidunt.*

The several Remedies prescribed here, though particularly insisted upon with regard to Anger only, will yet be very applicable and useful in the correcting of the following Passions.

C H A P. XXXII.

Remedies against Hatred.

TO defend our selves effectually from the Insults of this Passion, we shall do well to bear constantly in mind that old Rule of *Epictetus*, (and a most excellent and useful Observation it is) *That every thing hath two Handles, and that every Man hath it in his Choice, whether of them he will lay hold of it by*; Take it by one, and it will seem heavy and grievous; but by the other, it will be light and easie to us. Let us rather be sure to take every thing by the better Handle, and look upon it in the most advantageous Light: That is, put the best and most favourable Interpretation upon all that happens to us, and so shall we find by Experience, that what we hate, and find fault with, hath a great deal to soften and recommend it to our Acceptance. For Providence hath in infinite Wisdom so ordered the Matter, that there is not any one Accident possible to us in this World, which a dextrous and skilful Man may not turn to some account. And even in that which gives us greatest Offence, there is more subject for Lamentation and Complaint, than there can be for Hatred and just Aversion. He who does an ill or unbecoming thing to us, hath done the first Wrong, and suffered the greatest Damage in it himself: For he hath lost the use of his Reason, and betrayed his own Virtue, which are Injuries so substantial, that nothing we can suffer at second hand can be comparable to them. Let us therefore take this Accident in another Prospect, and view it there; let us give a fresh Turn to our Passion, and change Hatred into Piety; let us take Pains to make the Persons, who have tempted us to hate them, worthy of our Love and Esteem. Thus *Lycurgus* is said to have dealt with a Man that put out his Eye; instead of prosecuting so sensible an Injury, he took another course of punishing him, which was by his severe Remonstrances and good Instructions to render him a virtuous, modest, and peaceable Person ever after.

C H A P.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Remedies against Envy.

IN opposition to this fretful and tormenting Passion, let us consider and weigh nicely the nature of the thing we set so high a Value upon, and grudge another the Fruition of. We are apt to envy our more prosperous Neighbours, their Riches and Honours, their Preferments, and the Favour of Great Men: But all this is reasoning without Book, and want of attending to the Condition of the Purchase; we are not sensible how dear these things have cost their Owners. Were this rightly understood, it is highly probable, if they were offered to us upon the same Terms, we should think it our Wisdom to decline striking the Bargain. Flattery and Attendance, Anxiety and Care, Sufferings and Injuries, Affronts and Repulses, loss of Liberty, and ungenerous Compliances with the Passions and Pleasures of those we make our court to; Violations of Justice, and Contradiction to our own Consciences, these are usually the Price such Advantages come at: Thus much however is most certain, that there is nothing in this World worth the having, which can be had for nothing. To hope for Wealth and Honour, a plentiful Estate, or a gainful Office upon other Terms than they usually go at, is to desire that we may be made an Exception to the rest of Mankind; to repeal an Universal Law; or at least to break and pervert a general Custom received and established all the World over: It is taking the Commodity, and keeping our Money too. Why should you then, who set up for the Character of Honour and Virtue, be discontented, because you are not possess'd of those Advantages which are never to be acquired but by ignominious and reproachful Methods, and must be bought at the Expence of Modesty and Decency? If this be the Case, these splendid Appearances call rather for your Pity than your Envy: Either the Object of your Passion is a real Good, or it is not; if it be a fantastical and imaginary Good only, it is beneath this Resentment, nay it is inconsistent with it. For no Man is envious upon a supposition of a treacherous and deceitful Outside, but upon an implication of substantial and intrinsic Worth; but if it have this, and be a real and solid Good, then ought it to be Matter of Joy and Pleasure. For the Laws of Humanity, and those of Christianity, much more oblige us to desire and take delight in

one another's Happiness; and the exercise of this Virtue, with regard to other Peoples Satisfaction and good Fortune, would be a very considerable Addition to our own.

C H A P. XXXIV.

Remedies against Revenge.

FOR the beating down this cruel Passion, several Considerations may be of use to us; as first of all, That there is not any Action of our Lives so truly honourable and glorious, as that of pardoning and passing by Injuries and Affronts, nor any Attainment which requires greater Skill than this to master and excuse it readily and gracefully. Every body knows but too well how to prosecute Wrongs, and demand Satisfaction; but the remitting and receiving those that have done them into Grace again, is a Glory reserved for Princes, and truly-great Souls: If then thou wilt prove thy Sovereignty, shew that thou art King of thy self, and do a truly Royal Act, by forgiving freely, and extending thy Kindness to those that have most justly merited thy Displeasure.

Secondly, Remember that this is of all others the noblest Conquest, to convince the World that thou art impregnable, and above the reach or resentment of Injuries and Affronts. For by this means they all rebound back again upon the Head of the Author, and like Blows upon Anvils, when they make no Impression, only benumn'd and put the Party to Pain, who laid about him with such impotent Malice and Fury. To continue Revenge, is to give our Enemy the satisfaction of knowing that he hath hurt us; and he that complains, declares himself worsted in the Controversie. So say the Moralists; * *He that is impatient for Satisfaction, acknowledges himself in Pain; that Soul cannot be truly great, which bends beneath an Injury: A generous Spirit, and one that truly values himself, never revenges a Wrong, because he is too big to feel the Smart of it.*

You will reply, perhaps, that it is very hard though to suffer Injuries and Offences, grievous in it self, and scandalous to the World; I know it very well, and therefore my Advice is, that you would not suffer them, but vanquish and get so absolute a Mastery over them, that nothing of this

* *Ultio doloris confessio est; non est magnus animus, quem incurvat Injuria. Ingens animus & verus aestimator sui non vindicat injuriam, quia non sentit.*

kind should reach up to you. And this to be done in a fair and honourable way, by disdaining the Thing and the Person that is guilty of it; or, if you please, advancing the Conquest higher still, and reclaiming him. *Cesar* was remarkable for both these good Qualities: No Victory is so desirable, none so triumphant, as that which makes your Enemy buckle under you by Kindness undeserved: That which lays him with his Mouth in the Dust, and strikes him dumb at his own Baseness, and so shames his Spight into Friendship; For what can melt him, if this will not? What can deserve Laurels so justly, as the being thus Invincible, and not suffering any Aggravations an Injury is capable of, to stop our Hands, or get the better of Virtue and Reason? This indeed is a Resolution we should settle to our selves, as considering, that the more grievous the Crime, and the bitterer and more implacable the Spight, the more fit it is for us to pardon it; and the better we could justifie taking a severe Revenge, the more it makes for our Honour and Commendation to take none at all.

4.

Remember how great a Contradiction it is to all Equity and Reason, that the same Person should be Judge and Party both in the same Cause; and yet this is an Absurdity which every one that undertakes to revenge his own Quarrels unavoidably runs upon. This ought therefore constantly to be left to the Arbitration of a third Person, or at least a Man should never take it into his own hands, without advising with his Friends; following such Measures, as they, who are calm and indifferent Judges, think proper; and not leaning to the rash, and hot Determinations of our own disordered Minds. The old Poetical Fables have given us a beautiful Representation of this Matter, in their Accounts of the Hea-then Deities, and the Limitations of their respective Provinces and Powers. *Jupiter*, they tell you, hath a Right to cast such Thunderbolts, as are favourable to Mankind, and portend good Events by virtue of his own Despotick Authority: But when any Thunder is to be discharged upon wicked Men, and those Bolts are let fly which carry Devastation and Ruin, and any sort of mischievous Effects; this he hath no Right to do of his own Head, nor without the Advice and Assistance of twelve Gods met in Counsel. This was a very significant Thought, and shewed the Importance of the Occasion; That even the Supreme of all the Heavenly Powers, who had unlimited Commission to do Good to all the World of his own Head, should yet have it restrained, and

and his Hands tied up from hurting; so much as one single Person, till the Matter and Merits of the Cause had been solemnly debated. But the Reason couched at the bottom, deserves our Attention: Kindness and Beneficence there can be no Danger in, no Mistakes, no Excesses of this kind are pernicious; But when Revenge and Punishment come under Deliberation, this is so nice a Point, that even the Wisdom of *Jupiter* himself was not secure from all possibility of Error; and therefore an assembly of disinterested Persons was requisite to direct and moderate his Anger.

And this Moderation and Temper is what every Man should make it his Business to acquire, and be well fixed in; which, with respect to the Case now before us, is but another name for Clemency. For by that, I mean such a mildness and sweetness of Spirit; such an inclination to forgive and be kind, as curbs and holds in the violent Careers of Passion, and makes us move coolly and regularly. This will arm us with Patience, will convince us that we cannot be injured in reality, except from our own selves; and that for the Wrongs others maliciously intend us, so much and no more will stick, as we fasten and bind upon our selves by resenting the Provocation. This will secure us the Good-will and Affections of all Mankind; and will season all our Behaviour with that Modesty and Decency, that cannot fail to render our Conversation innocent, courteous and agreeable, and universally desired.

C H A P. XXXV.

Remedies against Jealousie.

THe only Method of any Efficacy for avoiding this Passion, is to take care to deserve the Advantage we desire. For Jealousie is little else at the bottom, but the distrust and misgiving of ones own Mind; and an Argument, that we are conscious of our own want of Merit. When the Emperour *Aurelius* was asked by his Wife *Faustina*, what he would do if his Enemy *Cassius* should win the Field; his Answer was, *I do not serve the Gods so ill, that they should have such an Affliction in reserve for me.* So they that partake of another's Affection, and are tempted to any suspicion of losing it, will do well to silence such uneasy Suggestions, by telling themselves, The regard I have for him is so sincere, that I dare be confident he will not rob me of a Treasure I value

so highly. An Assurance of our own Faithfulness, and deserving better Usage, is the best Pledge of our friendly Kindness and Fidelity to us in return.

2. He that pursues a Prize virtuously, will be content that others should seek it in the same way: For this does but serve to awaken, and illustrate, and exalt his Worth. Weakness only creates fear of Rivals, because this suspects, that when we come to have our Merits laid in the Balance with those of other Competitors, our Imperfections will be more distinctly seen, and we shall suffer by the Comparison. Whereas otherwise, if you take away Emulation, you eclipse the honour of Virtue, and quench the most powerful Incentive to good and gallant Actions.

3. As to that particular kind of Jealousie between Married Persons, the Counsel expedient to be given on the Man's part seems to be this; That if any Reproach happen to them from the disloyalty of their Wives, they should recollect what great and renowned Fellow-sufferers they have had in this Calamity, who yet bore it with exemplary Patience, and made no words of their Misfortune. Such were *Lucullus, Caesar, Pompey, Cato, Augustus, Antony*, and a great many besides. But you will say, the World hath discovered your Shame, and it is grown common Talk. And pray, who is there, that the World does not talk of to their Prejudice, more or less, whether they have any ground for such Discourse or no? How many Persons of Honour and Virtue have you your self heard branded with the infamous Title? If you make a Bustle, and blaze abroad your Disgrace, the Ladies will only have the Advantage of the better Jest. And the commonness of this Affliction, one would think, should long ago have worn out all the Uneasiness of it. But however, put the worst of the Case, that you are in reality the Thing you suspect; yet how is this a just Calamity? It is no Reflection upon your Virtue, or your Wisdom; the World is most unreasonable and absurd in loading the innocent Person with Infamy, and rendering that Ridiculous, which is in no degree a Fault. But if they will proceed by wrong Measures, your own Breast should follow those that are right and equitable. Nay, even in respect of others, there is some Remedy left still: For it is in your own power to render your Virtue so illustrious, that it shall stifle and swallow up this Misfortune, and make your Name never mentioned among Wise and Good Men at least with one whit the less Esteem. They will cover your Infamy by their just
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Commendations, and curse the wicked occasion of it; who is so much the more profligate, and abandoned, despicable and detestable, for using a Good Man ill.

As to the Women, they are not so easily satisfied, because their very Nature seems more disposed to Suspicion and Curiosity. But the best Advice I can give them, is to dissemble any Apprehensions of this kind; which is the true and prudent *Medium* between two very vicious and foolish Extremes. The one, that silly tormenting of themselves, which devours their Spirits, destroys all their Satisfaction, and flies out into transports of Fury and Rage. The other, that tame Negligence practised in the *Indies*, and some other Eastern Countries; where Wives use their utmost Endeavours to advance the Honour of their Husbands (which is there thought to consist in the number of Wives and Mistresses) or their Satisfaction, or the increase of Posterity, by turning Bawds and Procurers. This is a piece of Service, which I think they might very well be excused. But when all is done, the only Cure for this Evil on both sides, is such an affectionate and discreet, such a modest and reserved Carriage, as shall minister no manner of occasion for calling the Fidelity of either Party into question.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Temperance, the fourth Cardinal Virtue.

Of Temperance in General.

Temperance is capable of a double Signification: Sometimes it is taken in a general Sense; for Moderation, and that Temper, which we commonly say should be preserved in all manner of Things whatsoever. In this comprehensive Interpretation, it does not denote any one Virtue in particular, but the Complex of them all in common; and is that Quality, which seasons and gives a Relish to good Actions of every sort. In this Latitude we are under perpetual Obligations to it; but chiefly so, in those Matters that admit of Controversie, and engage us in Differences and Disputes. For the due observance of it thus understood, there needs but this single Direction, of laying aside all Personal and Self-ended Considerations, and make it our entire Business to stick close to our Duty. For all lawful and commendable Affections are temperate; Hatred, and Anger, and Cruelty, are

are Excesses much beyond the Limits of Justice and Duty; and are only second-hand Remedies, necessary to be used upon them, who refuse to be kept to their Duty by the Power of Reason, and the softer Arts of Persuasion.

2. But when this Term is used in a more restrained Signification, then it imports a check and regulation of Things pleasant and delightful to Sense; and such as our natural and carnal Appetites eagerly long after, and are gratified by. At present we extend it a little farther, for the Rule and Measure of a Man's Duty in all kinds of Prosperity, as Fortitude was said to be in every sort of Adversity: So that Temperance supplies the place of a Bridle, and Fortitude that of a Spur; this checks our Career of Gaiety, that quickened our sluggish Fears, and roused us out of Despondency. With these two in Conjunction, we are able to manage that brutal and restiff, and wild part of us, which consists of the Passions; and shall not fail to demean our selves well and wisely in every Condition, and change of Fortune: Which is, in truth, the very sum and substance of Wisdom, and the very Perfection I desire my Reader should aspire to.

3. The general Object then of Temperance, is all manner of Prosperity, every thing that is pleasurable and gay; but especially and more peculiarly Pleasure, which this Virtue regulates and retrenches. All that part, which is superfluous and unnatural, and vicious, it pares quite away; and that which is natural and necessary, it keeps within due Measures. Thus we find it described by an Old Author, ** Pleasures are her Province and proper Dominion; over these she presides, and exercises her coercive Power. Some she detests and utterly discards, others she corrects and distributes in their just Proportions. She never chuses any meerly for their own sakes; and the best measure of gratifying our Appetites she declares to be, the taking not so much of any of these Objects, as we have an inclination to, but so much only as is fit for us.* This is the authority and superintendence of Reason over those eager and violent Affections, which carry our Wills towards Pleasures and sensual Delights. The curb of our Soul, the Instrument to scum off those Ebullitions, which by the Heat and Intemperance of the Blood are apt to boil over; that so the Mind may be preserved uniform, and in consistence with

* Voluptatibus imperat, alias odit & abigit, alias dispensat, & ad sanum modum redigit; nec unquam ad illas propter illas venit; scit optimum esse modum cupitorum, non quantum velis, sed quantum debeas.

Ch. 37. *Of Prosperity, and Advice thereupon.* 337

Reason: And not debase it self by submitting, and accommodating its Measures to sensible Objects, but preserve its rightful Superiority; and force them to serve and sute themselves to the Dictates of the Mind. By this we wean our Souls from the childish Delights of the World, and qualifie them for a more substantial and generous Sustainance. In short, it is a Rule that squares all Things by the Proportions of Nature, Necessity, Simplicity, Ease, Health and Strength, and Hardiness: For these are Things that commonly go together, and they are the Measures and Bounds which Wisdom sets out. As on the other hand, Art and Luxury, Superfluity, Variety, Multiplicity, Difficulty, Sicknes, a weak and tender Constitution, bear one another company, and are the usual Attendants of Intemperance and Folly. * *The Necessaries of Life come cheap and easie, all the Labour and Toil is about the Delights and Entertainments of it. Nature intended we should take up with such Things as she hath made ready at hand; and designed to free us from Trouble; but we have created it to our selves, and made Life one perpetual Difficulty, by nauseating and disdaining every thing that is easie.*

C H A P. XXXVII.

Of Prosperity, and Advice thereupon.

THat Prosperity, which comes to us leisurely and regularly in the usual course of the World, and a common concurrence of visible Causes and Effects, (as particularly by our own Industry or Frugality, Prudence and good Management, or by eminent Accomplishments and Deserts) is abundantly more stable and safe, and less exposed to the Envy of other People, than that which drops, as it were, into a Man's Mouth, and is let down from Heaven upon him, to the surprise of all that know him, and beyond the very utmost of his own most Sanguine Hopes.

Prosperity is a State of infinite Hazard and Danger: As soon as ever this fair Gale begins to blow, all that is light, and empty in the Soul, is immediately carried up with the Breath of it. Nothing hath so pestilent an Influence to stupifie and ruin Men, and make them forget themselves: They perish,

* *Simplici curâ constant necessaria, in deliciis laboratur. Ad parata nati sumus: nos omnia nobis difficilia faciliū fastidiū facimus.*

and are spoiled, like Corn born down by a full Ear, and Branches broke with excessive quantities of Fruit. And therefore it is necessary, a Man should be sensible what slippery Ground he stands upon, and look to his Steps accordingly; but especially he should beware, that he be not carried to Insolence and Contempt of others, Pride and Presumption with regard to himself. These are Vices so incident to Mankind, that the least Temptation will suffice for them. And as some People (according to the Proverb) will be drowned in two foot of Water; so there are some too, who, upon the least Smile of Fortune, swell and look big, scarce know themselves, and are intolerable to all their Acquaintance. Of all the Pictures of Folly, which the World can furnish us with, this seems to be drawn most like the Life.

3. From the unsteadiness of Mind it is, that we are able to give a rational Account, why Prosperity should be so very short and uncertain, as generally we find it. For Persons in this Condition are for the most part ill-advised, and this Inadvertency makes frequent and quick Revolutions; changes the Scene from Joy and Grandeur, to Calamity and Sorrow, and Want; alienates the Affections of Providence; provokes Almighty God to take back again what Men make such ill use of. To all which, we may add the secret and undiscernable Reasons of his Dispensations, or, to express the thing in a more secular Phrase, that Inconstancy of Fortune, which from a fond Mother changes her Humour unaccountably to all the Severities of a cruel and cursed Stepmother.

4. Now the properest Advice upon this occasion, is for a Man to restrain and moderate his Opinions and Affections of the good Things of this World; not to esteem them too highly, nor imagine himself one whit the better or the worse Man for the Enjoyment or the Want of them; and the natural Consequence of this so low Valuation will be, not to desire them with any degree of vehemence. If they fall to his Lot, to accept them as the Gift of a bountiful Master, and to serve him with them thankfully and chearfully; but always to look upon these, as foreign and additional Advantages; no necessary, no inseparable part of Life: Such as he might have been very well without, and such as, while he hath them, are not to be made any great account of, or suffered to change the Temper of his Mind, either higher or lower.

For,

Ch. 38. Of Pleasure, and Directions, &c. 339

For, * *What Fortune hath made yours, is none of yours. He that will live safe and ease, must decline those treacherous Baits, those limed Twigs of Fortune. For what hath she in her Disposal worth engaging our Desires, or fixing our Heart and Hopes upon?*

C H A P. XXXVIII.

Of Pleasure, and Directions concerning it.

BY Pleasure, I understand a Perception or Sensation of that which is agreeable to Nature; a delightful motion or tickling of the Senses; as, on the contrary, by Pain is meant some disagreeable Sensation, which produces Sorrow, and is grievous to Nature. But those Philosophers, (as the Sect of the *Epicureans* in particular) who resolved the chief Happiness of Man into Pleasure, and paid it greater Honour than we think fit to do, took it in another Signification, and extended the Thing no farther than a Privation of Grief or Uneasiness, such as they thought fit to express by Indolence. According to their Notion, humane Nature was capable of rising no higher, than the not being uneasy. This is a sort of middle State, a Neutrality between the first and vulgar acceptation of the Word, and Pain: And bears the same Proportion, with regard to this Life, which some Divines have thought *Abraham's* Bosom does to the next; A Condition between the exquisite Happiness of Heaven, and the extreme Torments of Hell. 'Tis a sweet and peaceable sedateness of Body and Mind; an uniform, constant, and fixed Pleasure; which carries some resemblance to that *Euthymia*, or tranquillity of Soul, which other Philosophers esteemed our chief Good: Whereas the other is an active and sensible Pleasure, full of vigorous and sprightly Motion. At this rate there would be three distinct Conditions, of which Mankind are capable; two in Extremes, Pleasure and Pain, which are neither stable nor durable, but both of them sickly, and in excess; the Mean between them firm and sound, healthful and permanent; to which the *Epicureans* attributed the name of Pleasure, (and such indeed it is, when compared with Pain) and placed the supreme Happiness of our Nature in it. This unhappy Name brought that general

* Non est tutum fortuna, quod fecit tuum. Qui tutam vitam agere volet ista viscata beneficia deviter, nil dignum putare quod speres. Quid dignum habet Fortuna, quod concupiscas?

Scandal upon their Sect, which the opposite Parties of Philosophers insult over with so much Pomp and Triumph. For after all, (as *Seneca* with great Ingenuity confesses) there was no Hurt but in the Name; no Offence, but what was meerly Titular; for to those who will be at the Pains of a nice Examination into their Lives and Manners, it will appear, that none ever advanced Doctrines of stricter Sobriety, none were greater Enemies to Vice and all manner of Debauchery, none more distant from those Repröaches to a rational Soul, than the Men of this Profession. Nor indeed was it without a fair appearance of Reason, that they gave this name of Pleasure to that so much exalted Indolence of theirs. For this Titillation of the Sense comes at last to this, and seems to make it the ultimate End and Aim of all the more feeling Satisfaction we find in it: As for instance, the Delight we find in Meats and Drinks, pretends to nothing more, than to deliver us from that Torture, and those eager Cravings, which Hunger and Thirst had brought upon us; and, by satisfying the Appetite, to place us in a Condition of Ease and Repose, till the same Wants return again upon us.

2.

The learned World have behaved themselves very differently upon this occasion. They have determined very peremptorily on both Sides, and (as is usual with hot and positive People) have both over-shot the Mark: Some have perfectly adored Pleasure, and exalted it into a Deity; others pretend the greatest Detestation of it, and expose it for a Monster: They start and tremble at the very Name, and cannot allow it to import any thing but what is full of Guilt, and a Scandal to humane Nature. Those who condemn it without more ado, proceed to Sentence upon these following Considerations. They tell you, that it is, First, a short and transitory Enjoyment, a fire of Thorns, kindled and extinct in a moment, especially if it be vigorous and exquisite; for in Proportion as you add to the Degree, so much you take off from the Duration of it. Secondly, That it is a nice and tender Thing, the least Accident corrupts and embitters it; that a Drop of Pain will sower an Ocean of Pleasure. Thirdly, That it is mean and base, attended with Shame, and attained by those Parts of our Body, which Nature hath placed out of sight, as if she were out of Countenance at the gratifying our own Inclinations: This however is true but of some Pleasures; for there are some, which affect Pomp and Ostentation. Fourthly, That we are quickly cloyed with it. Men are formed in such a manner, that
their

their Constitutions will not bear the long continuance of any exalted Pleasure. There is a certain Impatience attends it, and we soon grow weary of what we most eagerly desired but just before. Whereas, on the contrary, Nature hath made us hard and tough, and able to weather out very long Pains, as hath been observed formerly : This short Pleasure too, is often followed by long Remorse ; it produces monstrous Mischiefs, and is more fruitful in nothing, than in the Ruin of single Persons, and Families, and whole Countries. But the Fault they insist most upon, is, That, when Men are most intent upon gratifying it, it does so entirely possess and tyrannize over them, that it usurps the whole Man, and will not so much as admit Reason to interpose, or share in the Entertainment.

On the other hand, the Advocates of Pleasure plead Not Guilty to this Indictment, and alledge in Defence of their Cause, That Pleasure is natural, created by Almighty God himself, and contrived for the Good of the World, made subservient to the preservation and continuance of his Creatures ; Nature, which is the Parent of Pleasure, seems convinced of its Necessity, in that all the Actions, by which Life is sustained, are seasoned with, and recommended by it. And yet all Philosophy hath allowed, that the way to live well, is to follow the Dictates of Nature. God placed Man, during the State of Innocence, in a Place and Condition richly furnished with vast variety of Delights : And the very Name given by *Moses* to Paradise, is in the Hebrew Language, *Eden. Pleasure* : And not only so but if we raise our Eyes and Thoughts above this World to the highest perfection, which Religion bids us aspire after. What are the Felicities of the Saints above, but a lasting and uninterrupted Series of Pleasure ? *They shall be filled with the Pleasures of thy House, and thou shalt give them Drink out of thy Pleasures, as out of the River,* says the Psalmist, when he would describe the Satisfactions of the Holiest Men. These, I confess, do not mean those gross and carnal Satisfactions which this Term is abusively made to denote ; but it ought not by any means to be confined within that Compass, as if nothing that is truly Generous and Great could be intended by it. These Things ought to be included, when we speak in vindication of Pleasure ; and the other have no reason to be disdained, when regulated by Equity and Reason. And accordingly we find, that the most renowned Philosophers, and acknowledged Patterns of Virtue, such as *Zeno, Caro, Scipio, Epaminondas,*
Y y 3
Plato,

Plato, and the Immortal *Socrates* himself, did not think it below them to taste the Comforts and Diversions of Life; nay, descended so far, as even to discourse and write Tracts of those, which some now, by an affected nicety, pretend to accuse, (as you have heard) and would in their mighty, but mistaken, zeal for Virtue, fain banish out of the World, under the odious Character of Pleasures of Sense.

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Since therefore Wise Men have been so much divided in their Opinions upon this Subject, it will be necessary for us to proceed cautiously, and to distinguish these Pleasures into their several Sorts; without which, we shall never be able to come to any just and true Resolution of the Case arising hereupon; nor satisfy our selves which are lawful Pleasures, or how far any are so. First then, we must take notice that some Pleasures are natural, and others unnatural; this Distinction being of all the rest most important to our present Purpose, will be considered more particularly by and by. Some again are pompous and showy, nice and difficult; others are silent and secret, easie and ready at hand. Pleasure is not ambitious of Splendor and Observation, but esteems her own solitary Enjoyments, Wealth enough, without concerning her self what other People think of her; and enjoys her self more in Retirement, than in the Eye of the World. Those again, that are so very easie as to be always at our command, grow flat and nauseous, and lose all their Relish, except there be now and then a little Uneasiness or Obstruction to set an Edge upon our Appetite. There are likewise spiritual and corporeal Pleasures: The ground of which Distinction is not any real Separation capable of being made between them; for Pleasure of every kind affects the whole Man, and extends to every Part of the Composition; and one Part hath not any one Resentment peculiar to it self, which the other does not likewise share in; nor can have, while this intimate Union of Soul and Body continues the present Life to us. But that which is the true foundation of this Distinction, is, that there are some Sentiments which affect the Mind more than they do the Body, and may therefore very fitly be called Manly Pleasures; as being more proper to us, better suited to our Faculties and Powers of Perception, than they are to those of Beasts; and as they are more worthy in respect of the Faculties they are commensurate to, so are they likewise more steady and durable. Such, for instance, are those Satisfaction, which enter at our Eyes, and Ears; for these

two Senses are the Doors of the Soul, and the Objects they receive, only pass through there in their way to the Soul; which entertains, feeds upon, and digests them, and find long Refreshments and Delights from them. But the Bodys taste but a very little part of these Satisfactions: Others again, the Body ingrosses almost wholly to it self; such as those of the Touch, and the Taste, which are more material, and of a courser Composition; such as Brutes keep us Company in. And such Pleasures are received, performed, and finished, by the Body and its Organs. The Mind hath no other Advantage in them than by Reflection only, and what must needs belong to it, while it continues an Assistant and Companion to the Body. And these are short and transient, the crackling of Thorns, the flash of a Meteor; born and bred up, and dead in a moment.

Now the main Thing we are concerned to know upon this occasion, is, how it will become us to behave our selves in the fruition and government of our Pleasures. This is the Lesson that Philosophy pretends to teach, and the particular Difficulty Temperance makes Provision against. And here, first, we ought to put a very great difference between natural and unnatural Pleasures: By the unnatural, I do not understand those only which are contrary to Nature, and such Usages as the Laws have established and approved; but even those which are the most natural of all others, are comprehended under this Title, in case they degenerate, and run out into Superfluity and great Excesses. For these Things are not within the Verge of Nature, for She concerns her self no farther, than merely to supply our Necessities and real Wants, which (however) we have leave to enlarge a little, and, that we may not complain of scanty Measure, are free to consult Convenience and common Decency. For Example, it is a natural Pleasure to be shelter'd by a good tight House, and to have our Nakedness covered with good warm Cloth; for these secure our Persons from Wind and Weather, and bitter pinching Blasts; and are some Defence against the Attempts of wicked Villains. But now, that those Clothes should be of Tissue or Embroidery, or that House built of Jasper and Porphyry; this there is no occasion for, and the Satisfaction which would result from their being such, is not any natural Pleasure. Again, they may be unnatural, if they do not come to us in the way and method of Nature; as if they are sought with Anxiety and Industry, procured by Artifice, prepared by Medicines, or any

other Stratagems of humane Device and Invention, to create, to heighten, to force, either the Appetite, or the Pleasure, by which it is gratified. So they are likewise, when formed and beaten out originally in the Mind, by the strength of Imagination, or the violence of Passion, and so are afterwards communicated to the Body; which is just inverting the order of Nature: For the usual Course is, that Pleasure should begin in the Body, and from thence pass on to the Mind. And indeed, as that Laughter which is forced by Tickling is not natural nor pleasant, but rather a convulsion and violence upon Nature; so that Pleasure, which is courted and industriously contrived, kindled up first in the Soul, and from thence descending to the Body, is not a regular and natural Pleasure.

6. Now the first Rule which Wisdom would prescribe with regard to Pleasures, is, to condemn and utterly abandon all the Unnatural, as Vicious and Spurious; and to allow and entertain such as are Natural. For, as those who come to a Feast without any Invitation, should be turned home again; so those Pleasures that obtrude themselves upon us, without even being bidden by Nature, are to be looked upon as Busie-bodies and Smell-feasts, and either denied Entrance, or thrust out of Doors again. But neither may we think ourselves at liberty to entertain the true Guests as we please, for even these must be treated by Rule, and with Moderation. And thus you have the Duty and Business of Temperance in general laid before you at once; the whole of which may be reduced to these two good Offices, excluding all unnatural Pleasures, and regulating those that are natural.

7. Now the Regulation of natural Pleasures will depend upon the due Observance of these three Rules.

First, That whatever we indulge ourselves in, be no way Offensive or Scandalous, Injurious or Prejudicial to any other Person. For where any of these is the plain and natural Consequence of the thing, we must forbid ourselves the Fruition of it, and seek out some more innocent and unexceptionable Entertainments.

Secondly, That this Liberty be not to a Man's own Prejudice, by impairing his Health, casting a Blemish upon his Reputation, devouring his Time, encroaching upon his Duty, or being disagreeable and unbecoming his Office and Character in the World.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, That even those, which are clear of all the former Inconveniencies, be taken in due measure and proportion; and our Affections moderated with regard to them. As we are not to act against the Grain in all we do, so neither must we lay any of those Things which are most with it too close to our Hearts; we should neither court our Pleasures, nor run away from them; neither be averse to them, nor doatingly fond of them: But take their Sweets, as we do that of Honey; a drop or two upon the tip of our Finger, not lay it in by whole Handfuls; not engage too deep in them, I mean, nor make them our Business, and the main design of Life, much less intoxicate and lose our selves in them. For these are additional Comforts, Recreations and Diversions, only to render our Continuance here easie, and give us a better Relish of Life; to refresh and recruit our Spirits, and sustain them under the Fatigues of a troublesome World: As Sleep is intended to make us forget our Cares a while, and inspire us with new Vigour, that we may return to our Work again, and be more sprightly and fresh in Business. In a word, they are made to use, and not to live upon. But especially, we ought to very vigilant, and guard our selves strictly, against their deceitful Insinuations: For many of them are bought at too dear a Rate, and do us more Hurt than all their Satisfactions can ever compensate. They leave a Sting behind, and create lasting Remorse, and great Disquiets of Heart: And this is done after a very subtle and treacherous manner. They put themselves forward, and amuse and cheat us by some present Gratifications, but hide the Hook that lies under this Bait. They put on the Face of Friends to cover their murderous Intentions; caress and embrace us with a seeming tender Affection, but hug us so close with a Design to strangle us. Thus the Pleasures of Intemperance go before the Pains and sick Qualms of it; and thus do the generality of those Delights, which heat of Youth is so prone to, and plunges it self so unwarily in. Then we venture in over Head and Ears, but when we are drowned in them, the Infirmities of Old Age succeed; and then they forsake us quite, and leave a miserable Spectacle behind them, as the Tide of Ebb does its Nuisances and Carcasses upon the Shore. The delicious Morfels, which were swallowed so greedily, turn to Gall and Choler upon our oppressed Stomachs, and end in Repentance, and bitter Reflections. And the Dregs of our foul and polluted Enjoyments stick fast to our Souls, and, by
their

their poisonous corroding Quality, infect and corrupt our Dispositions, and settle into ill Habits, and inveterate Dis-eases.

8. Now, as Moderation and Regularity in our Pleasures is a most decent and beautiful, a most useful and profitable Thing, agreeable to the Laws of God, the Design of Nature, and the Dictates of Reason: So, on the contrary, Extravagance and Excesses of all sorts are odious and deformed, hateful to God and Man, and the most Destructive that can be, both to the publick Good, and Men's own private Interest. Pleasure unduly taken, softens and enervates the Soul, enervates and preys upon the Body, makes Fools of the Wise, and Cowards of the Brave. What a lamentable Instance of this was *Hannibal*, whose Courage was more broken by the Luxuries of *Capua*, than by the rugged Passes of the *Alpes*, or all the Efforts of the *Roman* Armies? This gave occasion for the *Lacedamonians*, who denounced open War against all manner of Effeminacy, to be called *Men*; and the *Athenians*, who were soft and delicate in their way of Living, to be reproached with the Nick-name of *Women*. When *Xerxes* undertook to punish the City of *Babylon* for a Revolt they had made, and to secure himself against any Danger that might come from that Quarter for the future: The Method he took, was to bring all the Exercise of Arms, and other laborious and fatiguing Practices, into Disuse; and to let loose all manner of Pleasures and sensual Delights among them, with free Liberty for every Man to revel in these without Check or Controul.

Secondly, It banishes all the bravest and most Heroick Virtues from the Mind, where it hath taken Possession; for these are serious and severe, considerate and hardy, and cannot be endured by a Master of so contrary a Temper; nor indeed were it possible for them to live under so effeminate and dissolute, so careless and unthinking a Government.

Thirdly, It quickly degenerates, and sinks into its contrary Sentiment, which is Pain and Uneasiness, Dislike and Remorse: As the Freshes run apace to the Sea, and lose the Sweetness of their native Rivers in Tides of Salt Water. Thus the Honey of Pleasure in the Mouth upbraids the Eater, and turns to the Gall of Pain upon the Stomach.

* *All exquisite Pleasure stands upon a ticklish Point, and all its generous Taste is upon the Turn; sows, and changes, and*

* In præcipiti est, ad dolorem vergit, in contrarium abit, nisi modum teneat: Extrema gaudii luctus occupat.

is swallowed up in Pain; the very moment it rises to excessive Joy, Grief dwells upon the Confines, and one step beyond its own Bounds brings you into this troublesome Neighbour's Ground.

Lastly, It is the Seminary of all manner of Mischief, and final Ruin. This is the Lure to draw us in, and when we are once in, we stick at nothing: This is the Conveyer of secret Intelligences, the Betrayer of Councils and Trusts, the Contriver of Treasons and underhand Designs against the Peace and Safety of Mankind. In short, the love of Pleasure ruins private Persons by Prodigality and Injustice; dishonours and stains whole Families by Debauchery and shameless Lewdness; propagates Diseases, and entails Beggary upon Children yet unborn; corrupts publick Justice; murders Kings, overturns Governments, and scatters Confusion and Misery over the Face of the whole Earth. Thus much may be most justly said of Pleasure in general, which being now sufficiently enlarged upon, we will proceed to consider the several Kinds of it in particular.

C H A P. XXXIX.

Of Eating and Drinking, Abstinence and Sobriety.

THE true design of Meat and Drink is Nourishment: To sustain the Infirmities, and repair the continual Decays of the Body; and a moderate, natural, and agreeable Use of them satisfies and maintains it, makes it a serviceable Instrument for the Mind; whereas, on the contrary, all unnatural Excesses weaken and overwhelm it, draw on grievous and noisome Diseases, which are the just and natural Punishments of Intemperance. * *Health is a plain and simple thing, and requires a Cause of the same kind to produce it: Distempers are many and various, and nothing contributes more to them, than variety of Dishes, and high Feeding.* When Men complain of their Head for so many troublesome Defluxions, and those Humours which fall upon the Vitals, and lays the Foundations of the most dangerous Diseases, they should do well to remember, how justly the Brain might return upon them that old saying, † *Do you give over pouring in, and I will give over pouring out.* While we are perpetually filling the Vessel, how is it possible it should not overflow? But, alas! these

* Simplex ex simplici causa valetudo; multos morbos, supplicia Luxuriæ, multa fercula fecerunt.

† Desine fundere, & ego desinam fluere.

Considerations are now grown quite out of fashion. Excess and Pomp, Variety, and nice Cookery, are come into Reputation. We have learnt to esteem our Meals, and to measure our Welcome, by the number of Dishes, the different sorts of Meats, the height of the Sawces, and the superfluity of the Entertainment. Nay, so prodigious in our Vanity, that after we have set more before our Friends than can be wholesome for them to taste of, or fit for us to spend, we make solemn Excuses for our want of Provision, and are sorry we have nothing better to receive them with.

2. How exceeding prejudicial, both to a Man's Body and his Mind, full Meals, and the jumbling several sorts of Meat together, Curiosities and *Qualques Choses*, and high Dressing are, every one might easily be convinced by his own Experience. Gluttony and Drunkenness are gross and paltry Vices; they discover themselves, and sufficiently publish their own Shame in the Countenances and Gestures of the Persons addicted to them. The best and least forbidding whereof, is a dozed and heavy look; and indeed, the best Quality such Men can have, is to be stupid and dull too. For certain it is, no Man yet, who is a slave to his Belly, was ever capable of doing any glorious or considerable Action; and, generally speaking, we find them trifling and insignificant Fellows, if not down-right Beasts and Sots. But Drunkenness especially hath these cursed Effects, and pushes Men upon the basest, the most extravagant, and unaccountable Actions in the World. Of which, *Alexander* is a miserable Instance, though otherwise a wonderful Prince; who, in heat of Wine, killed his old dear Friend *Clytus*, and when he came to be sober, had like to have killed himself in Revenge. In short, what can be said bad enough of a Vice that robs the Mind of Understanding, and the Body of Sense; makes grown People Children again, and Men of Wit mere Naturals, and drizzling Fools?

3. Sobriety therefore, which preserves us from these nauseous and detestable Excesses, deserves our good Esteem for its Effects at least. For although it be none of the most exalted Virtues, nor exceeding difficult to be mastered by Men of any tolerable Sense; yet it leads the way to several other Virtues, and promotes many excellent Qualities. It chokes and crops our Vices in the very Bud, and intercepts the Provisions, by which they should subsist. It is the Mother of Health, and the best Physick for all manner of Diseases; and the most probable Insurer of long Life. *Socrates* owed the

vigorous

vigorous and confirmed Health he enjoyed purely to Abstemiousness. *Masinissa*, who was a Pattern of it to all Kings of after Ages, begat Children at Fourscore and six years Old, and won a Battel of the *Carthaginians* at Ninety two. Whereas *Alexander*, who had naturally one of the best and strongest Constitutions of any Man that ever lived, killed himself with Drinking in the very Flower of his Age. Several Persons (as *Atticus* particularly) who have been given over by Physicians of the Gout, and other Distempers looked upon to be incurable, have been perfectly recovered by Abstinence, and a sparing regular Diet. And what can we desire more for the Body, than a long and a healthful Life? What can recommend any Virtue to Men fond of the World, if this will not? But then it is of equal Advantage to the Soul too. For by this means our Heads are kept clear and unclouded, our Faculties awake and sprightly, we are capable of Thinking, and fit to be Advised. All the very great Men in Story have been particularly Eminent for their Sobriety; not only Philosophers, and such as made Pretensions to a strict and severer Virtue, but all that have been Excellent, and whose Names live upon Record, for any sort of Greatness whatsoever. Such were *Cyrus* and *Cesar*, the Emperor *Julian*, and *Mahomet*. Such was *Epicurus* too, who, though a profess'd Admirer of Pleasure, and run down as a Scandal to Philosophy for espousing it, was yet famous for these abstemious Virtues above any of his Accusers. The *Curii* and *Fabricii* are more celebrated in the *Roman* History for their frugality and simplicity of Diet, than for the greatest and most glorious Conquests they ever won. And though the *Lacedemonians* wanted neither Courage nor Success, nor a Reputation equal to both, yet the Character they valued themselves upon, and pretended most to, was that of strict Discipline, Frugality and Sobriety.

Now this is a Virtue which must be fallen in love with betimes; Youth is the proper Time for embracing it, while it can be called a Virtue, while we have more Opportunities of gratifying our Appetite; and while that Appetite is keener too. For how wretched is it, how ridiculous, to take Sanctuary here in our old Age, when we have made our selves living Hospitals, and are all over Aches and Pains? This is a Folly, like that observed in the *Athenians*; who are said never to have asked a Peace, but in Mourning Weeds, for their Friends and Relations slain in Battel, when all their Men of Note were lost, and they no longer in a condition

condition to defend themselves. This is what our *English* Proverb calls, † *Shutting the Stable-door when the Steed is stolen*; and turning good *Husbands*, when we have brought our *Noble* to *Ninepence*.

5. It will be very adviseable, not to use our selves to delicious and artificial Meats, for fear our Body should by degrees come to relish no other, and suffer for want of them. For, in truth, these make our Appetites humourfome, and give us both a false Hunger, and a deceitful Nourishment. These may feed our Deseases and ill Humours; but the plainer and courser our Diet, the truer Strength and more kindly Nourishment it imparts. These therefore we shall do well to accustom our Palates to, if we would secure our Ease and Health: For they are easie, and every where to be had; and so our Desires are not like to be disappointed when we want; and they are also lightest of Digestion, and most agreeable to Nature when we have them.

C H A P. XL.

Of Luxury, and Excess in Apparel; and their contrary Virtues, Frugality and Modesty.

1. **C**Loathing was observed in the beginning of this Treatise, to have been none of those Things which are Natural and Necessary, nor to have been originally in use with Mankind; But it is meerly Artificial, invented for our Convenience, and in request with no other Creature in the World. Now it is usual with all Inventions, to increase and multiply; every Day refines and improve them still more, till at last there is no need of their Variety. Multiplicity is the certain Character of Art, as Simplicity is of Nature. The consequence then of Apparel being Artificial, is, that it runs into infinite fantastical Forms, and differs in proportion to People's Fancies and Humours. Accordingly we find, that the greater part of Tradesmen and Handicraftsmen deal in such Commodities and Manufactures, as are converted to the Defence and Ornament of the Body. But it were well if this only were regarded; for from hence they are come to such Extravagancies and Abuses, that our Garments are no longer a Covering to our Defects, and a Supply to our Necessities, but a Nest of Vanity and Vice*. These are the

† *Sera in fundo parsimonia.*

* *Nidus Luxuriæ,*

great occasion of Quarrels and Disputes; for the Distinction of Property seems to have begun in this Point: When Things were most in common, every Man had a peculiar Title to the Clothes he wore, which is intimated by the *French* Language in particular, expressing all manner of Rapine, by *Stripping*, *Dérober*; and the *English* Word *Robbing*, is very probably an Allusion to the same Thing.

This Vice hath always been most remarkable in the Female Sex, and if it be not entirely theirs, the Scandal is the greater to those Men who descend so low: For there is not in the whole World a surer Sign of a poor and little Soul, than this striving to Recommend ones self, and gain Respect by such despicable Means, as Dress and rich Clothes: None will insist, none depend upon these Ornaments, but they who have no other. How wretched a Thing is it, to consider the Care and Cost laid out upon Luxury and Shew, and the general Neglect of those shining Habits of the Mind; that Virtue, that Bravery, which should enable us to make a beautiful Appearance, and set us off in real and solid Excellencies? The *Lacedæmonians* prohibited any but common Women to wear gay and sumptuous Clothes; this was look'd upon as the Mark to distinguish such infamous People by; but the Ladies of Reputation desired to be known by their severe Honour and shining Virtues.

Now the true and lawful Use of Apparel, is to keep out Wind and Weather, and all other Severities and Inconveniences, which our Bodies would suffer by being exposed to the open Air: And it is a great Fault, to divert the thing from this to other vain and sinful Purposes. In order to the answering their proper End, it is plain, Clothes need not, they ought not, to be expensive; for the richer they are, the less are they qualified to defend and secure our Ease: But then some Regard must be had to Decency too, and distinction of Qualities; all which may be done with Gravity and Frugality, observing the just Medium * between affected Slovenliness and effeminate Nicety. *Caligula* made himself ridiculous by the Softness and Fantasticalness of his Habit; and *Augustus* was as much admired and commended for the Modesty and Gravity of his.

*Nec affectatæ sordes, nec exquisitæ munditiæ.

C H A P. XLI.

Of Temperance, with respect to Carnal Pleasure ; which is Chastity, or Continency.

1. **C**ontinency is a Virtue of very difficult Practice, and requires an exceeding strong and vigilant Guard over our selves: For all our Perfections of this kind are so many Violences upon Nature and Inclination, which are not in any case to be withstood without much Toil and Painfulness, and very obstinate Resolutions, but in this before us especially; because here the Propensions to Vice seem to be strongest, and the Sollicitations to it more frequent and importunate than in any other Instance whatsoever.

2. But still the greater the Difficulty of this Conquest is, the greater is its Commendation, and the more just and glorious its Triumph. And very necessary it is, that every Man should rally his Forces, and engage manfully in this War with himself. Continence is allowed no positive Virtue, and imports no more than a Man's governing and restraining himself, so far as not to act contrary to his Duty. It produces no Fruit, but consists in Privation, and a forbearing to Act; and therefore Virginitie must always imply Barrenness. This is the case of Continency considered abstractedly and in its own Nature, which at this rate is of no higher a Class in the Scale of Virtues, than the abstaining from Gluttony and Drunkenness, or any other sort of Vicious Excess. But if we consider it in a Christian and more exalted Sense, then it imports a great deal more: For thus there are two concurring Qualifications, which make it a very noble Virtue; the one is, a settled Purpose to continue in it pure and unblemished, with a chaste Mind and mortified Affections, no less than a Body holy and undefiled; the other, that this be done for Religious and Excellent Ends, to gain greater Advantages of becoming Singular and Exemplary in Piety, and all manner of Goodness. For, (as St. *Augustin* says) *It is not the single State that we commend in Virgins, but their Abandoning the World, and Consecrating their Souls and Bodies entirely to God*: Witness the Vestals of Old, and the Five Foolish Virgins in the Parable, whose Celibacy stood them in no stead at all. And here I observe by the way, how absurd a Vanity and popular an Error that is, which in common Speech calls the Ladies who have no Blemish upon their Reputation, and who either are Chast in the Single Life,

or Faithful in the married one, Women of great Virtues and great Honour. Honour! For what? Is Honour sunk so low, that the meer not doing Evil, and not violating one's Duty in the most scandalous Instance, must pretend to that Name? Why do we not, by the same Reason, stile those Men of Honour who are under the same Circumstances? Nay, there would indeed be more Reason for this than the other, because the manner of the World puts more Opportunities of offending in these Respects, and exposes Men to stronger Temptations than Women are liable to. But in truth, Honour is so far from being a Recompence due to the abstaining from Evil, that it is not every sort of Good, which, when punctually performed, can lay claim to it; but (as was said before) those kinds and degrees of Good only which bring Advantage to the World, and which, besides their being beneficial, have cost great Toil and Trouble, and been atchieved with considerable Difficulty and Danger.

But besides; how few of these Continent Persons arrive even at a common and very practicable Virtue? How many of them do we find scandalously tainted with other Vices, and making up for this Self-denial by Indulgences to some more darling Humour or Passion? Particularly, how exceeding few are there who escape the Temptations to Vanity and Presumption, and Spiritual Pride, and while they take marvellous Content in their own Perfections, are very liberal in their Censures and Condemnations of other People? Does not Experience frequently convince us, how very dear some Husbands pay for the Fidelity of their Wives; who, while they dispossess the Devil in one part of their Souls, and preserve their Honour entire, do yet erect a Throne for him, and let him reign Triumphant in another? If then this Virtue beget Insolence and Malice, Censoriousness and Imperious Pride, it is like to turn at last but to very poor account. And thus clogged, will very ill deserve the name of Virtue, whatever it might be allowed otherwise: Not that I am over-scrupulous, or would stand with the Sex for a Compliment; and therefore, provided the flattering them with this Title of Honour will contribute any thing to the making them more tender of it, and encourage the Modesty and Decency becoming their Sex and Condition, I shall be content to promote the Discharge of their Duty at any rate, tho' it be by straining a Point to gratifie an useful Vanity. But to return; It is likewise observable, that Incontinency when simply and strictly consider'd, like other Faults

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which are what we call Corporeal, and tending to gratifie the Carnal Inclinations of Humane Nature, hath no mighty Malignity in its own single self (it being only an Excess of what is natural, and not contrary to Humane Nature); but then there is a train of Vices so black and hideous attending it, and some or more of them so inseparable from it, that the Danger of being intangled in those Snares is infinite, and the Consequence very fatal: For this is one of those Sins that never go alone, but is accompanied with other Devils more and more wicked than it self; tainted with base and villanous Circumstances of Persons and Places, and Times prohibited and unpardonable; Intrigues carried on, and beastly Satisfaction contrived by the wickedest Methods; Lies and Tricks, and all manner of Deceit; Subornation and Forswearing, and Treachery; to all which, we may add that which is by no means inconsiderable, the loss of Time, the distraction of Thought, the interruption of Business, and other unbecoming Follies, which draw very great and just Scandals, and insupportable Mischiefs after them.

3. Now because this Vice hath every Quality that can render an Enemy formidable, since it is both violent and deceitful, and attacks us at once with open Force and secret Stratagems, our Care must likewise be double; First, to arm and prepare our selves for the Combat, and then to watch diligently the Approaches, observe its Feints, and be well aware of those Baits and wheedling Insinuations which are laid on purpose to decoy us into Ambushments and Ruine: And the more these Inclinations sooth and cajole us, the more suspicious we must be, and turn the deaf Ear to their flattering Importunities. Among other Considerations therefore fit to be opposed to such Temptations, these that follow may not be improper to reflect upon: That another Person's Beauty is nothing at all to us, what we can never call or make our own: That it is no certain Happiness even to them who have it, but turns as often to their Prejudice, and is at least equally disposed to do so as to their Advantage: That, in short, it is a Flower always withering, and in decay; a very small and fanciful Thing, little else but the outward Skin, nay less than that, the Colour and Complexion of it only: And therefore, if in this we would admire the delicacy and skill of Nature, let us prize it here, as we are wont to do those much more astonishing Beauties of the Sun and Moon, for their Excellencies and the good Influences they shed. When we enjoy this Beauty, and have made it our own Property by
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fair and honest Means, let us even then remember, that this is a very low and mean Satisfaction, so far from being peculiar to the Dignity of Humane Nature, that Brutes all partake, and are most of them supposed to exceed us in it; That the immoderate use of Pleasure wastes the Body, softens and effeminates the Soul, enfeebles and darkens the Understanding; That a world of People have fallen miserable Sacrifices to their inordinate Lusts, some in the loss of their Lives, others of their Fortunes, and others of their Senses, but the Reputations murdered by it are innumerable. Consider again, that there is more Honour, nay, I will add more Pleasure too, in vanquishing these Desires, than in complying with them. And all the transports of Fruition are flat and dull, nauseous and insipid, in comparison of those ravishing Satisfactions which overflow in our Souls, when we have gained a virtuous and noble Conquest over our selves. And this is the general Sense of Sober Mankind; for there is no one Action in the Life of *Alexander* or *Scipio*, in which their Historians so justly glory, as that of the Treatment they gave to their beautiful Captives, and the Tenderness for their Honour, which the Fortune of War was generally thought a Privilege to violate. This Continency and Conquest of themselves is more highly commended than all their Successes, and hath more engaging Charms than the fairest of their Prisoners could ever boast of. These, I say, are Considerations pertinent and proper enough, but it cannot be expected they should have a constant Efficacy: For this Vice abounds with Sophistry and Cunning, and as it will not be reasoned with sometimes, so at other times it will not be safe to go about it; and therefore in cases of violent Assaults, the best course will be, to betake our selves to our Heels, and get loose from the Temptation. And it is very observable, that the Holy Ghost which bids us in all ordinary cases *Resist the Devil*, with a promise *that he shall flee from us*; yet when he mentions *Youthful Lusts*, the Advice is, *4. 7. that we would flee from them*. Debates as well as Delays are *2 Tim.* dangerous here, tho' Cause must be referred to a Judge *11. 22.* under shrewd Suspicions of Corruption; and therefore the safest Issue we can make, is to throw it out, and never give it the Hearing. Business, Recreation, Company, any thing to divert this Stream of our Thoughts and Affections into another Chancel: There can be no difficulty in the Choice; for in such Cases, the worst Company a Man can possibly be in, is to have none but his own.

Prov. 5.
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Now we are to observe, that both the Virtue of Continency, and its contrary Vice, is of several Kinds and different Degrees: The chief, and that which I shall speak to at present, is the Conjugal sort, that mutual and inviolable Fidelity between Man and Wife, which, as it was the first and highest Obligation, so is it the most Sacred, the most Important, and that which both Publick Society and Private Persons are deeply and inevitably interested in: And therefore this ought to be held in the most Profound Veneration and Esteem; and not suffered to become the Jest and common Scorn of profligate Lewdness; the Diversion of a Theatre; or the boasted Triumph of a Man of the Town. The Parties concerned in these Holy Engagements must have no Affections, nor cherish any Desires, beyond the Chast Embraces of each other; but utterly abandon the very Wishes of stolen and unlawful Delights, and be content to *Drink the Waters of their own Cistern*; and the *running Waters of their own Well*; that is, pure and innocent, unpolluted and untroubled Delights of a faithful and lawful Marriage; as the Wise Man expresses it, according to the usual Significancy and extraordinary Decency of the Scripture Stile. They that allow themselves in other Liberties, fall into the blackest and most complicated Guilt imaginable; they violate and sin against their own Bodies, by making them Vessels and Instruments of Uncleanliness and Dishonour; they transgress against all manner of Laws which any Man can be bound by. The Laws of Revealed Religion which forbid us to prostitute our selves to Filthiness and Shame, and have commanded the strictest Purity of Conversation; the Law of Nature, which forbids the invading another Man's Property; and the tenderer the Right is to him, the more detestable is the Injustice; the Law of Reason and Equity, which enjoins Fidelity to Stedfastness to Promises and mutual Contracts; the Laws of the Land, which have Established Marriages as the only Conveyance of Right, and giving a Title and Propriety in such Cases; the undoubted Rights of Families, by grafting in a foreign Growth upon the natural Stock, injuring the other Children, and transferring the Fruit of a Man's Industry, his Acquisition or his Inheritance to Strangers and Interlopers; the Laws of Justice and Charity, by starting Difficulties and Disputes among Friends and Relations; alienating the Affections of Parents from their Children, and dissolving in great measure the Duty of Children to their Parents, when there are these

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Jealousies among them; and leaving a lasting and indelible Stain upon the unfortunate (though innocent) Posterity of so suspected a Race.

As to the other Parts of this Vice, I add only in one word; that though Adultery be the highest, yet it is not the only Violation of it: Men would therefore do well to see how many Aggravations of this kind, just now mentioned, concur in any of these Allowances they make to themselves; to lay aside the Biass of their present Passion, and even, in cases of simple Fornication, ask their own Consciences how they should like to have the Honour of a Sister or a Daughter so injured by another Person; and if they think but scurvily of such a Blemish in a near Relation, this at least makes the Gratification an Offence against Reason and Equity, and natural Justice; nor is it in such Circumstances for a Man to alledge, that the Partner of the Crime is no other Man's, it is enough to condemn him that she is not his own.

C H A P. XLII.

Of Ambition and Temperance, with regard to the Desire of Honour and Fame.

THAT this is a Desire which stands in great need of being tempered and restrained, no Man can suffer himself to doubt who at all considers the inordinacy of the Affection, the injurious Courses it pushes the Patient upon, and the infinite Mischief it does to Society, when the Reins are let loose, and we give it its Head. But though the free Range of this Affection be so pernicious, yet we ought to take notice, that (according to what hath been formerly delivered upon the same occasion) all Ambition, all Thirst, either of Honour or of Reputation, is not to be condemned without any Distinction, but that as it may be ordered and managed, there is a great deal of Good as well as Hurt in the Thing. For thus much may undoubtedly be alledged in its behalf, that it is of very great Advantage to the State, since, as the World now goes, the generous and publick spirited Actions are most of them owing to it. This pushes Men on to hazardous Attempts, and thus we find it hath ever done; for, even among the Ancients, it is not to be supposed, that all their so much celebrated Heroes were acted by a truly Philosophical Spirit. There were indeed your

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Socrates and *Phocion*, and *Aristides* and *Epaminondas*, your *Cato's* and *Scipio's*, who seem to have been charmed by the bright Ideas of Virtue, without any the least mixture of additional and mercenary Considerations; but then there were a great many more who were manifestly moved by other Springs, such as *Themistocles*, and *Alexander*, and *Cesar*, who courted Fame, and were led on by the prospect of Greatness and Renown. And though it be very true, that the gallant Exploits of such Persons, when nicely examined and considered, with regard to their proper Motives and the Principles their Authors went upon, be not, strictly speaking, the product of Virtue, but of Ambition only; yet still they must be acknowledged of general Use and Benefit, and the Consequences of them to the Publick in all respect the very same, as if the Inducements had been the most refined and perfect that Humane Nature is in any Case capable of. Now besides the force of this Consideration to commend it, the Philosophers have allowed it to be excuseable at least upon two Occasions; the one is, when the Actions it excites Men to are profitable and good, but not in a degree of Perfection eminent enough to pretend to the Title of Virtuous, because they lie in common to all Mankind, and the good or ill Dispositions of our Minds incapacitate no Person from excelling in them: Of this kind particularly, are Arts and Sciences, Humane Inventions, Military Courage, and all manner of Industry in general. The other is, when we find it necessary to preserve the Favour and good Opinion of some Person upon whom our Interest depends: for though it be a standing Rule in Philosophy, *Never to make the Opinion of others the Measure of our Behaviour*; yet there is this Reserve, and allowed Exception, That we may govern our selves upon such Principles, to avoid the Inconveniences which either the want or contempt of other Men's Approbation may happen to involve us in.

2. But indeed, for a Man to practise Virtue merely upon this account, and aim at Honour and Reputation as if this were the proper Wages and Recompence of doing well, is not only a very vain and erroneous, but a most dangerous and destructive Principle. This were a horrible Disparagement indeed, that Virtue should be render'd so precarious as to derive all its Value from hence, and to engage our Affections upon no better Considerations than what are drawn from the judgment of the World: Every body must needs discern the coarseness of this Allay, and that such

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Payment ought not to pass upon us. Virtue certainly is not yet so debased as to go a begging, and desiring Testimonials for a Subsistence. This Reward is much below her seeking; and therefore we should so fix our Minds with true and noble Ideas of her, and settle our Affections so firmly upon the Thing it self, that this accidental Lustre of the Honours attending her may not dazle the Eyes of Reason, but leave us still the Discretion, to make a difference between receiving these as Acknowledgments due for our good Actions, and propounding them to our Minds as the End and adequate Reward of them: So shall we be established upon a true Bottom, and proceed upon Resolutions sincere and immoveable, such as will stand like so many Barriers about the Soul, and guard it against the vain Assaults of Vanity and Ambition, and every mean and selfish Inducement.

A Man should be thoroughly perswaded of the sufficiency and self-satisfaction of Virtue, that it asks no nobler a Theatre to represent its Excellency in, than ones own Conscience; this is Spectator and Audience enough, and if this applaud the Action, the Matter is not great who discommends it. The higher the Sun is above the *Horizon*, the less shadow it casts; and the more sublime any Man's Virtue is, the less affectation of Honour and Fame it is attended with. Nor is the Similitude improper, if we consider the nature of the Thing; for Glory is in earnest a very Shadow, it follows those that flee from it, and runs away from those that pursue it. We should always remember who sent us hither, and what we are doing. That Life is a Play where the Parts are infinitely various, but no Man chooses what he will act; he acquits himself well who studies the humour of the Part assigned him, and performs it agreeably to its Character, or (as *Epictetus* says upon another occasion) that we live in this World as People sit at an Entertainment, where every well-mannered Man will be content to feed upon that Dish which the Master of the Feast helps him to, without reaching over the Table, and scrambling and snatching from other Peoples Plates. If then a Preferment, or some Office of Honour and Trust, be offered to us, if we are capable of discharging it, let us accept it gladly, but modestly too; and let us do the Duty of it faithfully and sincerely; assuring our selves, that God hath set us our Post, and that, by committing to us a publick Trust, he expects we should stand Centry, and be continually upon the Guard; that by our vigilant Care, those who are committed

to our Charge may sleep securely. And for all this laborious Attendance, let us propose no other Recompence or Commendation, than that only of our own Consciences, and the sweet Satisfaction of doing what becomes us; or if others do, (as without question they will,) see and approve our good Works; let us desire, that the Testimony of our having done well, may be graven in the Hearts of our Country, rather than published by Statues, and pompous Frontispieces, and long flattering Inscriptions. In a word, let this be a Principle with us; that the Fruit of noble, generous Actions cannot possibly be lost; that the Glory of having done them, is an ample Compensation; and that, when Virtue descends to go out of her self, and look abroad for a Reward, she undervalues her own Worth, and must take up with Things beneath her. To despise Greatness, and expose the Vanity of setting our Hearts upon it, is no such mighty matter. He that loves himself, and can make any tolerable Judgment of Happiness, will be content with a moderate and easie Fortune; the Stations that are at the top of Mankind, as they excell in Dignity, so they exceed in Harms, and Difficulty, and Trouble; and those that are at the very bottom, tormented with Poverty, and anxious Uncertainties of Subsistence, are equally to be declined. Here is too much Business, or too much Suffering, for any Man of sound Wisdom to wish, none but sickly Palates will be fond of either. *Otanes*, one of the Seven, who had a joint Right to the Principality of *Persia*, quitted his Pretensions to the rest of the Competitors, provided that he and all his Family might live quietly under that Government, and be free from all Subjection, except such as the old standing Laws obliged them to. This was truly Great, neither to affect to Command, nor bear to be Commanded; and other Instances of contemning Honour and Greatness, we have several in Story; for even *Dioclesian* divested himself of the Empire, and *Celestine* quitted the Papacy; so little have the Charms of Sovereignty it self been found upon Tryal, and so far from impracticable is the utmost Pitch of the Virtue opposite to Ambition.

C H A P. XLIII.

Of Temperance in Speaking.

THough the Government of the Tongue do not usually come under this Head of *Temperance*, yet all People, I suppose, will allow, that there is not any Instance, in which Moderation is more useful and necessary; and that this is so essential a part of Wisdom, that no Treatise upon this Subject can be tolerably complete without it. *He that offendeth not in word, the same is a perfect Man*, (says *St. James*;) and the reason is evidently what he gives there at large, that the Tongue is all in all: Good and Evil proceed from it; Life and Death depend upon it. Which being formerly illustrated at large, all that lies upon me to do more at present, is only to lay down some short and plain Directions, for our Conduct and good Management of so very important a Member.

*Book I.
Chap. 23.*

I let our Discourse then be sober and sparing; the knowing how and when to be silent is a mighty Advantage, and contributes exceedingly to our knowing how to speak; for he that is unskilful in one of these Points, can never be expert in the other. To talk much, and to talk well, are Qualities that seldom or never go together; and therefore one of the Philosophers made it his Observation, That the most accomplished Men are generally they that say least. Those that abound in Words, are commonly barren both in good Sense, and good Actions; like Trees, which when they shoot in great quantities of Leaves, bear little Fruit; or lean Corn, that runs all into Straw. The *Lacedamonians*, (of whom we have made so frequent mention for their noble Improvements in Virtue and Valour) were no less memorable for Silence, and made this one part of their solemn Profession, to Educate their Youth in a modest and reserved way of Conversation. So justly, so generally, is this sort of Restraint approved and commended; so necessary, so prudent, that Prayer of the Psalmist, that God would enable him by his Grace, to *set a watch before his mouth, and keep the door of his lips*. An Emblem of this we have in the Mosaical Institution; where, among many Typical Representations of Moral Duties, this seems to be one; That every Vessel was unclean, which had not a Cover fastned to it: And the wisest Author that ever wrote, hath left us this

I.

Mark

Mark to distinguish Men by, *The Heart of Fools is in their Mouth, but the Tongue of the Wise is in their Heart.*

2. A second Qualification absolutely necessary upon this occasion, is Truth; without this, the End of Speech is utterly perverted and lost. For Speech was principally designed to be assisting to Truth, in bringing others to the knowledge of it, by representing every thing in its native and proper Colours, and discovering the Mysteries of Error and Deceit; that being thus detected, they may no longer have it in their Power to mis-lead our Judgments. For what indeed is Speech, but a Key to our Thoughts? An Instrument of communicating what we feel, and see, and desire, and so of transfusing our whole Hearts into the Bosoms of them with whom we converse? Now this makes it obvious to every considering Man, that Fidelity and exact Truth ought to be an inseparable Attendant upon every Word we utter; for there is no other Method of conveying our Intelligence; no other Glass in which we can see one another's Souls; and therefore it is as much as all the Benefits of Conversation and Commerce, and this noble Prerogative of Mankind is worth, to take care that the Mirrour cast no false Reflections. He that falsifies in his Discourse, ought to be treated as a common Enemy; detested as a Traytor to publick Society: For if when once this Footing fails us, we have no fresh Ground to stand upon, all Faith and Security is given up, and we know not where to have Men, nor what to make of them. How vile the Sin of Lying is, hath been declared before. They who practice it out of Design, are of all Wretches the most profligate and despicable; and they who do it in Raillery, should consider how insolent a thing it is to banter and abuse the Credulity of Mankind; and that Truth and mutual Faith are Things much too serious and too weighty to be made a Diversion, and sacrificed to the Itch of an unmannerly Jest.

Chap.
10.

3. Thirdly, Our Expressions should be Natural, and Modest, and Chast; provoking no Blushes, offensive to none, even the most nice and purged Ears; our Discourse free from Vehemence and Contention; for in such Cases, Men seem to be more concerned for themselves than for the Truth; and to speak not so much the Reason of the Thing, as their own Passions. Speech was designed for a mutual Comfort and Improvement; to inform and mend Men's Minds, not to corrupt and seduce them. And therefore, as Artifice and Affectation is nauseous, so Indecency and Lewdness, and every Thing

Thing that tends to Obscenity or Licentiousness, is wicked and abominable.

Fourthly, Our Discourse should be serious and significant, profitable and advantagious; not trifling, and impertinent, and vain. The little Tattle of the Town, what is done at the Court, or the Park, or the Play-House; how People were dressed, and how they behaved themselves; repeating idle Verses, scraps of Plays, and little foolish Jest, and telling frivolous Stories; though they make up so very considerable a part of modish Conversation, are yet (to speak freely) Signs of a great poverty of Thought, and have more of the Buffoon, than of the Man in them. He that provides no better Entertainment for his Company than all this amounts to, is at a very low Ebb; and shews, that he hath spent a great deal of Time to very small purpose. How very little hath a Man to do, that employs himself at this rate: And what precious Account does all that Leisure turn to, which hath been laid out upon qualifying himself for so noble and accomplisht a way of Discourse? Under this Head of Trifling and Impertinence, I think we may very well reckon that Folly of entertaining Company with long Accounts of our Selves, and our own Affairs; what Feats we have done, or what Calamities we have suffered; for of what Consequence soever these Things may be to us, they are of none at all to the Persons we tell them to, except it be to give them a Taste of our Folly, and from a Dislike of our Conversation, to avoid the same Absurdity in their own. We fancy, because these Accidents are pleasing to us, that they are so to them; but alas! the difference of Persons should be considered; for to render the Story agreeable to tell, there needs no other Recommendation, than that our selves are at the bottom of it; but then the very same Reason renders it as nauseous to the Hearer, not only because he finds no Concern of his own there, but from that natural Aversion and Disdain we bear to Men, who are always big and full of themselves, and have the Vanity to suppose, that whatever relates to them is worthy to be the Concern of all they converse with.

But especially, we should be careful not to transgress this Rule of profiting others, by running into the contrary Extreme of Injurious or Offensive Language; For Speech is, in the very original Intention of it, an Instrument and Harbinger, a Reconciler and Uniter of Mankind; and therefore to apply it to any Purposes contrary to these, is to abuse

4.

5.

abuse and pervert the Nature and Design of it. This Consideration was never more necessary than now; and, if applied to the modern way of Conversation, would soon convince us, how vainly those Persons pretend to Wit, and Sense, and Honour, whose whole Discourse consists of Slander, Detraction, Mockery or Reproach, sacrificing the Reputations of the Absent to an ill-natured Jest; or exposing, and ridiculing their Defects, by Mimickry, and Buffoonry; all which are infinitely unbecoming the Character such Men aspire after, and a Diversion too base and barbarous for any wise or good Man to allow himself in.

6. Our Discourse should be Easie and Pleasant, Courteous and Entertaining; not Rough and Harsh, Difficult and Troublesome. For this reason, it will require some Prudence in the Choice, or the declining of our Subject. We should contrive, as much as possibly we can, to start nothing but what will keep our Company in good Humour; never to engage in Controversies, where any that are present shall find themselves concerned; for this either disoblige, if they think fit to let the Argument fall; or else it draws them into Disputes, and occasions Warmth, and Uneasiness, and perhaps Coldness, and angry Resentments afterwards. But though there should be no Personal Interest in the case, yet nothing of Controversie in general should be industriously begun; for common Discourse is not the proper Season for that. If the Question be Substantial and of great Concernment, the respect of a private Conference is due to it; but if it be some nice and subtle Point, it is not worth so much as our common Talk. Such Questions have been aptly enough compared to Crab-fish, of which some are all Shell, and when we have taken great Pains to open and prepare them for our Palates, Nine Parts of Ten must be thrown away, and a very poor Pittance remains fit for eating. Their difficult and abstruse Speculations raise a Noise and a Dust, but when we examine what account they turn to, little comes of them but Heat and Clamour, and Contradiction.

7. Our Expressions should be strong and clear, our Arguments sinewy and full; not loose, and flat, and languishing; and therefore we should observe and avoid the formality of Pedants, the stiff-set way of Pleaders, and the impertinent Affectation of the Ladies.

8. This particular sort of Temperance extends likewise to one very necessary Virtue, which I think may not unfitly be called the Continence of the Tongue: That, I mean, of keeping

keeping Secrets; which, though already spoken to in the Chapter concerning Fidelity, I thought not improper to make another Mention of here. And the rather, because I take Secrets here in a more large and comprehensive Sense; so that the Virtue at present prescribed, does not only oblige us not to disclose those Things which were committed to our Trust under the Seal of Secresie, but also to suppress whatever in Prudence and our own Discretion appears unfit to be divulged: All that is dangerous, or of ill consequence; all that can any way reflect upon our own, or be injurious to another's Reputation. In a word, so strict a Guard, so steady a Conduct in all our Conversation, that our Tongue may not out-run our Judgment; and that neither our own Consciences, or those we keep Company with, upon the severest and most impartial Recollection, have Cause to accuse us of saying any thing which was not fit to be said. This is of greater Importance, and needs to be more diligently attended to, than People seem generally well aware of; and yet it is no more, than every Man's own Reflections upon the indecent Gayeties, and unthinking Freedom in Conversation; and the many ill Effects and hard Censures these produce, may soon convince him of; and satisfy him, not only of the Beauty and Comeliness, but of the Safety and great Advantage there is in a modest and cautious Reserve. While the Word is kept in, it is entirely our own; but if it once break loose from us, it can never be retrieved; we have lost all our Property and Jurisdiction, and must stand to the Courtesie of the World; who will make what use they please of it, and very seldom are just or good natured enough to make the right Use, or to understand it as innocently as we intended it.

Now as the Advantage of Speech in general is an Excellence peculiar to Mankind, and sets us above Brutes; so Eloquence exalts those that are Masters and Professors of it, above the rate of common Men. For this is the Art, or Science of Speaking, a more accurate and exquisite way of communicating our Thoughts; of enforcing and adorning Reason: This is the Rudder of the Soul that steers and turns Men, and sets us at the Helm of our Audience, to carry them whither we please: It falls in with the Heart, and secretly moves our Passions, like the Chords in Musick, which, in a skilful Composition, conspire together to make a more perfect and delightful Harmony.

By

10. By Eloquence, I mean, all that is necessary to make an accomplished Orator. For this does consist, not only in perspicuity and purity of Expression, the elegance and propriety of the Words, the happy Choice and regular Disposition, the fulness and roundness of the Period, and the Justness of a sweet and musical Cadence; but it must also be assisted and strengthened by other Ornaments and Graces, and Motions of the Person himself: Every Word should be inspired with Life and Vigour; first, by a clear and sweet Voice, a proper and distinct Pronunciation, rising and falling, gently and easily, as is best accommodated to the Matter and Design: Then by a grave and unaffected Action, where the Countenance, the Hands, the whole Body, the every Part and Gesture speak as well as the Mouth, all follow the Movements of the Soul, and give a lively Image of the Affections within. For the Orator is the Representative of his Audience, and must first of all, in his own Person, put on the several Passions which he labours to infuse into others.

** We weep and laugh as we see others do :
He only makes me sad, who shews the way,
And first is sad himself ; then (Telephus)
I feel the weight of your Calamities,
And fancy all your Miseries my own. Id. Roscom.*

It is in such cases with the Standers by, as it was with *Brasidas* and his Enemy, who drew the Dart out of his own Wound, with which he stabbed him to the Heart. Thus Passion is first conceived and formed in our own Mind, then born and brought into the World by apposite Expression, and afterwards, by a subtle and quick Contagion, conveyed into others, and begets its Likeness there. By this short Reflection it sufficiently appears, that Men of soft and gentle Tempers are not cut out for Orators. Their Spirits are too sedate and sluggish to communicate any powerful Impressions. They want the Force and Fire, the Sprightliness and Activity, that is necessary to animate what they say. And when such Persons would display the more masterly Beauties of Eloquence, they languish and falter by the way, and drop short of the Mark. Thus *Cicero* reproached *Calli-*

** ——— Si vis me flere, dolendum est——
Primum ipsi tibi : tunc tua me infortunia lædent,
Telephe.—— Hor. de Arte Poet.*

dins, who accused *Gallus* with a sneaking Voice and languishing Action, by telling him, That his Coldness and Indifferency betrayed the Falseness of his Charge. But when a Man hath all that Vigour and Ornament touched upon before, his Words will be as strong and compulsive, as the Commands of a Tyrant with all the Pomp and Terrour of his Guards about him. They will commit an irresistible Violence upon the Soul; not only perswade and draw, but drag his Auditory whither they will or no, lead them in Triumph, and establish to themselves an Absolute and Arbitrary Dominion over the Minds of Men.

It may perhaps be objected in prejudice of Eloquence, That all this Skill is needless, since Truth alone is sufficiently powerful and perswasive, and stands in need of no studied and artificial Practices to vindicate, or to recommend it. And indeed, were the Minds of Men free, and pure, unprepossess'd with Passion or Interest, or any other prejudicate Opinion, the Objection must be allowed to have a great deal of Weight in it. But we are to consider and deal with Men, according to the State we find them in; a State of Corruption and Prejudice, in which Art or Nature, Misinformation or ill Habits, have bribed and byass'd their Affection, and made them draw the wrong Way, and bent them violently against the Truth. And thus they come to require a sort of Treatment very different from that which is most agreeable to their original Constitution. As therefore we are forced, first of all, to soften and open the Pores of the Steel by Fire, that it may afterwards receive that Liquor which tempers it, and grow harder in the Water: So the Warmths of Eloquence are necessary to put the Spirits in motion, and by rendring the Minds of Men more supple and pliable, to give them a stronger and more lasting Tincture of Truth. This is the true and proper Design of Eloquence; and the End it should constantly aim at, is, to fortifie and protect Virtue against Vice, Truth against Falshood, and Innocence against Calumny and false Accusation. The Orator (says *Theophrastus*) is the true Physician of Souls, and his Business must be, to cure the Venemous Bitings of Serpents by the Charms of his Musick; that is, The poisonous Slanders, and false Insinuations of wicked Men, by the Harmony of Reason, set out to the best Advantage. But since there is no possibility of cutting off ill Men from the use of this Advantage too, since they will be sure to seize and usurp the Weapon, for the more effectual Execution of their mischief-

vous

vous Designs; we are the more concerned not to go into the Field naked, but to beat them at their own Weapon, and with equal Industry and Skill to counterwork them; that so Virtue and Truth may not be circumvented, or tamely lost, for want of proper Preparations to defend it. Several indeed have abused their Attainments of this kind to very villanous Purposes, and made Eloquence the Instrument of Ruin and Oppression to Private Persons, and whole Communities of Men. This is a melancholy Truth, too manifest to be denied. But then the Consequence of granting it must be, not to despise or set aside the Thing, upon the account of any ill Effects, that have followed upon the misemployment of it. No; this is a Misfortune common to every thing that is useful and excellent; for none of these are so necessarily confined to Goodness, but that they are capable of being perverted to very great Evil. Nature hath provided them with an Aptitude and Efficacy; but it will depend upon the Disposition of the Person that manages those Powers, what sort of Effects those natural Abilities shall be applied and determined to. For even that Reason and Understanding, which is the peculiar Prerogative of Humane Nature, and sets us above Brutes, is most miserably abused; turned against God and our selves, and made the occasion of our more inexcusable Ruin; but this is only an accidental Misfortune, far from the natural tendency of so noble a Privilege. And he who would argue from hence, that Mankind had better want these Faculties, may justly seem to have degenerated into Brute, and to be forsaken of all that Reason which he so wildly and so rashly condemns.

29 MR 59

F I N I S.

A N

I N D E X

Of the Principal Matters.

Note, *The Figures without any adjoining Mark relate to the First Book: Those in the Parenthesis to the Second: And Those with a Star to the Third.*

- A**bsence, of the Object, whets the Will. Page 165
- A**bstinence, Considerations upon it. 348 *
- A**cademick, Philosophers, their way of Writing. 324
- A**ccidents. See *Calamities.*
- A**ction in the Field. See *General.*
- A**ction, single, no Judgment to be formed from it. 11
- A**dministration of a Prince, Directions relating to it, 55 *, 60 *, &c. Peaceable Administration, 77 *. Military Administration. 81 *
- A**dversity, and Prosperity, which the harder to bear evenly, (147.) Reflections against it, (153.) It is not Evil in its own Nature, (*ibid*) It proceeds from three Causes, Sin, Anger of God, and the Polity of the World, (155.) &c. 'Tis of two kinds, real or imaginary, (157.) Remedies against real Afflictions. (158)
- A**dvice, how to behave in asking it. (199,) (200.) Truth and Freedom in giving Advice. 185 *
- A**ffairs, intricate and uncertain. 118 *
- A**fflictions. See *Adversity.*
- A**ffection of Subjects. See *Good-will.*
- A**ge, (Old) compared with Youth. 284
- A**ir, a necessary medium for Sensation. 79
- A**lliances proper for a Prince, 57 *. Several sorts and degrees of them. 58 *
- A**mbition defined, 179. It's natural to us, 180. Its Strength and Superiority, 181. It conquers all other Passions, 182. It conquers not only Health and Ease, but even the Care of Life, the Laws, Religion, and natural Affection, 183, 184, 185. Noble and Generous Spirits most liable to it, 185, 186. It operates different ways, 187. The folly of it, *ibid*. 'Tis insatiable, 188. The Excuses for it vain, *ibid*. It covers many Vices, but reforms never a one, 189. *Ambition* described and exposed. 357 *
- A**nger describ'd, 205. Its Causes, 206. Signs of it, 208. Its effects, 209. 'Tis never to be convinced of Folly, 211.

I N D E X.

211. Remedies against Anger. 322 *
- Animal Spirits* necessary for Sensation. 77
- Animals*, a comparison between Man and other Animals, 320. Things common to both, 240. A mutual Correspondence between 'em, 246. Their respective Differences and Advantages. 246, 247, &c.
- Antiquity*. See *Birth*.
- Apparel*, the invention of Art, not the dictate of Nature, 41. Excess in Apparel censured and exposed, 350 *
- Appetite* defined. 110
- Apprehension* describ'd, 129. See *Imagination*.
- Army*; whether Horse or Foot in it ought to be strongest, 87 *, 88 *. Whether Native or Foreign Soldiers are best, *ibid.* *. The difference between standing and subsidiary Forces, 90 *. The proper qualifications of the Soldiers, 91 *, 92 *, 93 *. The proper Discipline of 'em, 93 *, 94 *. Qualifications of Officers, 97 *, 98 *. Three Virtues to be established in an Army, Continence, Modesty, Abstinence, 96 *, 97 *. See *General*.
- Art*. See *Invention*.
- Assurance*, Moderation between it and Fear. (200)
- Avarice*, a stupid senseless Passion, 179. What it is, 190. It banishes all other Regards whether Natural or Vertuous, 191. The Folly and Misery of it, *ibid.* The contrary Passion describ'd and expos'd, 195. *Avarice* in a Prince expos'd. 73 *
- Authority* a bad Rule to walk by. 162
- Authority* a necessary Pillar to support a Government, 63 *. 'Tis acquir'd and preserv'd principally by severity, 64 *. By Constancy, 66 *, and by keeping the Helm in one's own Hand. 67 *.
- B.
- Banishment* no substantial Evil. 308 *
- Bashfulness* in Children, how to be corrected. 256 *
- Battles*. See *Generals*.
- Beasts*. See *Animals*, *Brutes*.
- Behaviour*. See *Conversation*.
- Behaviour* proper for a Prince. 36 *
- Believing* and misbelieving, a great instance of humane Presumption. 370
- Beauty*, a great advantage of the Body, 33. Its wonderful influence. *ibid.* The different sorts of it, 34. The Beauty of the Body seated in the Face, 35. The *beauty* of the Face describ'd, 38. *Beauty* of Body and Mind. 39
- Benevolence* of use to a Prince for gaining the Affection of his Subjects, 62 *. The difficulty of true *Benevolence*, 199 *. Motives to it, *ibid.* &c. Two sorts of it, one procuring Admiration and Esteem, the other Love and good Will, 201 *. The difference between Internal and External *Benevolence*, *ibid.* *. Rules for *Benevolence*, 203 *. *Benevolence* Reciprocal. 213 *
- Benefits*, several sorts of them, 212 *. Obligation arising from Benefits receiv'd. 215 *
- Birth*, Nobility of Birth compar'd with Nobility acquir'd. 497
- Body* of Man, the excellency of its Form and Contrivance, 17, 18, 19. It must be before the Soul, 19. Its constituent Parts, 25. 'Tis divided into four Stories or Apartments, 26. The whole Fabrick of the Body describ'd, *ibid.* &c. The peculiar Excellencies of it, beyond that of a Brute, 30. The other advantages of it, 32. Conformity between Body and Mind agreeable to Nature, 39. The Apparel for the Body, 41. How the Soul enters the Body, 58. The Body causes Defects in the Soul, 151, 152. The many Miseries of Man

I N D E X.

- Man in respect to his Body, 331,
341. *Bodies* of Children to be taken care of as well as their Souls, 255*
- Brain*, properly the Instrument of the Reasonable Soul, 114. Its Temperaments explain'd, *ibid.* &c. Three different Temperaments of it requisite for Understanding, Memory, and Imagination, *viz.* dry, moist and hot, 115, 116. These three distinguish the Excellencies of the Mind, 117. Their number can't be exceeded. *ibid.*
- Briskness* of Parts dangerous, 146, 147
- Brutes.* See *Animals*. Whether they partake of Reason, 249. Their natural instinct rejected, 252. Whether they are naturally subject and in servitude to Man, 256, 257. Man has no mighty advantages of Nature above Brutes. 262
- Business.* See *Company* and *Prudent*.
- C.
- Calamities*, future, consider'd, 113*. To labour to indure 'em, a surer way than to endeavour to escape 'em, 114*. Two Remedies under present Calamities, *viz.* to divert them, and to stoop under the Blow, 115, *&c.* *. Directions to fortifie us against publick Calamities, 290*. Directions against private Calamities, 293*
- Captivity*, an inconsiderable Affliction, 306*
- Carnal Pleasures*, temperance with respect to them. 352*
- Ceremony* describ'd, (182.) How and in what sense observance of Ceremonies in use is necessary (182,) (183)
- Chastity*, Considerations upon it. 352*
- Children*, how they ought to be instructed, 227*. *Lacedemon* and *Crete*, the only Constitutions where the Disciplining of Children was prescrib'd by National Laws, 228*. 'Tis in vain to sound for the Inclinations of Children, 228*. General Rules relating to the Instruction of Children, 229*. Beating of Children and using them harshly, a great Fault, 231*. See *Education* and *Tutors*.
- Children*, their Duty to their Parents, consisting in Reverence, 264*. Obedience, 265*. Succouring them, *ibid.* Taking their Advice, 266*, and covering their Imperfections. *ib.*
- Children* a mighty strengthening to a Prince's Interest. 76*
- Children.* See *Paternal*.
- Choice*, of a particular end, difficult, (83.) How to make a wise Choice. (196)
- Civil War*, the quickest end of it always the best, 140*. Agreement or Victory the only means for that end, *ibid.* but the former, tho' disadvantageous, is the better. *ibid.*
- Civility*, how Vanity is crept into it, 296
- Clemency*, a necessary Vertue in a Prince. 29*, 30*
- Climates*, different, make a great difference of Men, 383. Men distinguish'd into Classes answerable to the respective Climates of the World, 386. The differences deriv'd from Climates, prov'd with respect to the Body, 387. With respect to the Mind, 387, 388. With respect to Religion, *ibid.* With respect to Manners and Dispositions, 389. The true Cause of these Differences. 391
- Cloathing*, the Invention of Art not the dictate of Nature. 41, &c.
- Cold*, no Argument of the necessity of Cloaths, 43. *Cold*, Temperament, in what sense it is of use to the Understanding. 117
- Combinations.* See *Factions*.
- Command* and Obedience, the Nature of it describ'd. 408

I N D E X.

- Common People**, in what sense here taken, 467. Their Qualities, *ibid.* &c.
- Common**, a Life in common compar'd with that of distinct Properties. 485
- Commotions** of the Mind owing to **Vanity**, 295. And likewise publick **Commotions**. 299
- Comparison** between Man and other Animals, is useful, but difficult, 240.
- Comparison** of Men with Men, 380. &c.
- Compassion** describ'd, 233. How it is vicious and foolish, *ibid.* Remedies against Compassion. 321 *
- Company**, a Life of Company and Business compar'd with Solitude. 480
- Concupiscible Part** the seat of six Passions, three for Good, three for Evil. 174
- Confession** of Faults. (80)
- Conspiracies**, Remedies against them when undiscover'd, 122*. And when discover'd. 124 *
- Constancy** a suitable expedient for preserving a Prince's Authority. 66 *
- Contempt** of the World, that Opinion describ'd, (134.) (135.) and disapprov'd. (135.) &c.
- Contempt** of Death, when good (229.)
- Contempt** from Subjects the greatest murderer of a Government, 75*.
- 'Tis occasion'd by a Prince's supine Negligence, or Misfortunes, or lewd Life. 76 *
- Content**, vain Notions of it, 299, 300.
- True Content** of Mind, how to attain it. (251)
- Continency**, a difficult, but very commendable Vertue. 352 *
- Conversation**, common, the Vanity of it, 297. Modest and Obliging Behaviour in it, (183.) Two sorts of Conversation, common and particular, (184.) Advice upon the first, (185.) Directions for the Second. (188)
- Counsel** of a Prince, Directions about it, 37*, 38*. Qualifications of Counsellors, *viz.* Faithfulness, 39*. Ability and Experience, *ibid.* Freedom and Bravery, 40*. Secrecy, 41 *
- Country Life** compar'd with a Town Life. 457
- Courage**. See **Fortitude**.
- Creation** of Man, the Order of it, 17, &c.
- Credulity**, a Cause of Anger, 207. A great instance of Presumption. 370
- Cruelty**, its difference from Revenge, 220. The Nature and Causes of it, 221 222. **Cruelty** in a Prince expos'd. 72 *
- Curiosity**, a cause of Anger, 207. A great Instrument of our own Misery. 338
- Custom**, a powerful Remedy against Sufferings, (161.) How, and in what sense, Compliance with Customs is necessary, (165.) Custom describ'd, (168) Law and Custom compar'd, (*ibid.*) Different and odd Customs, (169.) Customs examin'd and judg'd, (171.) The Force of Custom, (173.) A piece of Levity and Presumption in condemning Customs of foreign Countries not conformable to our own, (189.) See **Laws**.

D.

- Dangerous Cases**, both Wisdom and Courage necessary in them. 120 *
- Death**, living in a constant readiness for it, (206.) The Day of Death, (207.) Five sorts of Behaviour with regard to Death, (208.). Fear of Death the effect of vain Opinion, (209.) Of Weakness, (211.) Of Injustice, (212.) 'Tis prejudicial to Life, (*ibid.*) Remedies against it, (213.) The usual Apologies for the fear and fleeing of Death, stated and answered, (216.) &c. Arguments against this Fear, importing, that Death is Natural, (223.) Necessary, (225.) Just and Reasonable, (227.)
- Contempt

I N D E X.

- Contempt of Death good if upon a good Account, (229.) Desire of Death restrained to the case of Extremity, Distress, and that of Religious Longings, (233,) (235.) Voluntary Death or Self-murder considered at large, (236,) &c.
- Deceit, two sorts of it necessary in a Prince. 23 *
- Defects of the Soul. See Soul.
- Degrees, three Degrees of Men in the World. 395
- Desires infinite, 201. Their distinctions, 202. Some Natural, some beyond Nature, *ibid.* &c. See Pleasures.
- Desire of Death examined. (233)
- Despair describ'd. 204, 205
- Die, to know how to Die, (208.) See Death.
- Difference of Men. See Man.
- Difficulty whets the Will. 165
- Difficulties. See Calamities.
- Difficult and Dangerous Cases. 119 *
- Diffidence, a necessary Qualification of a Prince. 20 *, 21 *
- Discipline. See Army.
- Discourse. See Ratiocination.
- Disgrace, several sorts of it examined. 313, 314 *
- Disposition, naturally good, whence it proceeds, (64.) Naturally cross and unmanageable, how to be cur'd. (66)
- Disimulation vicious in private Persons, but commendable in Princes. 22 *
- Dissolute Manners in a Prince draw contempt from his Subjects. 76 *
- Distinction between Man and Man probably first owing to Beauty, 33.
- Several distinctions of Men. 380, &c.
- Distrusting others. See Diffidence.
- Divisions of a State, how a Prince should behave in 'em, 127, &c. *. How private Persons should behave in 'em. 140 *
- Divorce differently practis'd. 428
- Domestick Life. See Private.
- Dominion and Command; whether Man has that advantage over Brutes, 256
- Dreams, the unspeakable variety of 'em in Men beyond other Animals. 31
- Duties, universal, due from all to all, 165 *. &c. Duties special, arising from special and personal Obligations. 219 *. &c.
- E.
- Easiness of Temper the first degree of Integrity. (67)
- Easiness of Humour, a necessary Ingredient in all Conversation, (185.) It ought to be particularly promoted in Children. 258 *
- Eating, Man and Beasts equally fitted for it by Nature, 241. Directions concerning Eating and Drinking. 347 *
- Education of Children. See Children.
- Education of Children consists in three Particulars, viz. Forming their Minds, 234 *. Taking care of their Bodies, 255 *. And of their Manners. *ibid.*
- End, fixing to one's self a particular End, fundamental Point of Wisdom, (82.) This is no easie matter. (83)
- Envy described, 215. Remedies against Envy. 330 *
- Epicurus vindicated as to his assertion of the fidelity of the Senses. 93, &c.
- Error, vulgar, exemption from it the first Disposition to Wisdom. (4)
- Estates, disproportion of Estates, whence caused. 515
- Estate, a Parent ought to take measures from the Laws of his Country in the disposal of it. 263 *
- Estimate, just, of things, how to make it. (193)
- Evil, Man impotent in Evil as well as Good, 317. Remembrance and Anticipation

I N D E X.

- icipation of Evils a great addition to our Misery. 336
- Evils.** See *Calamities*.
- Evil**, distinguished into External and Internal, 289 *. External Evils considered in three several respects, 290 *. viz. With respect to their Causes, 290 *. Their Fruits and Effects, 297 *. And as they are in themselves particularly, 300 *. External Evils give good Men an opportunity of improving their Virtue, 299 *. They produce excellent and necessary Effects, 300 *. External Evils reduced to seven Heads, viz. Sickness and Pain, 301 *. Captivity, 306 *. Banishment, 308 *. Want, 311 *. Disgrace, 313 *. Loss of Friends, 314 *. and Death, 316 *. Internal Evils, directions against 'em. 317, &c. *
- Ecstasy**, or Rapture, threefold, viz. Divine, Dæmoniacal and Humane, 68, 69. No certainty of the separation of the Soul in any of 'em. 69, 70, 71
- External Evils.** See *Evils*.
- F.
- Face**, the loveliest thing in the Body, 35. The particular Properties of it, 36. The Beauty of it describ'd. 38
- Factions** and Combinations ought to be crush'd, 130 *. 'Tis a false Notion that a Prince is safer by 'em, 130 *. A Prince should be of no Party, 132 *. Punishment of Factionous Persons should be as scanty as possible, 132 *. How private Persons should behave in such Cases. 140 *
- Faculties** of the Soul, 51. See *Vegetative, Sensative, Intellectual, Memory, Imagination*.—The Properties of the several Faculties, 119. The Faculties compared together, 120. The true State of the three Faculties, Understanding, Memory and Imagination, represented by a Similitude. 121
- Faith.** See *Fidelity*.
- Fancy** describ'd, 109. See *Imaginative*.
- Fame**, Considerations upon Temperance in the desire of it. 357 *
- Fashions** govern Mankind. 162
- Fault**, whether it be allowable to do a Fault, (75.) of confessing and excusing Faults. (80)
- Fear** describ'd, 234. The Malice and Tyranny of it, 235. The Folly and Imprudence of it, 237. The different Effects of it, 231. Panick Fears described, 239. Moderation between Fear and Assurance, (200.) Fear of Death. See *Death*.
- Fear**, Remedies against it. 317 *
- Feminine Beauty.** See *Beauty*.
- Fidelity**, the excellence of it, 177 *. The rarity of it, 178 *. The necessary Considerations upon this Head, relate either to the Person that engages, 178 *, or the Person to whom the engagement is made, 179 *. or the matter of the Promise, 181 *. or the manner of promising. 182 *
- Flattery**, dangerous to private Persons, but the utter ruine of Princes, 189 *. Princes and Ladies lie most open to it, 190 *. And why, *ibid.* How to distinguish Flattery from Friendship, 192 *. Lying a common Companion of it. 194 *
- Fondness**, Foolish, a cause of Anger. 207
- Forces.** See *Army*.
- Forefight**, a powerful Remedy against Affliction, (162.) The Method to attain it. (163.)
- Formalists** describ'd. 357
- Formation** of Man, twofold, viz. Supernatural and Natural, 15. The gradual Formation of the Body in the Womb. 20, 21
- Fortitude** describ'd in general, 290 *. The Latins called it *Virtus*, *ibid.* Its

I N D E X.

- Its Object is both External and Internal Evil. 289 *
- Forwardness* to serve other People, the inconveniences of it, (41.) How to moderate it. (44)
- Frailty.* See *Weakness.*
- Freedom* of thought. See *Liberty of the Mind.*
- Friends*, loss of 'em considered. 314 *
- Friendship*, common, describ'd, 171 *. Perfect Friendship describ'd, 173. Examples of this Friendship. 175 *
- Frugality* describ'd and recommended. 350 *
- Funds*, what are most proper in a Government. 47 *, &c.
- Futurity*, the vanity of concerns for it. 293
- G.
- General*, directions for his Conduct in the Field, 99 *, 100 *. Directions relating to the Time, Place and Manner of Engagements, 101 *, &c. Rules for form'd Battels, 103 *, 104 *. Rules of Behaviour in the time of Action itself. 104 *
- Generation* observes the same Order with Creation. 20
- Generative Faculty* the highest in the Vegetative Class. 75, 76
- Gentleness* necessary in a Prince for gaining the Affection of his Subjects, 61 *. How to temper it with due severity. 64 *, &c.
- God*, Directions to know God, (121.) To Honour him, (122.) To Serve him with Spirit and Body. (122,) (123)
- Goodness* or Evil of the Object gives the distinction of the Classes of the Passions, 174, 175. Original propensity to Goodness, whence it proceeds, (64.) The difference between that and Softness. (65)
- Good-Will.* See *Will.*
- Government*, publick, the Nature and Necessity of it, 443. Prudence in Government. See *Polity.*
- Grace* of God necessary to compleat moral Vertue, (70,) (71.) Grace and Nature are not contrary Principles. (72.) But Grace supposes Nature as its necessary Foundation: (73.)
- Gratitude*, the due Qualifications of it. 216 *
- Great Persons*, their Manners and Dispositions, 417. Their Miseries and Inconveniencies, 448. Their Duty to mean Men 284 *
- Grief* defined, 223. 'Tis Unnatural, 224, 225. Private Grief censur'd, 225, 226. as Unnatural, 227. 'Tis impious and unjust, *ibid.* 'Tis destructive, 228. It deforms a Man both outwardly and inwardly, 229, 230. Grief distinguished with respect to the degrees of it, 231, 232. Tears and Complaints mitigate it, 232. Remedies against it. 319 *
- Growing faculty* considered. 75
- H.
- Happiness*, vain Notions of it, 299. Eight Sources of all the Happiness in the World. (195)
- Hatred*, a very odd Passion, describ'd, 213. Hatred from Subjects the bane of a Prince's Government, 71 *. who may prevent it by avoiding the two Extremes of Cruelty, 72 *, and Avarice, 73 *. Remedies against Hatred. 329 *
- Health* considered. 32
- Hearing*, sense of, prefer'd before that of Sight, 103. Its Correspondence with Speech. 108
- Heat*, inward, the unequal distribution of it makes a great difference of Men. 391
- Honesty.* See *Integrity.*
- Honour*. Considerations upon it, 303. Considerations upon Temperance in the desire of Honour. 357 *
- Hope* describ'd. 204
- Human means*, most Religions receiv'd by

I N D E X.

- by them. (106)
- Human Body.* See *Body.*
- Human Life*, a summary Account of it, 274. The true value of it, 274. The shortness of it, 275. Description of it, 283. The several Stages of it, 284. Contempt of Life, a Vice, as well as over-valuing it. 275
- Husband*, his Power describ'd, 423.
- His Duty. 220 *
- Hypocrisie* expos'd, 195 *. 'Tis at once a difficult and a poor paultry Trade, *ibid.* 'Tis in some degree allowable in Princes and Women. 197, 198 *
- Hypostasis*, Soul and Body make but one *Hypostasis.* 60
- I.
- Jealousie*, its Nature and Effects, 216. Its difference from Envy, *ibid.* Remedies against Jealousie. 333 *
- Ignorance*, the Root of all the Defects of the Mind. 156
- Imaginative Faculty* describ'd, 109. Hot Temperament fittest for the Exercise of it, 116. It abounds in Distinctions, 118. The parts of Knowledge that fall properly under it, *ibid.* Its Properties, and the manner of its Operations. 119
- Imagination*, the great power of it, 158. 'Tis the seat of Opinion. 159
- Immateriality* of the Soul consider'd, 48, 49, 50. Vindicated, 72. Sensation not to be otherwise solved. 101
- Immortality* of the Soul examin'd, 64. Three moral Arguments for it, 65, 66. An Argument for it drawn from the Soul, its being a perpetual, universal and nimble Agent. 136
- Impositions.* See *Subsidies.*
- Inconstancy* of Men expos'd. 328, 329, 330
- Indifference* a Branch of the Liberty of the Soul, (22)
- Industry* and Fortune, which have the greatest sway in management. (204)
- Inequality* of Men. See *Man.*
- Infirmity*, human. See *Weakness.*
- Ingenuity* defined. 130
- Injustice* the effect of Anger, 209. *Injustice* in a Prince for the publick good, how far warrantable. 25 *
- Insensibility* a vicious Extreme. (138)
- Instinct*, natural, rejected, 252. Further Considerations upon it. 267, 268
- Instruction* of Children pursued at large, 227, &c. See *Learning.*
- Insurrections.* See *Popular.*
- Integrity* of the Mind the fundamental part of Wisdom, (47.) False Appearances of it, (48.) What Notions the World have of it, (50.) What it is in truth, (51.) The Law of Nature its model, (54.) Natural Integrity whence it proceeds, (54,) (65.) Three degrees of Perfection in Integrity, (67.) 'Tis not compleat without the Grace of God, (70)
- Intellectual Soul*, its native Aptitude and Capacity, 63. Difference between Intellectual and Rational, 47. The Seat and Instrument of the Intellectual Soul, 110. How far it is Organical, 112. Its making use of Corporeal Instruments no argument of Mortality, 113, 114. A dry Temperament of the Brain most proper for the perfection of the Intellectual Faculty, 115. See *Understanding.*—It acts by many different Operations. 129, 130
- Intelligence*, private, necessary for a Prince. 23 *
- Invention*, anxiously pursued by the Soul, 144. The excellency of it lies in out-doing Nature. 144
- Irascible Soul*, where it dwells, 27. 'Tis the Seat of five Passions, two for Good, and three for Evil, 175. And these much more outrageous than

I N D E X.

than those of the Concupiscible part, 175. The difference between the Concupiscible and the Irascible part.

175

Judgment defined, 130. Why 'tis difficult to form a *Judgment* of Man, 328. Liberty of *Judgment* a necessary Predisposition to Wisdom (13.) Consisting of three Particulars. *viz.* Judging every thing, (16.) Being wedded to nothing, (22) Preserving a largeness of Soul. (30)

Justice and Fidelity a necessary Virtue in a Prince, 16*. tho' with a greater Latitude than in others, 18*. Three Conditions to warrant this Latitude. 18*, 19*

Justice defined, 147*. The Foundation of it within our selves, 148*. Distinction between Natural and Political *Justice*, 148*. Between Legal and Equitable *Justice*, 139, 140*. Between Commutative and Distributive *Justice*, 150*. No such thing as *Justice* in the World, 151*. Three Objects of *Justice*, 153*. *Justice* considered with respect to the first Object, *viz.* a Man's self, 153*. Nine directions relating to it, *ibid.* &c. *viz.* To take up a Resolution not to live without Reflection, 153*. To learn to be easie when by our selves, 155*. To choose fit Subjects for the solitary Mind to dwell upon, 157*. To beware above all things of a sluggish sauntering way of Life, 158*. To learn somewhat from every thing, 159*. To avoid Vanity, and entertain the Mind with serious substantial Studies, 160*. To bring the Will in subjection to Reason, *ibid.**. To have a just regard to the Body as well as the Mind, 162*. To adjust discreetly the several Offices relating to the Goods of Life, *ibid.**.—*Justice* considered as it respects the second

Object, *viz.* our Neighbour, 165. &c. *. Duties of this kind divided into two Classes, *viz.* Such as are common and universal, 165, &c. *. And such as are special, depending upon particular Reasons, and express Obligations. 219, &c. *

K.

Kindness. See *Benefits.*

Knowledge the Employment of the Soul, 122. By what method the Soul attains to it, 123. All Knowledge is not owing to the Senses, 97, 98, 124, 125. &c.

Knowledge of one's self. See *Self.*

Knowledge of Men and Things. (192)

Knowledge necessary for a Prince. 10*

Knowing how to die. (208)

L.

Largeness of Soul. See *Soul.*

Lawgivers, what Laws they should prescribe, 451. The difference between them and Judges. 466

Law of Nature the Model of Integrity, (54.) (55.) This Law explain'd, (55.) &c. How it came to be perplex'd. (61.) (62)

Laws, obedience to them, in what sense necessary, (169.) Law and Custom compared, (168.) Different and odd Laws and Customs, (169.) Advice with regard to Laws and Customs, (177.) They ought to be comply'd with, not merely for the Justice and Equity of them, but out of Reverence to publick Authority, (178.) Considerable alterations in establish'd Laws, of pernicious Consequence. (179)

Learning, the abuse of it, 120, 121. Several Considerations upon Learning, 508. The World is the worse for excess of Learning, 235*. The difference between Learning and Wisdom, 236*. Learning but a poor Accomplishment in comparison of Wisdom, 237*. Learning and

I N D E X.

- and Wisdom generally found asunder, 240 *. Weak and little Souls are spoiled by Learning, 245 *. See *Study, Philosophy, Instruction*.
- Learning*, two ways of it, viz. by Precepts, and by Facts or Example, 247 *. The latter is the easier and the more entertaining of the two, 247 *. The two ways subdivided into Conversation and Reading. 248 *
- Levity*. See *Credulity*.
- Levity* of Temper inconsistent with Wisdom. (84)
- Liberality* a necessary Vertue in a Prince, 32 *. Two kinds of it, *ibid.* How to proportion it, 33 *, 34 *. 'Tis a proper attractive of the Affection of the People. 63 *
- Liberty*, whether Man has that advantage over Brutes, 257 *. Considerations upon Liberty and Servitude. 493
- Liberty* of the Mind a predisposition to Wisdom, (13.) Particularly, Liberty of Judgment, (*ibid.*) And Liberty of the Will, (38.) Liberty of Mind explain'd, with respect to the serving of other People. (44)
- Life*, Soul not the principle, but the internal Cause of *Life*, 47, 48. See *Humane*.
- Life*, three sorts or degrees of it common to the generality of Men, 476. Why a private Life is less regular than a domestick or publick. 477
- Lords*, several Degrees of Lords impower'd under a supreme Head, 405. Of Lords and their Slaves. 437
- Love* compar'd with, and distinguish'd from the other Passions, 178. Distinction between vertuous and vicious Love, *ibid.* Carnal Love how vicious, 200. Love defined, 165 *. Its usefulness, 166 *. Love distinguished three ways, viz. as to the Causes that create it, 167 *. As to the Persons concern'd, whether Superiors and Inferiors, Collateral, or Mixt, 168, 169 *. As to the intensity and remissness of it, 171 *. The difference between common or imperfect Love, and that which is perfect and very rare, represented at large, 171, &c. *. See *Friendship*.
- Luxury*, a Cause of Anger, 206. *Luxury* exposed. 350 *
- Lying* exposed, 194 *, &c. Hypocrisie a *Lying* in Actions, 196 *. Lying to be particularly guarded against in Children, 256 *
- M.
- Magistrates*, their Degrees, Power, &c. 459. Their Duty, 279, &c. *. A strict harsh Magistrate better than a mild easie one. 284 *
- Magnanimity* a very becoming Vertue in a Prince. 35 *
- Man*, consider'd naturally with respect to the Parts he consists of, 15. *Man* consider'd naturally and morally, by stating the Comparison between him and Brutes, 240. A summary Account of his Life, 274. A moral Description of his Qualities and Defects, 288. A Natural and Moral Consideration of *Man* resulting from the difference between some Men and others, 380. See *Body*.
- Man* hath no mighty reason to magnifie himself in the advantages of his Nature above that of Brutes, 252. A general draught of *Man*. 288
- Man*, the difference and inequality of Men in general, 380. A natural difference deriv'd from the Climates, 388. A difference partly natural, partly acquir'd, with respect to the Strength and Capacity of the Mind, dividing Men into three Classes, 395. An accidental difference taken from the Circumstance of superior and inferior, 402. A difference with respect to Mens particular Professions and different ways of living, 475. A difference with regard to the advantages and disadvantages

INDEX.

- disadvantages derived from either Nature or Fortune. 402
- Management*, good, Directions concerning it. 224 *
- Manners* of Men simply consider'd are not Vices or Virtues, but necessary and natural Effects, 394. Directions for forming the Manners of Children. 255 *, &c.
- Married State*, the Duties of it, 220 *. Enjoyment indulged in a Married State, to be used with moderation and sobriety. 223 *
- Marriage* treated of, 410. Objections against it, 411. Answers to 'em, 415. It is a great Good, or great Evil, 417. When Good, 'tis exceedingly so, 418. A general Description of it, 419. Another more particular one, 420. Wherein consists the Conjugal superiority and inferiority, 421. The Power of the Husband, 423. Different Laws about Marriage, 424. Particularly of Polygamy and Divorce. 425
- Masculine Beauty* distinguish'd from Feminine. 35
- Masters*, what Power they have over Servants, 442. Their Duty towards their Servants. 268 *
- Mean Men*, their Duty to the Great. 287 *
- Melancholy*, immoderate, Opinion at the bottom of it. 226
- Memory*, defined, 110. A moist Temperament most accommodated to it, 115. Three sorts of Memory, 118. The Sciences that fall under it, *ibid.* Its Properties, and the manner of its Operations, 119. Why 'tis rarely met with to a great degree in Persons that excel in Understanding, 120, 157. Excellency in it proper for three sorts of People. 157
- Men*, the Duty of great and of mean Men, 285 *. See *Man*.
- Military Life* consider'd. 489
- Military Force* necessary for a Prince, 55 *
- Mind* of Man defined, 23. Conformity between it and the Body agreeable to Nature, 39. The Beauty of the Mind to be curiously consider'd, 40. It proceeds in different methods in the Consideration of things, 128. The advantages and disadvantages of it, 131, 132. See *Soul*. See *Tranquility*.
- Mind*; the many Miseries of it, 341, &c. Liberty of the Mind a Predisposition to Wisdom, (13.) In respect of the Judgment, (13.) And of the Will. (38)
- Mind*, directions for forming it. 234 *
- Misery* proper to Man, 331. In his Beginning and End, *ibid.* In the Retrenchment of his Pleasures, 333. In creating Misfortunes to himself, *ibid.* In being born to Pain, 334. In remembrance and anticipation of Evils, 336. In uneasie Enquiries, 339. In the Remedies of Misery. 340
- Miseries* of the Mind, 341. In respect of the Understanding, 342. In respect of the Will. 352
- Misfortunes* in a Prince raise the contempt of the People. 76 *
- Mob*, their Character. 473
- Modest* and obliging Behaviour in Conversation, (183.) *Modesty* particularly recommended in Children, 259 *. *Modesty* in Apparel. 350 *
- Moral Consideration* of Man. 283
- Moral Duties* and Religious Rites very different. (93)
- Murder*, self. See *Death*.

N.

- Nakedness* once the Fashion of all Mankind, 41. 'Tis no natural inconvenience to Man. 243
- Name* of God to be reverently used. (125)
- Narrowness* of Spirit an ill Quality in a Coun-

I N D E X.

- Counsellor. 43 *
- Natural* Consideration of Man, 15.
- Natural Integrity preferable to the acquired. (58)
- Nature* the true Spring of Probity, (52.) See *Law of Nature*.
- Nature* sufficient to teach us our whole Duty, (58.) 'Tis the current Advice of all wise Men to follow Nature, (5-) (60) Nature and Grace not contrary Principles, but ought to be joined, (70,) (71,) (72) All Religions are uncouth to Nature, (104.) And why, (106.) Superstition is natural. (117)
- Negligence*, supine, in a Prince, draws upon him the Contempt of his People. 76 *
- Nobility*, a description of it, 495. Natural Nobility consider'd, 498. Of acquir'd and personal Nobility, 500. Of both together. 501
- Nutritive* Faculty consider'd. 57
- O.
- Obedience* of Subjects to wicked Princes, examined. 273, &c. *
- Obedience* explain'd and inforc'd. 409
- Obligation* twofold, viz. Original, arising from the performance of respective Offices, 214*. And that which arises from Benefits receiv'd, 215.* Directions about the latter. *ibid.* &c.
- Obstinacy* the effect of Anger. 210
- Obstinacy* a great instance of Presumption, describ'd. 373
- Occasions* should be laid hold on in a prudent management. (202)
- Officers*, five degrees of 'em for the exercise of subordinate Power, 405, 406. How a Prince is to choose Officers of publick Trust, 45 *. Of officers of an Army. See *Army*.
- Opinion* describ'd, 159, 160. The World is govern'd by *Opinion*, *ibid.* Most of our *Opinions* resolve into Authority at last, 162. *Opinion* at the bottom of immoderate Melancholy, 226. Several foolish *Opinions* with which the generality of Mankind is intoxicated, 343. Throwing off popular *Opinions* the first disposition to Wisdom. (4)
- Organs* of Sense, 77
- Others*, a forwardness to serve others censur'd, (38.) As well as espousing their Concerns with Zeal. (38)
- P.
- Pain* seems to be the only real Evil. 334
- Panick* Fears describ'd. 239
- Parents*. See *Paternal*.
- Parents* their Duty, 225 *. The State suffers more from the neglect of Parents, than from the Disobedience of Children, 225 *. Their Duty consists of four parts, 226 *. Relating to Life or Health, *ibid.* * Nourishment, 227 *. Instruction, *ibid.* And the participation of the advantages of Life, 259 *. With respect to the last, Parents ought to admit their Children to keep them Company, as soon as they are capable. 262 *
- Parts*, constituent, of Man, 23. *Parts* of the Body, inward, 25. Outward. 28
- Passions* cause defects of the Soul, 152, 153
- Passions* consider'd in general, 168. What and whence they are, *ibid.* The vicious irregularity in them, 170. Their distinctions according to the Object and Subject, 174. *Passions* in the Irascible, much more mischievous than in the Concupiscible part, 175. The deformity of the Passions expos'd in particular, 177. Exemption from Passions the first disposition to Wisdom, (7.) General Remedies against the Passions, (8.)

I N D E X.

- (8.) Counter Passion not the best Remedy. (9)
Paternal Authority treated of, 430. The Reasons and Effects of it, 432. Its decay, 434. The mischievous Consequences of the Abolition of it. 436
Pedants describ'd. 359
Peevishness in Children never to be humour'd. 257 *
People. See *Common.*
Perjury a greater Affront to God Almighty than avowed Atheism. 183 *
Persuading others, an instance of Presumption. 375
Philosophy, the study of it, a cure for a naturally cross Disposition, (66.) Natural and Moral Philosophy recommended beyond other Studies, 246 *
Piety, the study of it the first act of Wisdom, (87.) Piety explain'd, (121.) Consisting in knowing God, (*ibid.*) Honouring him, (122.) Serving him with our Spirit, (*ibid.*) With our Body, (123.) By Prayer, (124.) A reverent use of his Name, (125.) Piety and Probity must go together, (126.) A description of Piety without Probity, (127.) Probity not to be confounded with Piety. (129)
Piety, a Princely Quality. 14 *
Pleasures, Man capable but of few, 333
Pleasures, Regulation of Pleasures a considerable effect of Wisdom, (134.) They ought to be little, (141.) Natural, (144) Moderate, (145.) In a short compass, and with regard to one's self. (146)
Pleasure defin'd, 339 *. Directions concerning it, (*ibid.*) Carnal Pleasure considered. 352 *
Polity divided into two Branches, Provision and Action, 9 *. The Provisionary Requisites are knowledge of the State or Government, 10 *. Virtue, 12 *. Behaviour and Address, 36 *. Counsel, 37 *. Treatise, 46 *. Military Force, 55 *. Alliances, 57 *. The Action or Administration depends upon such a Conduct as will acquire good Will and Authority, 60 *. Three Methods of obtaining good Will, 61 *, 62 *. Authority is made up of Fear and Respect, 64 *. Three things necessary to gain and preserve Authority, 64 *. &c. The contraries that ruin a Government, are, hatred, 71 *. (Prevented by avoiding cruelty, 72 *, and Avarice, 73 *,) and Contempt, 75 *. Three Causes of that Contempt, 76 *. The peaceable Administration, 77 *. The Military Administration. 81 *
Politicks, an Argument of humane Frailty. 306
Polygamy, Arguments for it, 425. Answers to 'em, 426. Polygamy differently practis'd. 427
Poor, how they came to increase. 441
Popular Error. See *Error.*
Popular Insurrections, how a Prince should behave among them. 128 *
Positiveness, a great instance of Presumption. 374
Poverty consider'd, 512. Two sorts of Poverty, 311 *. Considerations upon both, *ibid.* &c.
Power and Subjection; a Table of the distinctions of Men in that respect, 403. Supreme Power subdivided, 404. Publick subaltern Power in the hands of particular Lords, 405. In the Hands of Officers. 405, 406
Power, Sovereign, what it is, 444. Its Properties, 445. Why coveted, 446. The inconveniencies that attend it, *ibid.* &c. See *Great Men.*
Prayer, Directions about it. (124)
Precipitation, an ugly Quality in a Counsellor. 43
Prejudices, the Cause of defects of the Soul, 152. Removal of Prejudices a Predisposition to Wisdom. (4)
Presumption. See *Pride.*

Presumption

I N D E X.

- Presumption* considered in several respects, 360. In respect of God, 361. In respect of Nature, the Celestial and Terrestrial Bodies, 364. In respect of the other Animals, 368. In respect of Man himself, 370. Three degrees of humane Presumption, *ibid.* Of all Passions it requires the most watchful Eye. (12)
- Prevention*, a good Remedy against Passions. (9)
- Pride*, the natural Disease of the Soul, 156. The principal and formal Cause of Anger. 207
- Prince*, what Provision he ought to make for the security of his Person and Government, and how he should administer. See *Polity*. What Virtues are in a particular manner necessary to him, 14 *. &c. A Prince ought not to trust the Helm of Government to any other. 67 *
- Princes*, Sovereign, their Manners and Dispositions, 447. Their Miseries and Inconveniences, 448. In the discharge of their Office, 449. In the Pleasures and Actions of their Life, 450. In their Marriage, 451. In being depriv'd of the Emulations of Conversation, 452. In their incapacity to travel and see the World, 453. In being shut out from all sincere Friendship and mutual Society, 454. In being kept in ignorance, 455. In being less Masters of their own Wills than any other Persons, 456. In an unfortunatue end, 458. The Duty of *Princes* to their People. 271 *
- Principles*, natural, the general Alteration and Corruption of 'em. (60,) (61,) (62)
- Private* differences consider'd. 146 *
- Private Life*, why less exact than a Domestick or Publick Life, 477. Why it is easier, 479. Private and Publick Capacity to be carefully distinguished, (46.) How private Persons should behave in the divisions of a State. 140 *
- Probity* describ'd, (52,) (53.) Not to be confounded with Piety, (129.) It ought to go along with it. (134)
- Professions*, distinctions of Men taken from their Professions. 475
- Promises* considered as to the Matter and Manner. 181, 182 *
- Property*. A Life of distinct Properties compar'd with a Life in common, 485
- Prosperity* and Adversity, which the harder to govern, (147.) General Instructions how to behave in Prosperity, (151.) Prosperity describ'd, with Advice upon it. 337 *
- Prudent* management of Business, Directions for it, (192.) Requiring Knowledge of Men and things, (*ibid.*) Just valuation of them, (193.) A wise Choice, (196,) (197.) Consultation of Friends, (199.) Moderation between Fear and Assurance, (200.) The laying hold on Occasions, (202.) Industry and Fortune, (204.) Discretion. (205,) (206.)
- Prudence*, its Excellence, 2 *. Definition, *ibid.* 'Tis Universal, *ibid.* Difficult, *ibid.* Obscure, 5 *. 'Tis more the effect of Study than any other Vertue, 60 *. *Prudence* distinguished in several respects, 7 *. *Prudence* in Government. See *Polity*. *Prudence* with respect to the many accidents of Life, both in a Prince and in private Persons, 113, &c. *
- Publick* Government. See *Government*.
- Publick* Life. See *Private*.
- Publick* spirited Persons must be discreet wihal, and in what respects. 45

I N D E X.

Q.

Qualities and Defects of Humane Nature describ'd. 288, &c.
Quotation of Books a vulgar Folly. 322

R.

Rarity whets the Will. 165
Rashness the effect of Anger. 209
Ratiocination describ'd. 130
Reason, its dominion over the sensual Part, the Foundation of all Justice. 148 *

Reason Universal, its Dictates. 2
Reason describ'd, 129. Whether Brutes partake of it, 249, &c. and 264, &c. Whether Reason be any real benefit to Men. 272

Rebellion describ'd. 135 *

Religions various, (88.) But all agree in some general Points, (88,) (89.) And differ in others peculiar to themselves, (102.) The latter Religions are built upon the former and the more ancient, (103.) All Religions are uncouth to Nature, (104.) Reason good they should be so, (106.) Why they ought not to be receiv'd by humane means, (*ibid.*) But yet so they are, (*ibid.*) The difference between true and false Religion, (115.) an Introduction to the description of true Religion, (119.) Some descriptions of Religion. (120)

Religion; the Divine Origin of it vindicated. (110,) (111,) (112,) &c.

Reminiscence an Operation of the Imaginative Faculty. 119

Repentance, whether all Sin begets Repentance, (76.) Repentance describ'd. (78)

Reproof, Truth and Freedom in it. 185 *

Reputation, a vanity of concern for it. 294

Reservedness highly requisite in a Prince, 20 *, 21 *

Retirement. See *Solitude*.

Rewards, how a Prince should behave in the distribution of them. 80 *

Revenge, the Nature and Properties of it, 217. 'Tis a cowardly effeminate Passion, 217. Troublesome and restless, 218. Full of Injustice, 218, 219. Dangerous, 219. Its difference from Cruelty, 220. Remedies against Revenge. 331 *

Riches, refusal of 'em, Vicious as well as Avarice, 195. Several Considerations upon *Riches* and Poverty, 512. The true Mean between the immoderate Desire, and the contempt of *Riches*. 163 *

S.

Sacrifices, their Nature and Intention, 312, 113. The Foundation of them, (90.) A Disquisition whether *Sacrifices* are of humane Invention, 91, &c.

Sciences that fall properly under the Understanding Faculty, 118. Under the memory, *ibid.* Under the Imagination. *ibid.*

Secrets, keeping them, consider'd, 184 *. The Difficulties that attend it are a mighty check to inquisitive Tempers, *ibid.* &c.

Sedition describ'd, 132 *. And provided against. 133 *

Self; Knowledge of one's *Self* directed by universal Reason, 2. It leads to Divine Wisdom, 5. (2) It disposes Men to be Wise, 6. The inconveniencies of the want of it, 8. Four false means of attaining it, 10. The true ones, 12. (2) Knowledge of one's self necessary in order to fix their profession, (84.) Justice to one's self drawn up in nine Heads. 153. &c. See *Justice*.

Self-

I N D E X.

- Self-Love*, the worst of all Passions. (12)
- Self-Murder*, a Disquisition upon it, (236,) &c.
- Sensation*, faculty of it, distinguish'd from the Soul, 76. Wherein it consists, *ibid.* Sensation an Argument of the Immateriality of the Soul. 101
- Senses* are the most exalted and noble Parts of the Body, 80. Of what Consequence they are to us, *ibid.* Their number in Nature uncertain, 81. That of five sufficient for conveying Knowledge to us, 84. A Comparison of the Senses, *ibid.* The weakness and uncertainty of them, 85. The mutual Deceits of the Mind and Senses, 85, 87. Senses common to us and Brutes, 87. An Argument drawn from thence, that Brutes partake of Knowledge, *ibid.* 'Tis hard to trust our Senses, *ibid.* What dependance may be had upon their Evidence, 89. Whence the Errors proceed that are charged upon the deceivableness of the Senses, 97. All our Knowledge does not depend upon our Senses. 97, 124, 125, 126, &c.
- Sensitive Soul*, its Sufficiency or Native Aptitude. 62. Six Things requisite for its Exercise. 76
- Sensory*, common, describ'd. 80
- Sensuality* less vicious than Ambition, 179. 'Tis strong naturally and common, 197. Whence the shame of it, 198. 'Tis vicious not in it self, but by the inordinacy betrayed into by it. 200
- Servant*. See *Masters*.
- Servants*, three sorts of 'em, viz. Slaves, Attendants and Workmen, 267, 268 *. Their respective Duties to their Masters. 269 *
- Servitude*, Considerations upon Liberty and Servitude. 493
- Severity*, a better Fence of Government than Easiness, 64 *. 'Tis of use for acquiring and preserving Authority, *ibid.* How to temper it. 65 *
- Shame*, no Argument against going naked, 46. Shame of Sensuality, whence. 198
- Sickness*. See *Health*.
- Sickness*, considerations to mitigate the weight of it, 301 *. 'Tis necessary and natural, 301, 302 *. Affects only the Body, 302 *. And heightens the consequent Pleasure of Recovery, 303 *. Several examples of Patience under Sickness. 304 *
- Sight* compared with Hearing and Speech. 102
- Sincerity*. See *Integrity*.
- Slaves*, the use of them universal, but unnatural, 437. Several sorts of Slavery, 438. The Cause of it, *ibid.* The cruel usage of Slaves, 439. How they came to lessen, 440. And the Poor to increase, 441. And then to return to Servitude. *ibid.*
- Sobriety* no exalted Vertue, 248 *. But it deserves our good Esteem. *ibid.*
- Soldier*. See *Military Life*.
- Soldiers*. See *Army*.
- Solitude* compared with a Life of company and Business. 480
- Sovereign Power*. See *Power*.
- Sovereign Princes*. See *Princes*.
- Soul* of Man considered in general, 45. Its Definition, *ibid.* Its Nature, 48. Its Faculties and Operations, 51. Its Unity, 52. Its Origine, 56. Its entrance into the Body, 58. Its Residence and the manner of it, 60. Its Seat, 61. Its Sufficiency or native Aptitudes, *ibid.* Its separation, natural, from the Body by Death, 63. Its supernatural separation by Raptures, 68. Three different Kinds or Degrees of Souls, 66. More particular Considerations

I N D E X.

- derations of the Soul, 74, &c. See *Intellectual* and *Mind*.— By what Method the Soul attains to the Knowledge of things, 123. The different sorts of Souls reduced to three Classes, 132. A particular Description of the Nature and Qualities of the Soul, 133. 'Tis a perpetual Agent, *ibid.* An universal Agent, 134. A ready quick Agent, 135. Its Imployment, 136. Its flexible inconstant way of working, 137. And the Causes of it, 140. The proposed End of that its anxious pursuit, *viz.* Truth and Invention, 142, 144. The necessity of restraining the Soul, 149. It hath its Defects and Diseases as well as the Body, 151. The External Causes of which are the unfavourable Temperament of the Body, prejudicial Opinions and Passions, 151, 152, 153. But its Internal natural Disease is Pride and Presumption. 156
- Souls*, three Sorts or Degrees of Souls in the World, 395. Largeness of Soul recommended. (30)
- Speaking*, temperance in it considered. 361 *
- Speech*, compared with Sight and Hearing, 102. The Power of it, 104. Its Correspondence with Hearing, 108. *Speech* common to Men and Beasts. 244, 245
- Species Sensibles*, describ'd. 77
- Sprightly* Soul exposes a Man to great dangers. 146
- Subjects*, their Duty to their Prince, consists in Honour and Reverence, Obedience, and a hearty Desire of his Prosperity, 273 *. The Case of their Obedience to wicked Persons, discuss'd. 275
- Study*, an unprofitable and superficial way of it, 245 *. Prescriptions for reforming it. 245 *, &c.
- Stupidity* a sort of Remedy against Passion. (8)
- Swaddling* Cloths, not naturally necessary. 243
- Subsidies* extraordinary levied upon the Subject, upon what Conditions- 49 *, &c.
- Subject*. See *Affection*.
- Subslety*, what sort of it is warrantable and necessary in a Prince. 20 *
- Superior* and *Inferior*, a Table of the distinctions of Men upon that Score. 403
- Superstitious* Persons describ'd. 357
- Superstition* describ'd, (116.) It is natural, (117.) Common, (*ibid.*) Cherished by Reason and Policy, (118)
- Supreme* Power subdivided. 404
- T.
- Temper*. See *Easiness*.
- Temper*, evenness of it in Prosperity and Adversity. (147)
- Temperament*. See *Brain*.
- Temperance*, the true State of it, (138.) The general Idea of Temperance, 335 *. Temperance consider'd in particular with respect to its various Objects. 337, &c. *
- Thoughts*, the vanity of 'em. 292
- Tongue*, good or bad, the important Consequences of 'em. 106
- Town* Life compar'd with a Country Life. 487
- Tranquility* of Mind, the Crown and Glory of Wisdom, (250.) What is meant by it, *ibid.* How to attain it. (251)
- Transmigration* of Souls examin'd. 71
- Transport*. See *Extasie*.
- Treasonable* Practices, those who make a loud bustle of Loyalty and Fidelity, most liable to 'em. 127 *
- Treasure*, a necessary Provision for a Prince, 46 *. The proper methods to raise it, 47 *, &c. How to imploy it, 52 *. *Treasure* in Reserve, 53 *. How to preserve it. 54 *
- B b
- Truth

I N D E X.

Truth the end of the anxious pursuit of the Soul, but not attainable, 142. The Excellency of Truth in advising and reproof, 185*. Its usefulness, *ibid.* The rarity and difficulty of it, 186*. Eight Rules for it. *ibid.*

Tutors and Governours, their Duty, 231*. A *Tutor* ought to put his Pupil upon Discourse, and giving his own Sentiments, 250*. To train him up to a becoming Curiosity of knowing, 252*. To frame his Mind after the Model of universal Nature, 253*. And to teach him not to receive Opinions upon Trust. 254*

Tyranny expos'd. 68*

Tyranny defined, 135*. The Remedies against it, are, keeping the absolute Power out of King's Hands at first, and Submission when they have got it, 136*. The Case of Obedience to Tyrants stated and discuss'd. 276, &c. *

V.

Valour, a necessary Virtue in a Prince. 29*

Vanity, the most essential Quality of Human Nature, 291. Vanity of Thoughts, 292. Vain concern for Futurity, 293. Vain concern for the Opinion of the World, 294. Vanity the frequent Cause of Commotions of the Mind, 295. Vanity in Visits and matters of Civility, 296. Vanity the Cause of publick Commotions, 299. Vain Notions of Happiness and Content. 299, 300

Vegetative Soul, its sufficiency or native Aptitude, 62. Its subaltern Faculties, *viz.* Nutritive, Growing, Generative. 75

Virtue, whether common to Men and Brutes, 258. The variety of Ver-

tues owing not to Nature but Fortune and Providence, 327. Stanch Virtue the best Remedy against the Passions, (11.) False appearances of Virtue, (48.) Whether acquir'd Virtue or natural Goodness is preferable, (68.) Virtue the most effectual Qualification for bearing Adversity, (157.) Virtues peculiarly proper for a Prince. 12, &c.*

Vicious Disposition, natural, how to be cured. (66)

Visits, the Vanity and Impertinencies of them. 297

Understanding, its three principal Offices, 118. The Sciences that fall properly under it, *ibid.* Its Properties and the manner of its Operations, 119. 'Tis the Employment of the Soul, 122, 123. Its universal extent, *ibid.* It gives many instances of the Weakness and Misery of Man. 342

Unity of the Soul vindicated. 52

Vulgar Error. See *Error*.

W.

War, when to be engag'd in, 81*, 84*. What a just War is, 82*. Two Conditions of offensive War, 83*. How War is to be carried on, 86*. And upon what Conditions an end put to it, 109*. See *Army*, *General*.—Civil Wars consider'd. 137*

Weakness of Judgment a cause of Anger. 206

Weakness of Man in desiring and choosing, 301. In using and enjoying, 302. Weakness with regard to Good and Evil, 304. In the practice of Virtue and Vice, *ibid.* In Politicks, 306. In Justice, 337. In relation to Truth, 309. His Weakness discover'd by Religion, 311. Particularly by the use of Sacrifices, 312. By the Sacraments, Repentance join'd, &c.

I N D E X.

- join'd, &c. 315, 316. His Weakness in Evil as well as Good, 317. In Reproofs and Denials, 319. In false Suspicions and Accusations, *ibid.* In Niceness and Affectation, 321. In consulting Books, 322. In not bearing Extremes, *ibid.* Nor sudden Accidents. 323
Weapons, natural, common to Man and Beast. 244
Weeping not peculiar to Man. 243
Wickedness consider'd, (74.) Three sorts of wicked Men compar'd. (75.) (77)
Wife, how far she is subject to her Husband, 421. Her Duty, 221 *, &c.
Will, Its pre-eminence above the other Faculties, 163. Its different way of Operation from that of the Understanding, 164. Three things that stimulate the Will, 165. The Will hath many Sources of Misery, 352. The Liberty of the Will must be preserved, (38.) Of the determination of the Will in indifferent Cases. (198)
Will, Good-Will of Subjects a necessary Pillar of Government, 60 *. 'Tis acquir'd principally by Gentleness, 61 *. Beneficence, 62 *. and Liberality. 63 *
Wisdom, Men dispos'd to it by the knowledge of themselves, 6. By Exemption from vulgar Error and Passions, (1.) By an entire liberty of the Mind, (13.) Integrity the first Point of Wisdom, (47.) Fixing a particular End. the second, (82.) Study of Piety the first Act of Wisdom, (87.) Regulation of Pleasures a considerable effect of it, (134.) The first fruit of Wisdom, is living in a constant readiness for Death, (205.) Maintaining an uninterrupted Tranquility of Spirit, the Crown and Glory of *Wisdom*, (250.) The wide difference between Wisdom and Learning, 237 *. They are seldom found together. 240 *
Worship, acts of, a proof of human Impotence. 312

Y.

Youth compared with old Age, 284. the Vices peculiar to it. 285

Z.

Zeal in espousing the Concerns of others, censur'd, (41.) It infects the Mind, and corrupts the Judgment. (42.)

29 MR 59

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